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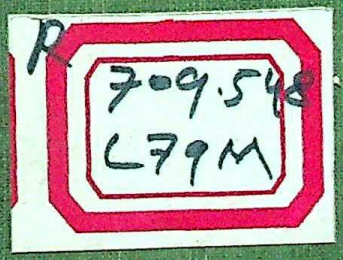

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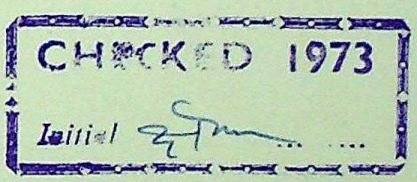
Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

MEDIAEVAL SINHALESE ART

BEING A MONOGRAPH ON MEDIAEVAL SINHALESE ARTS AND CRAFTS, MAINLY AS SURVIVING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND THE STATUS OF THE CRAFTSMEN

Second Edition, incorporating
the author's corrections



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SECOND EDITION, REVISED, PUBLISHED IN 1956 BY
PANTHEON BOOKS INC.,
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WITH THE PATRONAGE OF
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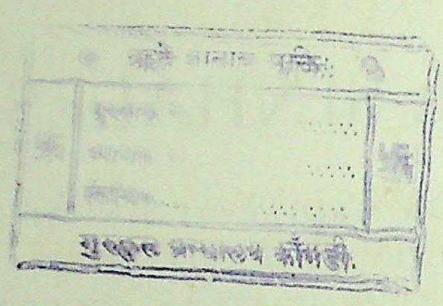

The first edition of this work was limited to four hundred and twenty-five copies printed under the care of the Author at the Essex House Press in the Norman Chapel at Broad Campden, Gloucestershire. Begun September, 1907, and finished December, 1908.

The text of this second edition is identical with the original but for the revised and enlarged list of 'Errata and Additional Addenda' on pp. 315–321.

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 56-7620
Printed in the United States of America

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DEDICATION.

TO E. M. C., MY COMRADE IN THIS UNDERTAKING.

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FOREWORD.

THIS book is a record of the work and the life of the craftsman in a feudal society not unlike that of Early Mediæval Europe. It deals, not with a period of great attainment in fine art, but with a beautiful and dignified scheme of peasant decoration, based upon the traditions of Indian art and craft. Sinhalese art is essentially Indian, but possesses this especial interest, that it is in many ways of an earlier character, and more truly Hindu—though Buddhist in intention,—than any Indian art surviving on the mainland so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The minor arts, and the painting, are such as we might expect to have been associated with the culture of Aśoka's time, and the builders of Barāhat.

The period dealt with I have called Mediæval; but it must be understood that changes of style in decorative art take place comparatively slowly, and that it is generally impossible to say at a glance whether a given piece of work be of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth century, or even older or later. Most of the specimens here figured or described date from the latter part of the eighteenth century. Mediæval conditions survived in full force until the British occupation of Kandy in 1815, and what is actually described in this book is the work of Sinhalese craftsmen under mediæval conditions, mainly as these survived in the eighteenth century, and, in a less degree, even to the present day.

Mediæval Sinhalese Art was the art of a people for whom husbandry was the most honourable of all occupations, amongst whom the landless man was a nobody, and whose ploughmen spoke as elegantly as courtiers. It was a religious art, and so a popular art. It was also essentially a national art; the craftsmen, forming an integral part of the Civil Service, were rewarded with grants of State land, no less than soldiers or husbandmen. It was the art of a people whose kings were 'one with the religion and the people,'—perhaps the most significant phrase in the whole of that magnificent chronicle, the Mahāvaṃsa, from which I have so often quoted,—a phrase embodying an ideal hopeless of attainment by a foreign ruler.

It was the art of a poor people, the annual income of whose kings did not in the eighteenth century exceed £2000 in money, beside revenue in kind. It was very different from the sumptuary art of the great courts and wealthy cities of India, of which we trace but a faint reflection here and there in the use of Indian materials, and the importation of Indian craftsmen. But it is the only true art discoverable in Ceylon to-day. In a few years it may be gone for ever. I have tried to make a picture of it, before it was too late.

If we would understand the significance and the history of the arts and crafts in India, it will be needful to begin with such survivals of them as we can study readily, and work back from these to earlier times. Hence, even from a wider point of view, I make no apology for writing a large book about a time when the traditions of fine art were stereotyped, and even the traditions of the crafts intensely formalised and rigid. Such an art is, as it were, an outlier, left by long continued denudation, in extent severely limited, yet evidence unmistakeable of a former continuity which it helps us to understand. Even so considered, the intrinsic value of the art is great; the capacity for certain types of designing survives even to this day amongst a few craftsmen almost perfectly developed; and whatever limitations even late Sinhalese art possessed, it is at least immeasurably superior to anything produced by any would-be-modern Sinhalese artists of the present day. An eighteenth century *jātaka* painting is as much superior to a modern Low-country book illustration, as a Kandyan jewel is to a modern imitation of a design borrowed from a Birmingham catalogue, or a Kandyan temple to a modern structure such as that described on p. 132.

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This book is not primarily intended as a work of scholarship, but is written first of all for the Sinhalese people, as a memorial of a period which at present they are not willing to understand. The 'educated' Sinhalese of to-day, after, on the one hand, a century of foreign government, and of education in which the national culture has been completely ignored, and, on the other hand, an equal period of subservient and obsequious imitation of foreign manners, have little reason to be proud of their present achievement in the Art of Living. Evidence of shallow thought is everywhere to be seen in an exaltation of the present age at the expense of the past. It is, however, only in an effort to realise the ideals of this very past, and of the past of India, that there lies the possibility of a true regeneration and revitalising of the national life of the Sinhalese people. This book, then, is written first of all as a contribution to the understanding of this past.

Secondly, it is meant for those in East or West who are interested in the reorganization of life, and especially of the arts and crafts under modern conditions.

Thirdly, an endeavour has been made to render it as far as possible of value to the anthropologist, and to students of sociology and folk-lore. Criticism, only too easy from several points of view, should take into account the actual purpose of the book, and the fact that such a detailed account of the arts and crafts of a small area in the East, is really pioneer work.

In Ceylon, as in India, the direct and indirect influence of contact with the West has been fatal to the arts. The two most direct causes of this adverse influence have been the destruction of the organization of state-craftsmen, following upon the British occupation; and the subsequent systematic neglect, by British and Sinhalese alike, of a local architectural tradition. A less direct, but equally sure and certain, cause of the decline of the arts has been the growth of commercialism,—that system of production under which the work of European machines and machine-like men has in the East driven the village weaver from his loom,* the craftsman from his tools, the ploughman from his songs, and has divorced art from labour. In the words of Blake,

> "When nations grow old
> The arts grow cold,
> And commerce settles on every tree."

In such grim fashion has commerce settled in the East.

The Sinhalese people are not, in my opinion, happier or better than they were in the eighteenth century. Talk of progress, and the reality, are not the same. Civilisation is supposed to advance by the creation of new desires, to gratify which the individual must endeavour to improve his position. But in reality it is not quantity, but quality of wants that may be taken as evidence of progress in the Art of Living. No one acquainted with modern Sinhalese taste will pretend that it gives evidence of any improvement in the quality of wants. Indeed, it is sufficiently obvious that quantity, variety, and novelty are not really compatible with quality.

From a study of the arts and crafts under mediæval conditions in East and West: under modern conditions in the West: and under conditions resulting from the influence of West on East, something may be learnt of the true and false relations between art and life. What are the conditions necessary to the existence of a worthy art? Let us first enquire what conditions forbid its existence in the modern West. They may be summed up in the words commercialism and irreligion.

* *In euphemistic language,* "*successfully contested the village weaver's market.*"

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The essential method of commercialism is to create a want in order to have the opportunity of profiting by the filling of it. Under the commercial system, it is no longer demand that regulates supply, but production that 'forces a market.' Machinery has enabled the capitalist to do this to the fullest extent. The promise of labour-saving machinery was: a millenium for the worker, shorter hours and easier work; its result have been merely increased production, increased profit to the capitalist, and not less, but less intelligent, work for the producer. Not merely is the workman through division of labour no longer able to make any whole thing, not only is he confined to making small parts of things, but it is impossible for him to improve his position or to win reward for excellence in the craft itself. Under guild conditions, it was possible and usual for the apprentice to rise through all grades of knowledge and experience to the position of a master-craftsman. But take any such trade as carpet making under modern conditions, by power-looms. The operator has no longer to design or to weave in and out the threads with his own fingers. He is employed in reality, not as a carpet weaver, but as the tender of a machine. He may rise to a higher place it is true,—but it is the place of a man responsible for the successful running of many machines by many men. He can never rise in virtue of his knowledge or experience in the craft itself. That craft is for him destroyed as a means of culture, aud the community has lost one more man's intelligence,—for it is obviously futile to attempt to build up by evening classes and free libraries, what the whole of a man's work is for ever breaking down. It is no longer possible for culture and refinement to come to the craftsman through his work; it must be won, if won at all, in spite of his work; he must seek them in a brief hour snatched from rest and sleep, at the expense of life itself. It is not strange that he does not seek them, nor that their expression is lacking in his work. He has not even the capacity for idling, but must continually seek amusement and excitement. There can be no quality of leisure in his work. In short, commercial production absolutely forbids a union of art with labour.

It is instructive to compare the still surviving, but fast disappearing, relics of this union in the East, with the results of Western endeavours through education and free libraries to restore that general culture which cannot under commercialism exist; not there does the ploughman speak as elegantly as the courtier, not there are riches little valued; nor can these things be where life is lived, not as an art, but as a wild beast fight.*

The conditions of labour affect not merely the producer, but also the consumer, who under modern conditions must put up with the lack of temperament in the mechanical work composing his environment; and must suffer economically also, inasmuch as work in which the worker is not interested, or of which he cannot be proud, generally costs the consumer more in the long run than the initial cheapness saves.

But the primary importance of all that is meant by craftsmanship relates to the life of the producer. Cheap work, cheap men; and the community suffers accordingly. A society which sees wealth in things rather than in men, is ultimately doomed. It appears, therefore, that it is absolutely essential that mechanical production should in the future be, not abandoned, but controlled in the real interests of humanity. If this appears to be impossible, as I am unwilling to believe, it must be admitted that civilization is not much better than a failure; for it is not much good being more ingenious than our forefathers if we cannot be either happier or better.

One of the most interesting and difficult distinctions that can be drawn is that between a

* "*The Burman, if asked to give his candid opinion after a year's experience of English life, would probably say that the position of the vast majority of Englishmen was not much better than that of chained slaves.*"—*R. F. Johnston,* '*Pekin to Mandalay,*' *p.* 340.

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tool and a machine. It is, however, one that the craftsman can always draw for himself, when he is free to do so. Thus the carpet loom is a tool, a contrivance for holding warp threads at a stretch, for the pile to be woven round them by the craftsman's fingers; but the power loom is a machine, for it does the essential part of the work, and in so doing imposes limitations on the spontaneity and freedom of the design and on the intelligence of the worker. The gouge and chisel are tools, but the mechanical carver is a machine, perhaps the most stupid yet invented. It is essential, then, for a re-union of art with labour, that machinery should be controlled; and this control can be properly exercised only by the craftsman himself. The place of machinery in a true civilisation will be that of a hewer of wood and drawer of water, a servant, not a master; its concern will be rather with the preparation than with the subsequent manipulation of materials. Its purpose will be, not to rob the craftsmen of that part of labour which is his very craft itself, but to save him from the heaviest and least interesting work, and to carry out only the simpler and most mechanical processes of manufacture. It is, of course, true that even in the preparation of materials, and the execution of monotonous labour, the machine is in many cases inferior to the hand. Thus, to take a single example, the hand-woven textile is, *ceteris paribus*, more durable than the machine woven, owing to the regularity and mechanical character of the strains put upon the threads of the latter; and the surface, even if quite unornamented, is artistically superior. So again, a machine-stamped binding, or a machine-planed table, or a lathe-spun bowl, lack the peculiar surface characteristic of each material, and developed by hand-work on it; the technical perfection of the surface in the one case is simply uninteresting, in the other varied. The machine, however, has come to stay, and, rightly used, may be transformed from a curse into a blessing. The problem is not how to abolish machinery, but how so to regulate it that it shall serve without enslaving man; how to stop competition between machine and hand-work, by defining and delimiting intelligently the proper spheres of each. The community cannot afford to dispense with the intellectual and imaginative forces, the educational and ethical factors which go with the existence of skilled craftsmen and small workshops. It must, therefore, protect these in their proper sphere. This can be done only by restoring the entire control of production to the actual workers, as in the old guild systems; or by the endowment of craftsmanship as in Ceylon, in the feudal manner, but substituting for the king or overlord the democratic community as patron. The first method may perhaps be achieved through a development of the trade-unions of the West, historically the representatives of the old guild associations of producers.* The second may be achieved by the action of the community in appointing as its servants, for life or good conduct, its craftsmen and its artists, just as it now appoints its judges, its preachers, its professors and medical officers.

A community, convinced of the desirability of possessing within itself a body of skilled craftsmen, and of benefiting from the educational influence and actual productions of such workmen, could attain these ends by appointing master-craftsmen as servants of the community, endowing them with a salary, or with a house or other security from want, on condition of performance of work for the community. Such Public Craftsmen should be required to keep apprentices, and choose from these one to be their successor in office. Such a system would effect the object in view more certainly and more economically than much larger sums spent on technical education, or the encouragement of competitive designs for large public works. Without some such solution of the problem, humanity

* *Works of the first importance on this subject are: A. J. Penty, 'Restoration of the Guild System,' London, 1906; C. R. Ashbee, 'Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry,' Campden, 1908.*

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will in the future have to face a complete alienation of art from labour, resulting in a civilisation "divorced from Nature, but unreclaimed by Art."

Side by side with commercialism, the growth of irreligion has been destructive of the arts. Needless to say that by irreligion I do not refer to the decline of one or another particular form of dogmatic belief, but to the prevalence of that superficial view of life which concentrates the attention solely upon outward things, and not at all upon things of the imagination, real things. The distinction between naturalism and idealism in art is one that is fundamentally religious. It is the lack of a metaphysic in modern materialistic culture that makes it possible for the artist to find sufficient satisfaction in the imitation of beautiful appearances, and a sufficient aim for art in the giving of pleasure. This reduction of the highest aim of art from prophecy to amusement strikes at the root of any possible revival of true art,—which has to do, not with imitation, but imagination. Art that is driven to save its life, as in modern Europe, by emancipation from all metaphysical and subjective conceptions, is bound in the end to lose that life; it becomes, in fact, the work of amateurs lacking equally in inspiration and tradition. To reunite imagination with technique is as necessary as to reassociate art with labour.

So far as Ceylon is concerned, it is of course true, that as in later India, a "too conclusive reliance on traditional practice has led to a mental stagnation which deprives Indian art of its former vitality." The true impulse to a wider and fuller life must come once more, as in Ceylon it has always come, from India. If this book in any way contributes towards the preparation of the ground for the reception of such impulses, the labour spent upon it will be repaid in full.

It is of interest to record, in connection with the arts and crafts aspect of the questions just discussed, that this book has been printed by hand, upon the press used by William Morris for printing the Kelmscott Chaucer. The printing, carried on in the Norman Chapel at Broad Campden, has occupied some fifteen months. I cannot help seeing in these very facts an illustration of the way in which the East and the West may together be united in an endeavour to restore that true Art of Living which has for so long been neglected by humanity.

A few words may be said as to the pronunciation of Sinhalese words. The following alphabet is employed in transliteration: *a*, *ā*, *ę*, *ę̄*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ṛi*, *ṛī*, *ḷri*, *ḷrī*, *e*, *ē*, *ai*, *o*, *ō*, *au*, *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *ṅ*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ś*, *sh*, *s*, *h*, *ḷ*, *ṃ*, *ḥ*, also the semi-nasals, *n̲*, *m̲*. The chief vowel sounds are:

a like *a* in Americ*a*.
ā like *a* in f*a*ther.
ę like *a* in m*a*n, or *e* in *e*ffort.
ę̄ like *a* in m*a*n, but longer.
ī like *i* in *i*ll.
i like *ee* in m*ee*t, or *i* in mach*i*ne.
u like *u* in f*u*ll.
ū like *oo* in f*oo*l, or *u* in r*u*le.
e like *e* in p*e*n.
ē like *a* in r*a*te.
o like *o* in t*o*p.
ō like *o* in r*o*pe.
au like *ou* in d*ou*bt.

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The chief consonant sounds requiring notice are:

ñ like *n* in pi*n*k.
c like *ch* in *ch*urch.
ch like *chh* in coa*ch-h*ouse.
ñ like *n* in pu*n*ch.
ṭ like *t* in cu*t*.
ṭh like *th* in ou*t-h*ouse.
ḍ like *d* in sa*d*.
ḍh like *dh* in ma*d-h*ouse.
ṇ like *n* in pri*nt*.
t like *th* in *th*irst (nearly).
th, the same aspirated.
d like *th* in *th*at (nearly)
dh, the same aspirated.
n like *n* in i*n*.
ph like *ph* in u*ph*old.
bh like *bh* in a*bh*or.
l like *l* in *l*ip.
v like *v* or *w*.
ś like *s* in *s*ure.
sh like *sh* in *sh*un.
s like *s* in *s*un.
ḷ like *l* in rai*l*.
ṃ like *n* in (Fr.) bo*n*.

The English reader is recommended to ignore all diacritical marks on consonants, pronounce consonants as in English, and vowels as in French, except '*e*' which is like '*a*' in m*a*n. The *n* in Sinhalese (*siṃhala*) is pronounced like the *n* in *pink*, or, more exactly, like the *n* in the French word, *bon*. The *h* should be distinctly pronounced, like the *h* in *pin-head*. A few fully anglicised words such as *adigar* for *adikārama*, are printed without diacritical marks. In Sinhalese words the common contraction '*e*' (or '*ē*') for *aya* is used side by side with the full termination, as in *daṅge*, *daṅgaya*. The ending *ya* is also often omitted, as in *vihāra*, for *vihāraya*, a Buddhist temple. The corruption '*e*' for *aya* in *dēvāle* (*dēva*+*ālaya*, god-mansion) is also used. Sinhalese words in the plural are usually given in the Sinhalese form, as *tuppoṭi*, plural of *tuppoṭiya*; but the English 's' is sometimes added instead.

The illustrations are for the most part drawings or photographs of objects in the Colombo and Kandy Museum; belonging to the Daḷadā Māligāva and Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy; and in my own collection. A majority of the objects illustrated are of eighteenth century date. I am indebted to many friends for assistance and advice. First and foremost to my wife for taking over a thousand photographs in Ceylon; most of those reproduced in the Plates are her work, and they are but a selection of those taken. Those who have photographed in a tropical climate will appreciate the labour involved. I am also indebted to her for working out with me the subject of Sinhalese embroidery, and for her assistance in recording many other observations made jointly. Secondly I have to thank Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, of the Indian Institute, Oxford, for reading the proofs. Many errors have been thus avoided; but he is not to be held responsible for those that remain. I am indebted to Miss A. G. Daniels, B.A., for very kindly undertaking the heavy labour of making an adequate index. To Mr. C. R. Ashbee I am greatly indebted for assistance and advice in matters connected with the Press, and for the pressmark which he has specially drawn for this book. It represents, in a design based on a Sinhalese painting, the gathering of flowers from the tree of Eastern art, and records the history of the Press on which the book has been printed. In Ceylon I have to thank Dr. Willey, Director of the Colombo Museum, for the facilities which he kindly gave for the examination and photography of any and every object in the Museum, and Mr. G. A. Joseph, the Librarian, for his continual assistance in the same work. I have also to thank Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., for assistance and information; the Hon. J. P. Lewis, Government Agent of the Central Province; Mr. C. B. Nugavela, Diva Nilame, Daḷadā Māligāva; Mr. A. Ratvatte, Basnāyaka Nilame, Mahā Dēvāle; Mr. T. B. Kęppiṭipola, Basnāyaka Nilame, Ęmbękke Dēvāle; Mr. W. Dunuville,

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J.P.; Mr. S. D. Mahavalatęnna, H. E. Dambevinne, A. Maḍuvanvela, and other Kandyan chiefs; Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.; Mudaliyār E. R. Gooneratne, for his invaluable assistance in translating for me the Rūpāvaliya and Sāriputra; the late Sīlānanda Thēra, Librarian of the Oriental Library; many jewellers of Kandy and Colombo, and particularly Mr. A. B. Casse Lebbe, for permission to borrow and photograph at any time any of the specimens of Sinhalese work in their possession. Amongst Kandyan craftsmen I am chiefly indebted to Dēvasurēndra Muhandirama, of Ḍmbękke, for abundant information, of which I was able to tap the surface only in the course of, for a time, almost daily conversation and observation of methods. I am indebted also to the invariable courtesy of Buddhist Priests, both at Malvatte and in the country districts. For the use of photographs reproduced on Pls. II., III., IV. (1), VIII. and VIIIA I have to thank Messrs. Skeen & Co. and the Colombo Apothecaries Company.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

BROAD CAMPDEN, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
December 1st, 1908.

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CHAPTER I. THE SINHALESE PEOPLE.

"*The Mahavaṃsa, composed equally for the delight and amazement of good men.*"

The Sinhalese people.

THE Sinhalese people are inhabitants of Ceylon, but not all the people of Ceylon are Sinhalese. The etymologically identical word 'Ceylonese,' however, is used to describe all persons born in Ceylon, whether Sinhalese, Tamil, Eurasian or otherwise, except Europeans. The word Cingalese is an old-fashioned and less correct spelling of Sinhalese. Of the three and a half millions forming, in round numbers, the population of Ceylon, two and a third million are Sinhalese inhabiting the southern two-thirds of the island, and rather less than one million are Tamils, living mostly in the north, on the east coast, and in Colombo. The remaining population consists of Moormen (Muhammedans of Tamil extraction for the most part), Burghers (mixed descendants of Dutch settlers), Malays, Eurasians, Europeans and a few others. Of the influence exerted by these groups of people on Sinhalese art, we shall need to consider only the Tamil; for on the one hand Ceylon lies outside the range of the Muhammedan conquests and influence, and for the rest, we must carefully avoid the manifestations of European influence if we are to see Sinhalese art at its best and purest. Fortunately, in the 18th century this influence had scarcely at all affected the art of the Kandyan province, although well marked in the low-country. As an introduction to the study of Sinhalese art as it existed in the latter half of the 19th century, the present chapter provides a brief history of the Sinhalese people, especially in respect of the history of the arts and crafts amongst them.

Rāmāyaṇa

Almost the earliest Indian tradition of Ceylon is found in the Rāmāyaṇa, that beautiful and romantic love-story, which has for so long been to India all and more than was the tale of Troy to Greece, or Volsunga to the Scandinavians. It relates the capture of Sītā, a queen of Northern India, by Rāvaṇa the Lord of Laṅkā (Ceylon); and the invasion of Ceylon by Rāma, aided by his brother Lakshman and by Hanuman and his monkey army; the defeat and death of Rāvaṇa, and recovery of Sītā. Laṅkā is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

Skanda Purāṇa

Another reference to Laṅkā is found in the Skanda Purāṇa, the story of a great and malignant demon, for whose overthrow Skanda or Kārtikēya was incarnated as a god of war and wisdom. This Kārtikēya is still revered, particularly at his shrine at Kataragama in the feverish forests of the south-east of Ceylon, whence pilgrims resort from even the distant parts of India; Kataragam Dēviyō, as he is generally known, was the patron god of Elāḷa; and many dēvāles of his are found elsewhere, although the one just referred to is of peculiar sanctity.

Vijaya

These two stories afford some evidence of the existence of more or less civilised peoples in Ceylon previous to the arrival of Vijaya and his companions. The details of the account of Vijaya's reception and settlement afford later and further indications of the existence of an earlier civilisation in Ceylon; reference is found to cities, spinning, sumptuous beds, etc. In any case it is clear that, according to the legends, the Sinhalese cannot be of pure Aryan blood, as the first settlers married either the aborigines, or women from Southern India, and there has been a very large amount of Tamil blood introduced at many subsequent periods. Their civilisation and art are nevertheless distinctly Aryan and distinguished from, though closely resembling, that of Southern India.

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The Sinhalese people

Professor Geiger says, "There is hardly a corner of the Indian continent of whose history we know so much as we do of that of the island of Ceylon."* He here refers to the history recorded in two Pali chronicles, the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, written in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., respectively, and the latter from time to time added to, and continued up to the time of the British occupation of the Kandyan Provinces in 1815. There are also other verse chronicles and historical ballads of various dates.

Vijaya

The Mahāvaṃsa in Chapters VI.—VIII. records the landing† of the first Aryan settlers in Ceylon under the leadership of Vijaya. These were the founders of the Sinhalese race, so called because Vijaya's father sprang from, and was the slayer of, a lion (*siṃha*). The story is briefly as follows :—The King of Vaṅga, a principality of Magadha, had a beautiful daughter, of whom it had been prophesied that a lion would be her mate. To avoid this she was carefully guarded, but of course in vain. She escaped, and while passing through a wilderness, was carried off by the 'lion,' probably a chieftain of the 'Lion-race.' They had a son (Siṃhabāhu) and a daughter. The son, when he grew up became ashamed of and finally slew his father ; and marrying his sister established himself as a king in Lāḷa raṭa. Their eldest son was Vijaya, who, being expelled from the kingdom on account of his lawless behaviour, took ship with 700 followers and ultimately reached Ceylon. Landing here his followers went in search of food, but

Kuvēṇi

were one by one imprisoned by a Yakkhiṇi named Kuvēṇi (just as was done by Kirkē to the followers of Odysseus). Vijaya himself, provided with a charmed thread, alone was able to withstand Kuvēṇi's sorcery and compel her to restore his imprisoned companions ; she further provided them with rice and a vast variety of other articles which she had obtained from the ships of mariners who had fallen a prey to her. Kuvēṇi enabled Vijaya to destroy the other Yakkhas and their city, and herself bore him three children. But when his followers had settled in the land and wished him to assume the sovereignty, he repudiated Kuvēṇi as beneath him in rank, and sent to Madura to the Pāṇḍiyan king to ask for a royal virgin to be his consort,—a custom followed by most Sinhalese kings thereafter. Kuvēṇi returned to the Yakkhas and was destroyed by them for her treachery. It is mentioned that 1000 artisans were sent over in the Pāṇḍiyan Princess's retinue. According to tradition mentioned by Valentyn these were goldsmiths, blacksmiths, brass-founders, carpenters and stone-cutters (evidently the five sections of the Kammālar, see below, Chap. III). Vijaya and his successors were of the

Buddhism introduced

Brahman faith, and it was not till 307 B.C. that Buddhism was established in Ceylon as the result of the preaching of Aśōka's son‡ Mahinda, and later, of his daughter, Saṅghamittā. The King at that time, Dēvānam Piyatissa, the most renowned of the Buddhist kings of Ceylon [307-267 B.C.] was Mahinda's first convert. Far reaching and many sided were the results of this conversion. A period of immense religious fervour and artistic activity followed. In 288 B.C. Saṅghamittā landed in Ceylon with a branch of

The sacred Bō-tree planted at Anurādhapura

the sacred Bō tree beneath which the Buddha had attained enlightenment. We are told that she brought with her eighteen personages of the royal blood, eighteen members of noble families, eight of the Brahman and eight of the seṭṭhi (trading) caste ; and eight each of the herdsman, goldsmith and 'kāliṅga' castes, as well as of weavers and potters. The branch was planted with great ceremony in the Mahāmēgha garden at

* '*Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa. . . .*' *Leipzig*, 1905, *translated by E. M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo*, 1907.

† *According to the usual tradition, in* 543 B.C. ; *but probably later.*

‡ *According to Vincent Smith and others, more probably his younger brother, perhaps already a monk in Southern India* (*Vincent Smith*, '*Early History of India*,' 1904, *p.* 165).

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Anurādhapura, where it still flourishes as the oldest historical tree in the world, commemorating the noble life and teaching of Gotama Buddha, who attained enlightenment beneath the parent tree. The religious enthusiasm of the royal adherents of the new faith, led to the erection at successive periods of the great series of buildings whose remains still cover many square miles of town and forest land. The oldest of these are found at Mihintalē, where a great stūpa was erected over Mahinda's ashes. *The Sinhalese people*

Wars with the Tamils began in 237 B.C., when the throne was seized by Tamil mercenaries. Twenty-two years later it was recovered by Asela, but retaken by the Tamils under Elāḷa in 205 B.C. Elāḷa was the greatest of the Tamil rulers. He "ruled the kingdom for forty-four years, administering justice with impartiality to friends and foes" (Mahāvaṃsa Ch. XXI).* The dethroned dynasty took refuge at Māgampattu on the south coast, the great tank and dāgaba remaining at Tissamahārāma still. At last one of the princes, named Duṭṭha Gāmanī (Gāmanī the disobedient—because he would not be held back from war at his father's wish) engaged in a long and finally successful war, recovering Anurādhapura and killing Elāḷa in single combat, both being mounted upon elephants.† Elāḷa was buried with every honour. His tomb was so honoured that it was the custom for even kings, when nearing it, to silence all music and pass on foot; this homage was paid as late as A.D. 1818 when, on the suppression of the rebellion, the defeated aspirant to the throne approaching the place in his escape, "although weary and almost incapable of exertion, not knowing the exact spot," dismounted and continued on foot till assured that he had passed far beyond the ancient memorial (Forbes I. 233). *Elāḷa*

Duṭṭha Gāmanī (161-137 B.C.) succeeded to the throne he had so hardly won, and proved no less great as a ruler than as a warrior. He was a great patron of the church and builder of dāgabas and temples.

He erected the nine-storied brazen palace (Lōhapāsāda) and built also the great Ruvanvēli and Mirisavēṭiya dāgabas. The Mahāvaṃsa accounts‡ of the building operations and furniture of these are of the greatest interest, if only for comparison with the descriptions of buildings erected and offerings made by later kings, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century itself. "The monarch Duṭṭha Gāmanī . . . convening the priesthood, thus addressed them, 'I will build for you a palace like unto that of the dēvas; send to the world of the dēvas, and procure for me a plan of their palace.' Accordingly they dispatched thither eight priests. . . ." On their way to the Tāvatiṃsa heavens they saw a certain palace "having nine stories, provided with a thousand apartments and a thousand sleeping rooms. It had four faces, each having windows to the number of a thousand, like so many eyes; and the eaves of the roof were decorated with a fringe tinkling (with gems). . . . The aforesaid eight thēras, seeing this palace, immediately made a drawing of it on a cloth with vermilion; and returning thence, presented the drawing to the priests who sent it to the court of the king. The monarch on examining the same, and delighted therewith, repaired to the celebrated gardens (Mahāmēgha) and there built the glorious Lōhapāsāda according to the plan of that renowned palace." *The Brazen Palace, Anurādhapura*

"The generous Rājā at the very beginning of the undertaking, laid down eight lacs at each of the four gates . . . and announced that on this occasion it was not fitting

* *The quotations in this chapter from the 'Mahāvaṃsa,' are taken from the translation by Turnour and Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889; slight changes in the wording have been made in a few cases.*

† *A picture of this fight is amongst the wall paintings at the Dambulla Vihāra.*

‡ *Chapters XXVIII.—XXXII.*

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The Sinhalese people

to exact unpaid labour; placing therefore (due) value on the work performed, he paid with money. This quadrangular palace was 100 cubits long on each of its sides and the same in height. In this splendid palace there were nine stories and in each of them 100 rooms; all these rooms were finished with silver, and the cornices thereof were set with gems. The flower ornaments appertaining thereto were also set with gems, and the tinkling festoons were of silver. . . . Having heard of the beauty of the vehicle used by the women of the Dēva Vessavaṇa, he had made in the midst of the palace, a gilded hall in the shape thereof. The hall was supported on golden pillars, representing lions and other animals as well as the dēvatās. . . . In the very middle of this hall . . . there was a marvellously beautiful ivory throne. . . . On one side there was the emblem of the sun in gold, on another, the moon in silver, and the stars in pearls. On this most exquisite throne, covered with a cloth of inestimable value, was placed an extremely beautiful ivory fan. On the footstool there was a pair of slippers ornamented with beads, and above the throne glittered the white canopy or parasol of dominion, mounted with a silver handle. The eight *maṅgalika** were made of the seven gems, and amidst the pearls and gems were rows of figures of the four-footed beasts; at the points of the canopy were hung rows of silver bells. The building, the canopy, the throne and the hall were all most superb.

"The King had it suitably furnished with chairs of great value; and likewise with carpets of woollen fabric; even the bowl and the dipper were made of gold. Who shall describe the other articles used in that palace? . . . The building was covered with brazen tiles; hence it got the name of 'Brazen Palace.'"†

Ruvanvĕli Dāgaba

Regarding the Ruvanvĕli Dāgaba the following is given, after a description of the elaborate foundation‡:—

"Revered Lords," said the Rājā to the priesthood, "for the beginning of the building of the great cētiya, I shall to-morrow lay the festival-brick of the edifice: let all our priesthood assemble there." Accordingly next day "the Rājā proceeded to the site and seeing the assembled priesthood, bowed down with profound veneration; then "making offerings of fragrant garlands, he stationed himself in the centre, on the spot where the *puṇṇaghaṭa* (filled vessel, an auspicious emblem) was deposited with all honours." He then "caused a minister of noble descent, well attired, to hold the end of a fine rod of silver that was fitted into a gold pivot,§ and began to make him walk round therewith along the prepared ground, with the intent to describe a great circle to mark the base of the cētiya. Thereupon a great thēra, of great spiritual power, by name Siddhattha, who had an insight into the future, dissuaded the King, saying to himself 'The King is about to build a great thūpa indeed; so great that while it is yet incomplete he would die; moreover if the thūpa be a very great one it would

* *Eight auspicious objects, viz., lion, bull, elephant, water pot, fan, flag, trumpet or chank, and lamp; cf., Index under aṭamagala.*

† *We are reminded of Henry III., whose "master passion was for building and for collecting works of art—images, pictures, jewels, relics, plate, and stuffs . . . On the Abbey church he continuously showered his gifts"* (*Lethaby, 'Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen,' 1906, p. 40*).

‡ *One layer consisted of a paste of orpiment (? possibly to prevent white ants from working up: vermilion is mentioned in the translation, but should have been orpiment) mixed with gingelly oil. To argue from this, as Tennent does (Vol. I. p. 490), that oil painting was then practised, is quite unwarranted.*

§ *Note the early use of compasses.*

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be exceedingly hard to repair.' The Rājā although anxious to build it of that size, by the advice of the priesthood . . . adopting the proposal of the thēra, described . . . a circle of moderate dimensions. The unwearied monarch placed in the centre eight golden and eight silver vases, and surrounded them with 1008 fresh vases * and with cloth in quantities of 108 pieces. He then caused eight excellent bricks to be placed separately (one in each of the eight quarters), and causing a minister who was selected and arrayed in every manner for that purpose, to take up one that was marked with divers signs of prosperity, he laid the first auspicious stone in the fine fragrant cement on the eastern quarter; and lo! when jessamine flowers were offered thereto the earth quaked. The other seven bricks also he had laid by seven state ministers, and had auspicious ceremonies performed over them." Subsequently "the Rājā caused to be made of precious things an exquisitely beautiful bō-tree; the stem was of pure silver; its leaves glittered with gems. The faded leaves were of gold; its fruit and tender leaves were of coral. . . . On an invaluable golden throne, erected on the east side of the bo-tree, the King placed a resplendent golden image of Buddha. The features and members of that image were represented in their several appropriate colours, in exquisitely resplendent gems. There stood (also) Mahā Brahma bearing the silver parasol of dominion; Sakka, the inaugurator, with his *vijayuttara* chank; Pañcasikha with his harp in his hand; Kāḷanāga, together with his band of singers and dancers; the hundred armed Māra mounted on his elephant and surrounded by his host of attendants. . . . The various acts performed at each of the places at which (Buddha had tarried) for the seven times seven days ('*satsatiya*,' see Index) he most fully represented, as well as Brahma in the act of supplicating Buddha to expound his doctrines . . . the advance of Bimbisāra . . . the acceptance of the Jētavana temple . . . the discourses delivered in the Tāvatiṃsa heavens . . . the discourses addressed to Āḷavaka . . . his *parinibbāṇa* . . . many of the jātakas which were the best calculated to turn the hearts of his people to conversion, were also represented. He caused Buddha's acts during his existence as Vessantara Rājā to be depicted in detail; as well as from the period of his descent from Tusitapura to his attaining Buddhahood at the foot of the bō-tree."

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Ruvanveli Dāgaba

Subsequently "when the construction of the spire and the plastering of the cetiya alone remained to be completed, the Rājā was afflicted with the disease that terminated his existence. Sending for his younger brother Tissa from Dīghavāpi, he said to him, 'Perfect the work still left unfinished at the thūpa.' As his brother (the King) was in the last stage of weakness, this prince caused a case made of white cloths, to be sewed by seamsters (*then as now, needlework was essentially a man's craft*) and enveloped the cētiya therewith. He also employed painters to paint the panelled basement; and upon it (were represented) rows of filled vases, and ornaments radiating like the five fingers. He employed parasol-frame weavers to form the frame of a (temporary) spire made of bamboos; and in the same manner . . . he formed a parapet round the pinnacle, representing thereon the sun and moon; and having painted the same most beautifully with red stick lac and *kuṅkuma*, he announced to the King, 'The work which was to be performed at the thūpa is completed.' The ruler of the land repaired thither, carried extended on his palanquin; and having himself borne round the cētiya . . . he bowed down to it in worship, and extending himself on a carpet spread on the ground and turning on his left side, he fixed his eyes on the magnificent Lōhapāsāda; and finding himself at the same time encircled by the priesthood, he was filled with joy." Receiving spiritual consolation, and giving directions for his cremation, and advice to his brother,

* *Cf. Index, under 'kalasthāpanaya.'*

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he passed away "while yet gazing on the Mahāthūpa, stretched on his bed." So died this great man; but his spirit lived on, and manifested itself continually in the religious and architectural activity of successive Kings to the very beginning of the nineteenth century. We cannot but be reminded of the death of another great builder king, the Shāh Jehān, who passed away gazing upon the Tāj Mahāl* as he lay upon his bed, a prisoner in Āgra fort. The present age, of lesser faith, will leave no such great memorials of its love and fear and hope.

Gaja Bāhu

We have seen that wars with the Tamils began in 237 B.C., the Sinhalese throne being on several occasions thereafter occupied by Tamil usurpers. In A.D. 113 Gaja Bāhu turned the tables by invading southern India; he brought back 1200 Tamil captives (of whom some were no doubt craftsmen) and settled them in different parts of his kingdom. The annual *perahera* of the Mahā Dēvale in Kandy still commemorates his victory; it is said that the tooth-relic which now heads the procession was not connected with it before the time of Kīrti Śrī. At this festival a high place has always been held by the goddess Pattini. Gaja Bāhu had brought back from India her *halaṃba* or golden anklet and introduced her worship into Ceylon. Bronze copies of the anklets are kept in Pattini Dēvāles, and an oath taken on them is particularly binding. The national game of *aṃkeḷiya* established in her honour, is still resorted to in times of sickness.†

The Tooth-relic

In the ninth year of the reign of Śrī Mēghavaṇṇa (*i.e.* A.D. 313) "a certain Brahman princess brought thither from Kāliṅga the *Daṭhādhātu*, or tooth-relic of Buddha, under circumstances set forth in the *Daṭhādhātuvaṃsa*.‡ The monarch taking charge of it himself and rendering the highest honours to it, in the most reverential manner deposited it in a casket . . . and placed it in the building called the Dhammacakka built by Dēvānam Piyatissa in the royal park." This was at Anurādhapura. The relic was afterwards enshrined at Polonnaruva, which was made the capital in A.D. 769, when Anurādhapura was abandoned to the Tamils. Subsequently the tooth-relic was removed successively to Beligala (Vijaya Bāhu III., A.D. 1236), Daṃbadeṇiya (Parākrama Bāhu II., A.D. 1240), and again to Polonnaruva. In the time of Bhuvaneka Bāhu I. (A.D. 1277) Ceylon was invaded by Ārya Cakravarti and the tooth relic carried away to India. It was soon recovered by Parākrama III. (A.D. 1288) and brought back to Polonnaruwa. Thereafter it was hidden for safety in various places, until it passed into the hands of the Tamil Kings of Jaffna. It was taken from them by the Portuguese, who carried it to Goa and there reduced it to ashes. But this (it is said) was merely a counterfeit. The real tooth-relic was enshrined in Kandy by Vimala Dharma Sūriya II. (A.D. 1679), who built a temple for its reception; and his son Narēndra Siṃha, the last Sinhalese king, when this fell into disrepair, built the present Daḷadā Māligāva. It is to be hoped that the late talk of completely remodelling this historic building so as to make it more commodious will be heard no more of.

The relic is now preserved in a series of elaborate jewelled caskets (dedicated by successive kings) one within the other, fastened by three keys kept by the Diva Nilame, and the high priests of the Asgiriya and Malvatte. With the caskets is kept a quantity of beautiful jewellery which has been dedicated from time to time. The tooth is only exhibited upon rare occasions, perhaps once or twice a year, for some great personage, and at the same time is shown to crowds of pilgrims from different parts of the country.

* *The Tāj is not, of course a temple; but none the less is a witness to the faith of those that built it.*

† *See C. J. R. Le Mesurier, J.C.B. R.A.S., Vol. VIII, No.* 24, 1884.

‡ *See Mutu Coomaraswamy, Daṭhāvansa, London*, 1874.

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The process of removing the tooth * from its various coverings is an impressive ceremony. There are present in the small upper room of the Māligāva the Diva Nilame in full dress, the two High Priests and some other priests. The modern and ugly iron-barred cage is unlocked, and the golden chains and jewels lifted off the outer casket; the caskets are removed one by one, three being unlocked by the aforesaid keys; finally the smallest casket containing the relic itself is reached; from this it is removed with trembling fingers and great reverence by one of the aged High Priests, and set in a silver holder under a glass case for exhibition to the people.

Jeṭṭhatissa

But it is necessary to return to the history. In A.D. 332, Jeṭṭhatissa II. succeeded Śrī Mēghavaṇṇa, who was king when the relic first came to Ceylon. Jeṭṭhatissa "was a skilful carver. This monarch, having carried out several arduous undertakings in painting and carving, himself taught the art to many of his subjects. He sculptured a beautiful image of the Bodhisatta, so perfect that it seemed as if it had been executed by supernatural power; and also a throne, a parasol, and a state room with some beautiful works in ivory made for it; and having administered the Government of Laṅkā for nine years, he also fulfilled the destiny due to him" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXXVIII).

Buddhadāsa

His successor, Buddhadāsa (A.D. 339) was himself a great physician, and "out of benevolence towards the inhabitants of the island, the sovereign provided hospitals for all villages, and appointed physicians to them. The Rājā having composed the work Sāratthasaṅgaha, containing the substance of all medical science, ordained that there should be a physician for every twice five villages, and set apart one twentieth of the produce of fields for the maintenance of these physicians" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXXVIII). Thus he followed in the footsteps of the great Duṭṭha Gāmanī, who on his death-bed was able to say, "I have daily maintained at eighteen different places, hospitals with suitable diet and medicines prepared by medical practitioners for the infirm" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXXII). The great Parākrama Bāhu I. pursued the same policy eight hundred years later.

Buddhaghosa

Two distinguished foreigners visited Ceylon early in the fifth century. The first of these was the learned Brahman Buddhaghosa, who came to Ceylon from Northern India about A.D. 400, to consult and copy the commentaries on the Tripiṭaka or Buddhist canon. He further composed new commentaries, which are still regarded as authoritative. His influence led to what may be called a Buddhist revival.

Fa Hian

In A.D. 412 the Chinese monk Fa Hian landed in Ceylon and remained two years at Anurādhapura, copying the sacred books. He has left on record a detailed account of the glories of Anurādhapura and the prosperity of Buddhism.†

Mahāvaṃsa compiled

The great Mahāvaṃsa chronicle was compiled in the reign of King Dhātusēna (A.D. 461-479). Both the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are based on the historical material contained in the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathās, no longer extant, and on legends and traditions amongst the people. It is really an epic work with Duṭṭha Gāmanī for its hero. It covers the period 543-301 B.C. Continuations were added at various times, a final supplement bringing the record up to the British occupation of Kandy in 1815.

Sīgiri

In A.D. 479 Kassapa, son of Dhātusēna by a concubine, seized the kingdom and put his father to death; he also attempted to murder his half-brother Mogallāna, rightful heir to the throne. Finding that he could not do so, "he feared danger and betook himself to the Sīhagiri rock, that was hard for men to climb. He cleared it round about and surrounded it with a rampart and built galleries in it with figures of

* *It is much larger than, and quite unlike, a human tooth.*

† *Beal, 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' 2 vols.*, 1906.

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lions (rather, *a lion*); wherefore it took its name of Sīhagiri (lion rock). Having gathered all his wealth he buried it there carefully. . . . he built there a beautiful palace glorious to behold, like unto a second Ālakamandā, and lived there like its Lord, Kuvēra. . . . But he repented him afterwards of what he had done" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXXIX). The existing remains at Sīgiri are amongst the most interesting and remarkable in Ceylon. Especially noteworthy are the cave paintings, of which further mention is made in a later chapter.

Polonnaruva

In the eighth century the Sinhalese were forced by the Tamils to abandon Anurādhapura, and founded a new capital at Pulatthi (Polonnaruva). But even here they were not safe, although they were sometimes able to reoccupy even Anurādhapura temporarily. In the eleventh century, in the reign of the weak king Mahinda V., Laṅkā was altogether overrun by the Tamils who destroyed the country and occupied Polonnaruva. The warlike Vijaya Bāhu I. restored the Sinhalese rule, and it was at Polonnaruva that Parākrama Bāhu the Great reigned from A.D. 1164 to 1197. This great man was at once a warrior and statesman; he succeeded in bringing the whole country beneath his sway and in driving out the Tamils; after which he ruled so firmly and justly that, as the Dambulla inscription informs us, "even a woman might traverse the island with a precious jewel and not be asked what it was." After peace was thus established, Parākrama Bāhu rebuilt and restored the harassed city of Polonnaruva, and also the buildings of Anurādhapura "which had been wholly destroyed by the hosts of the Cōḷians (Tamils)." Thereafter "Parākrama Bāhu, the conqueror of kings, dwelt in the beautiful city of Pulatthi (Polonnaruva), far from the strife of foes. A faithful and wise man, blessed with the dawn of fortune, and a leader of those that love music and poetry, he passed his time in the enjoyment of quiet pleasures and enjoyments" (Mahāvaṃsa, Chapter LXXIV). He purged and purified the Buddhist church and erected noble buildings for the church and the priesthood; as "a round temple of the tooth-relic built wholly of stone and adorned with beautiful pillars, staircases, walls and such like, and ornamented with rows of figures of the lion, the *kinnara* and the *haṃsa*," and "a beautiful image house with five stories, that contained images of Gods and Brahmas and other beings, and workmanship of flowers and plants, and adorned with pinnacles and eaves and inner roòms, halls and chambers—an image house which bore worthily the name of Laṅkā Tilaka ('Brow-gem of Ceylon'; but not the present temple in Uḍanuvara)." Like so many other kings before and after him, "this most excellent of men caused many tanks and channels to be built in divers places, so that he might put an end to the calamity of famine among men" (Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. LXXIX). Such was Parākrama Bāhu the Great; of English kings there is surely none but Alfred the Great with whom he may be justly compared.

Tamil invasions

After his death there was much unpeace in the land. During the apparently beneficent reign of a Tamil (Pāṇḍiyan) usurper named Parākrama, Ceylon was invaded by Tamils from Kāliṅga, led by Māgha. If the Pāṇḍiyan and Coḷian Tamils chastised the Sinhalese with whips, the men of Kāliṅga did so with scorpions. "They robbed the inhabitants of their garments and their jewels and everything that they had. . . . The rich men they tied up with cloths and tortured and took possession of all their wealth. . . . They broke down the image houses and destroyed many cētiyas. They took up their dwelling in the vihāras. . . . Many books also of great excellence they loosed from the cords that bound them, and cast them away in divers places. . . . Alas, alas! even so did those Tamil giants, like the giants of Māra, destroy the kingdom and the religion of the land" (Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. LXXX).

Troubled times continued, the capital being shifted from place to place, to Damba-

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deniya, Yāpahuva (whence was brought the beautiful pierced stone window now in the Colombo Museum) Kurunęgala, Gampola, Kōṭṭe, Sītāvaka and Kandy. Yet many brave and patriotic kings made strenuous efforts for their people's good. Of Vijaya Bāhu III. (A.D. 1236) it is said in the Rāja-ratnākara that he "established a school in every village and charged the priests who superintended the same to take nothing from the learners, promising that they should be rewarded for their trouble by himself. His son Parākrama Bāhu II. (A.D. 1240-1275) temporarily drove out the Tamils and brought the whole country under his rule. At this time it is said that there were nearly one and a half million villages in the three districts of Ceylon (Pihiṭi Raṭa, Ruhuṇu Raṭa, and Māyā Raṭa) corresponding at a very moderate estimate to a population of ten millions, about three times as great as the present. The distribution of the population, too, is now very different from what it was in the thirteenth century. At that time the population was densest in the eastern and north central districts, dense also in the north, but scanty on the western coast. In the eighteenth century the north central districts, including the ancient capitals of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva had long been deserted, chiefly in consequence of the Tamil wars and the disorganisation of the great irrigation systems which alone enabled those dry regions to support a large population. Now, as Mr. Ārunāchalam points out* "The most striking change is the advance, by over 100 per cent. of the population of the western sea coast and its vicinity, and the decline by almost as much of the populations of the ancient kingdoms. . . . The change indicates clearly the difference caused in the condition of the island by the disorganisation of its great irrigation system, and the consequent decay of the great national industry, rice cultivation, and by the advent of Europeans. Population and wealth have faded away from their ancient seats and gathered towards the coast. The Island, no longer self-sufficient or self-centred, is dependent for its prosperity mainly on foreign enterprise, on the European capitalist and planter, and the South Indian labourer and tradesman."

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Parākrama Bāhu II.

Parākrama Bāhu II. undertook the restoration of Polonnaruva, being moved thereto by his own will and the following message from his son Vijaya Bāhu, then governor and afterwards king (A.D. 1275-1271): "There are now in the city of Pulatthi, palaces, image-houses, vihāras, parivēṇas, cētiyas, relic-houses, ramparts, towers, bird-shaped houses† mansions, open halls, preaching-halls, temples of the gods, and such like buildings; whereof some are yet standing, although the trees of the forest have grown over and covered them. Others thereof are fast falling, because that the pillars thereof are rotten and cannot support them. Others, alas! are bent down with the weight of huge walls split from the top to the bottom, and are tumbling down, because that there is nothing to support them. Sad, indeed, is it also to see others, unable to stand by reason of decay and weakness, bending down to their fall day by day, like unto old men. Some there are with broken ridge-poles and damaged beam-ends, and some with roofs fallen down and the tiles thereof broken. In some the tiles have slipped through the breaches of the decayed roof, and in others only the walls and pillars remain. Some there are with fallen doors, and door-posts that have been displaced, and others with loose staircases and ruined galleries. Of some buildings there only remain the signs of their foundations, and in others even the sites cannot be distinguished. What need is there of further descrip-

Polonnaruva restored

* "*Sketches of Ceylon History*," '*Ceylon National Review*,' *Jan.* 1906.

† *Described as having the roof shaped like a bird's wing. The Mahāvaṃsa, in Chapter LXXVIII., mentions a dwelling 'shaped like an eagle' built by Parākrama Bāhu for an ascetic named Kapila.*

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tion? This city, which is now so ugly and displeasing to the eye, we purpose to make beautiful and pleasant. Let the king grant us leave thereto, and let the feast of coronation be held in this great city afterwards!" To this end, the chronicler informs us, "he gathered together smelters, turners, basket-makers, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, painters, porters, labourers, slaves, outcasts, skilful bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and divers workers in stone. And again, he gathered together all sorts of blacksmiths' tools, such as bellows, sledges, pincers and anvils; and also numerous sharp saws, adzes, axes, wood-cleavers, stone-cutters' chisels, knives, hammers, spades, mats, baskets and such-like; all these . . . did he send unto his royal son" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXXVIII). When the work was completed, he himself went thither to hold a great coronation festival.

Parākrama Bāhu IV. (A.D. 1295), whose capital was at Kurunēgala, himself composed a ritual of the tooth-relic; and had the great Jātaka book translated into Sinhalese and spread abroad throughout Laṅkā; and also erected many ecclesiastical buildings.

Toṭagamuva

Parākrama Bāhu VI. who ruled at Kōṭṭe (A.D. 1410-1462) "was the Mæcenas of his age and was himself a scholar and author. He established and endowed two great educational institutions, one at Toṭagamuva, the other at Keragala, the former presided over by Ceylon's greatest poet, Śrī Rāhula Sthavira, commonly called Toṭagamuva. The former institution was called the *Vijayabāhu Parivēṇa*, and was established at Toṭagamuvē Vihāra, which stands between the 57th and 58th mile-posts on the road from Colombo to Galle. It was a University catholic in its aims, and provided instruction for Buddhists and Hindus, clerical and lay, in all the knowledge of the time. There were classes and lectures in (1) the Buddhist Canon in all its branches (for Buddhist monks), (2) the Sinhalese, Pali, Sanskrit and Tamil languages and literatures, (3) the Four Vēdas and the connected literature (for Brahman students), (4) Astronomy, . . . (5) Medicine, (6) Prosody, (7) Dramaturgy, (8) Poetry, (Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Tamil)." *

Arrival of the Portuguese

In the beginning of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1506) the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon; those who observed their arrival reported to the king, Parākrama Bāhu VIII., "there is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets of iron and hats of iron; they rest not a minute in one place; they walk here and there" (Rājāvaliya).† They obtained permission to erect a factory; and fortified their position. But the Portuguese proved unwelcome visitors; they were "cruel and hard of heart; they entered into fruitful provinces and laid waste fields and gardens, and burned houses and villages, and ravished women of rank, and so troubled the Sinhalese. They broke into towns and temples and image-houses, and destroyed bō-trees and images of Buddha and the like sacred objects. And they destroyed the country and the religion thereof, and built forts in divers places, and maintained continual warfare" until, indeed, their final expulsion by the Dutch in A.D. 1658. In 1587 they destroyed the magnificent Vishṇu Dēvāle at Devundara. According to the Portuguese account‡ "Thomé de Sousa gave it over to the soldiers to do their work. They then proceeded to destroy the idols, of which there were more than a thousand of diverse shapes, some of clay, some of wood, some of copper and several of them gilt. After this they proceeded to overthrow the whole of the infernal machinery

* *P. Ārunāchalam, 'Sketches of Ceylon History,' loc. cit.*

† *A piece of keen observation,—the restless activity of Europeans contrasted with the leisure of Eastern peoples, who are never in a hurry.*

‡ *De Couto, Dec. 10, transl. by P. E. Pieris, 'Ceylon National Review,' Jan. 1906.*

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of the Pagoda, pulling down their domes and cloisters and breaking everything to pieces. They then sacked the store-rooms, in which they found a large quantity of ivory, finē cloth, copper, pepper, sandalwood, jewels and precious stones, and the ornaments of the Pagoda; everyone took what he liked best and the rest was thrown into the fire." *The Sinhalese people*

From this period dated the division of what had been one people, into 'Kandyan' and 'Low-country' Sinhalese. The Sinhalese in the immediate vicinity of Colombo and along the coast were soon driven to make peace, and even allied themselves with the Portuguese, often turning nominal Christians and adopting Portuguese names to curry favour, or under compulsion. The same process was continued in the time of the Dutch successors of the Portuguese. But the greater part of the Sinhalese people, the hardy mountaineers of the interior, preserved their independence, keeping the foreigner at bay for more than 200 years after the first landing of the Portuguese. They have had their reward; for in spite of the progress of denationalisation even amongst these, there are still preserved amongst them sufficient traces of the old national life, sufficient remains of skilful craftsmen's handiwork, to enable us to form an estimate of the Sinhalese as a live and individual people, with a national character and national art; an individuality and art which it is more difficult and often impossible to trace in the low-country districts long subjected to western influence. *Division into Kandyan and Low-country Sinhalese*

Māyādunnē and his son Rāja Siṃha I. waged continual, and on the whole successful, war against the Portuguese, from the Sinhalese capital at Sītāvaka. Rāja Siṃha's successor, Vimala Dharma Sūriya I. (A.D. 1592) established his capital once more in Kandy, which remained hereafter the seat of Government until the Kandyan provinces at last passed under foreign rule. *Rāja Siṃha I.*

In the long reign of Rāja Siṃha II. (A.D. 1633-1687) the Portuguese wars were continued; an alliance was made with the Dutch, and the Portuguese finally expelled in A.D. 1658, but the Dutch did not prove more faithful allies, although theirs was a policy more purely commercial; there is a Sinhalese proverb, spoken when a man makes a bad exchange and used in reference to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese, "I have given pepper and got ginger." Rāja Siṃha seems to have been a very cruel and capricious monarch. One Robert Knox was a prisoner at his court for twenty years, escaping then to write one of the most truthful and at the same time fascinating books of travel ever set down. His "Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon" (A.D. 1681) is a compendium of invaluable information, written in spirited and idiomatic English; it is still the most interesting work on Ceylon and the Sinhalese, and is often quoted in the present volume. Ribeiro's "Fatalidade Historica de Ceilao," written a few years later, gives a valuable account of the low-country at the same period. *Rāja Siṃha II.* *Robert Knox*

In A.D. 1701 Śrī Vīra Parākrama Narēndra Siṃha became king in Kandy; he is chiefly remembered as the Kuṇḍasālē King,' for he "formed a suburb named Kuṇḍasālē, nigh unto the chief city, in the large coconut grove . . . he performed daily meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the like, and caused books to be written also. And as he saw that the temple of the Tooth-relic that his father had built at the great city (Kandy) was decaying, his heart moved within him, and he caused a fair two-storied building (the present Daḷadā Māligāva, restored by Kīrtī Śrī, Pl. VIII), to be built, the doors whereof were ornamented with exquisite workmanship of divers kinds, and the plaster work shone with exceeding brightness like a hill of silver; and the roof thereof was ornamented; and on the walls of its two enclosures he had painted with exquisite art the thirty-two jātakas, viz., the Vidura Jātaka, the Guttila and Ummaga Jātakas . . . and the Vessantara Jātaka." No trace of these paintings survives. He also "raised for himself a monument of glory by building a wall enclosing the great bō-tree, the cētiya, and *Narēndra Siṃha*

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the Nāta dēvāle that stood in the middle of the city—a wall of stone, thick, high, and shining with plaster work, like unto a beautiful string of pearls adorning the neck of the city that was like a fair woman" * (Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. XCVII). This wall around the great maḷuva opposite the māligāva still remains, and is not less beautiful than described, though now unplastered and still worse, sadly cut into by the English church, the police courts, and a private house. One wonders by what right, if any, these were built on temple land. All of these buildings are painful eyesores (not least the church) and it would be a worthy deed for some rich Buddhist to buy out the intruders' rights and restore the wall to its former beauty and perfection.

The order of priests had become extinct in Narēndra Siṃha's reign. His successor, Vijaya Rāja Siṃha (A.D. 1737-47) sent, by advice of one Vḷiviṭa Sāmaṇera, deputations to Siam to bring over learned priests to restore the order, but died before their arrival. When in Kīrti Śrī's reign the Siamese priests arrived (A.D. 1753) Vḷiviṭa was placed at the head of the order, with the title of Saṅgha Rāja.†

The last great kings were Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha (A.D. 1747-1780) and his brother Śrī Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha (A.D. 1780-1798). Although of Tamil blood (Narēndra Siṃha was the last Sinhalese king; Kīrti Śrī was his brother-in-law) they were worthy followers of the great men who had preceded them. Kīrti Śrī was an eager patron of religion and art. At the beginning of his reign he found the priesthood decayed and religion neglected—"there was not even one priest in this beautiful island of Laṅkā." When in response to a second mission, the Siamese king sent a chapter of ten priests with books and presents, he established them in a "beautiful monastery with a tiled roof . . . at Pūpphārama (Malvatte Paṇsala, most or all of the buildings of which date from Kīrti Śrī; but Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha built the Pohoya-gē) . . . and from that time the king was wont to send for such of the novitiates and others as were skilled in the science of language and the knowledge of the law, and had ordination conferred on them." Of these the greatest was Vḷiviṭa Saranaṅkara, who was made Saṅgha Rāja or head of the priesthood. The king also persuaded many persons of good family to enter the priesthood. Thus Rāja Siṃha restored the priesthood and encouraged learning.

Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha

He was no less active in the building and repair of Buddhist buildings throughout his kingdom; there is hardly a vihāra of any importance in the Kandy district which was not restored by him, or newly built; for example, on the east side of Kandy he built a vihāra called Gaṅgārāma; here he caused "a statue of the Conqueror (Buddha) nine cubits high to be hewn out by cunning workmen skilled in the art of cutting stone . . . and built a fine two-storied temple (still standing; Pl. VII., 5) delightful to behold . . . and to the workmen who executed the beautiful paintings he gave presents of cloth and jewels and other things as they liked best, and pleased them in various ways" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C.).

The list of Kīrti Śrī's buildings, restorations and dedications, could be indefinitely extended;‡ but I have not thought it necessary to detail them further, because many are referred to in other chapters, and still more, because the whole of this book, which deals with the Sinhalese art of his and his brother's times, is really a monument to his greatness and better explains how much he did for Sinhalese art and religion than

* *A most beautiful description. Kandy is lovely still, but must have been much more so in the siṃhala rāja kāle, "in the days of the Sinhalese kings."*

† *Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C., Lawrie's Gazetteer, pp.* 941, 963, *and P. B. Pieris, J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII., pp.* 17-44, 1904.

‡ *See 'Mahāvaṃsa,' Chaps. XIX., C., and Lawrie's Gazetteer, passim.*

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any further words could do. Kīrti Śrī lived in perfect harmony with his two brothers, who aided him in every way in his work for the people and for religion. Of himself it is said that he "meditated on the noble Law, and steadily practised the four kingly virtues, viz., giving of gifts, speaking kind words, seeking the good of others, and regarding their fellow creatures as they do themselves." The princes, his brothers, "sought to do good in divers ways, and conducted themselves according to the king's wishes, and *made themselves one with the religion and the people*" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XCIX). *The Sinhalese people*

Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha succeeded his brother in 1780, and reigned for eighteen years; he carried on the traditions of the preceding reign. He rebuilt the Pohoya-gē at Malvatte, and maintained all that his brother had done "for the advancement of the country and the religion thereof. He was also skilled in many languages, such as Pali, Sanskrit and the like, and given to charity, and was in form like unto the god of love. And as he was skilled in the science of words, he composed the Asadisa Jātaka in Sinhalese poetry and published it." He was little troubled by wars or rebellions; but certain treasures of the Mahā Dēvāle are said to have been dedicated by him after a victory at Gurubeḍilē (A.D. 1761) in which he was engaged before he came to the throne. In A.D. 1795 Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha was at war with the Dutch and solicited English aid; the latter offered little resistance and by the next year ceded all places in their possession to the British. *Rājadhi Rāja Siṃha* *English occupation of the low-country*

The last king of Kandy was the notorious Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṃha (A.D. 1796-1815). Following at first in his predecessor's footsteps, he "afterwards joined himself to evil companions and changed his ways; and he caused great ministers and many other officers to be seized and put to death; and like unto Death himself, he showed no mercy, and caused many hundreds of people to be seized and brought from divers places and impaled; and like a robber who plundereth the country around him, he seized their vast possessions which they had inherited from generation to generation." The Kandy lake and parapet* was constructed for Vikrama Siṃha, also the Audience hall, the Pattirippuva, or octagonal tower of the Daḷadā Māligāva, and other buildings. In 1801 the Alut (new) Vihāra at Asgiriya was built by Pilima Talāva Adigār,† close to the Paraṇa (old) Vihāra which his father had built in 1766. A pathetic interest attaches to the ceremonies performed on the completion of this work, perhaps the last of the many occasions‡ recorded in Sinhalese history, when ruler and people met together, united by a *Vikrama Rāja Siṃha*

* *It is said that this and other of the king's works were carried out by 'forced' labour (rājakāriya) exacted without moderation, and that this was a contributing cause of his unpopularity. The king had a legal right to the unpaid service of any subject, but was expected to exercise the right in moderation. The use of the term 'forced labour' is misleading.*

† "*For the sake of merit, at the cost of* 65,050 *ridis* (*about* £2168, *or Rs.* 32,520) *and cloths, etc., bestowed on labourers, artisans and superintendents*" (*gal-sannasa at Asgiriya*).

‡ *The people were very dependent on the royal patronage, looking to the king for support in all religious and social undertakings. During the succeeding century this sympathetic patronage was lacking, and a secular and alien government, whose main business was that of the policeman, ignored indigenous culture and social life. The hope of the future, if it is permitted to hope, lies in a stimulation of that capacity for united action which was shown by the village communities in so many aspects of the common life of the people, as well as on special occasions, similar to that here spoken of, when villagers united to endow a temple or to build an ambalam on their own account. This stimulation can only result from a development of the people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture, invigorated by contact with the re-awakened life of India, the mother-land. The king days are over; the days of the people have yet to come.*

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The Sinhalese people

common religion* and a common culture, in sympathy and with mutual respect. "When the image and building were completed the ceremony of painting the eyes of Buddha was performed one morning towards dawn. The king, accompanied by his mother and sister, came to the vihāra just after sunrise from a temporary pavilion erected for the occasion. With him were both his Adigārs, Pilima Talāva and Ḍhḷepola, and a great crowd of priests and chiefs, of whom Nugavela Basnāyaka Nilame of the Mahā Dēvāle and Bovala Unnānse almost alone survived to tell the story in 1859. The king and Ḍhḷepola died in exile, Pilima Talāva by an executioner, many others by the sword or the gallows, and not a few were put to death by the English Government in the cruel times of the rebellion of 1818. The king, then only twenty-one, in the days of his youth and popularity, worshipped Buddha with his mother and sister, and, after causing Ḍhḷepola to read the contents of an ola dedicating Kahawatta and Uḍasgiriya to the new vihāra, he offered the writing by laying it on the table before the image. He said that Uḍasgiriya was his mother's village, and she joined in the offering. Then the royal party walked round the vihāra, and the king seeing the bare surface of the rock which formed part of the back wall, ordered that the contents of the writing should be there inscribed. About two months afterwards the king, with his mother and sister, again visited the vihāra. Ḍhḷepola Adigār read the ola writing, which was compared with the inscription by the king in presence of the chief priests, and praising the stone-cutters he ordered them to be paid from the treasury" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 74).

Vikrama Siṃha at Asgiriya

Beginning of the end

But the king's mind became deranged; he lived in perpetual fear of his life, and committed great cruelties on those whom he feared. From 1800-1804 there was continuous warfare between the Kandyan king and the English in the low-country. From that time to 1815 there was no open war, but destructive raids were made by either party when opportunity afforded to destroy a village or to burn a harvest. In 1812 Pilima Talāva attempted a rebellion, but failed, and was beheaded with several members of his family. He was succeeded by Ḍhḷapola, who in 1814 also revolted, and was forced to flee to Colombo, while the king revenged himself upon his wife and family.

British rule begins

About this time ten native merchants who were British subjects were barbarously treated by the king, and seven died as a result; this was made the chief pretext for an invasion of Kandy by the British in 1815. Unsupported by his ill-used subjects, Vikrama Siṃha was easily overcome and captured, after which the Sinhalese voluntarily surrendered the Government to the British, but with full reservation of their rights and liberties.

Uva Rebellion

The Sinhalese soon regretted this surrender, though glad to be rid of the tyrant. The chiefs especially disliked the curtailment of their powers. In 1817 a rebellion broke out in Uva, developing into a war of independence with some chance of success; but the harassed people were unable to hold out, and the rebels were put down with great severity in the following year. The results of foreign rule and of the insurrection and its suppression were disastrous. It was many years before the country began to recover its prosperity, while the breach in the continuity of national tradition and culture has never been spanned. But with the exception of a small rising in 1848, this was the last struggle, and the year 1815 may be taken as that of the final extinction of an independence which had lasted with few interruptions for more than twenty-three centuries. Had the British, instead of attempting to rule directly a people with whose religion and traditions they were entirely out of sympathy, established a Sinhalese upon the throne as

** The last Kandyan kings united in their own persons devotion to the Buddhist and Hindu faiths, very much as the Mahārāja Scindia of Gwalior at the present day observes and respects Muhammedan and Hindu rites alike.*

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their vassal, and left the administration of the country in his hands, and those of the chiefs, the people would have suffered less, and the great break in the continuity of national life need not have taken place. Such at least is the view of Sir A. C. Lawrie, whose remarks I quote: "It has been assumed by many writers that Ehelapola's ambition was to be raised to the Kandyan throne by the help of the English troops. It is said that was his main object in persuading General Brownrigg to invade the country. I do not know that there is foundation for this, but if such was his policy, it may be that he was a more able statesman than the Englishmen with whom he had to deal. If Ehelepola had been raised to the throne as a king dependent on England, with a resident English garrison at once to support and to control him, the Kandyans might possibly have been spared the horrors of the insurrection of 1817 and the cruelty of its suppression by the English. The country might have flourished under a native ruler of no mean capacity, whose worst tendencies might have been corrected and his best fostered by English aid. The story of English rule in the Kandyan country during 1817 and 1818 cannot be related without shame. In 1819 hardly a member of the leading families, the heads of the people, remained alive; those whom the sword and the gun had spared, cholera and smallpox and privations had slain by hundreds. The subsequent efforts of Government to rule and assist its Kandyan subjects were, for very many years, only attempts begun and abandoned. Irrigation and education did not receive due attention. The descendants of the higher classes of the Kandyan times rapidly died out, the lower classes became ignorant and apathetic. If Ehelapola had reigned, much that must now be regretted might have been avoided, but fate decided otherwise, and Ehelapola died an exile in Mauritius" (Lawrie's 'Gazetteer,' p. 203).

The Sinhalese people

What might have been

Into the details of a century of British rule we need not enter. At the beginning of it the Kandyan Sinhalese were still an independent and self-contained community, with a culture and art which had for all an equal appeal, and a state religion which was also the religion of the people. Now however, the old spirit has departed, and though the unspoilt villager is still a man worth knowing well, the 'educated' classes are sadly degenerate and de-nationalised. Impoverished by the change from a society based on personal relations to one based on the exchange of coin and free trade in land, the aristocracy are unable, even if willing, to support the old traditions; nor, breaking with these, have they in any adequate way acquired the culture of the west. By many, the old life and old culture are despised, and all interest in the country and its past is dead. The priesthood suffers also from lack of the vigorous support of the kings; temples are allowed to fall into decay, and valuable and beautiful memorials of the past allowed to disappear, or to be cheaply restored away by those who do not understand or care for them.* As an example of the disintegration of society and of the general disorganisation of manners and morals resulting, I give one quotation from the Report of the Temple Lands Commissioners for 1871: "The Dambulla vihāra is, as is well known, a shrine held in great reverence by the Buddhists, and it is a place of great interest, worthy of being maintained as a historical monument, being the only rock temple of any importance in Ceylon, and possessing a painted roof, which is the best example of Buddhist art in the Island. To this vihāra belong large and valuable forests, which should be preserved for supplying the necessary timber for the maintenance of the buildings belonging to the vihāra, and also for the benefit of the vihāra tenants, to whom the wild honey, jungle ropes, and pasture for cattle, to be found in these forests, are of considerable value. The incumbent of the vihāra, without regard to the inter-

Disintegration of religion and society

* *See "An Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs," by the author, Kandy, 1906.*

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The Sinhalese people

ests of which he was the guardian, sold to a low-country carpenter all the valuable timber in one of the large forests, and omitted to pay the money into the vihāra chest. Complaint was made to the Commissioners, but they had no power to act. They however called the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to the matter, and the incumbent has been called upon to pay in to the credit of the vihāra upwards of £170, probably less than a third of the amount he has received. It is doubtful whether he will pay even this. Certainly he will go unpunished. The people know that their priest has committed the greatest crime a Buddhist can commit, for in their language, 'he has robbed Buddha.' They know also that he has committed a great offence against our laws, in having appropriated to himself the property of which he was the trustee. The Buddhist authorities will not seek to remove him, because they cannot act without the aid of our Courts. The tenants will not act, because they are afraid to take steps against a man of influence with money at command. Others will not act because the expenses would come out of their own pockets. This is only one example out of many; and nothing can be more injurious, nothing more demoralising, than for the people to see frauds of this kind, committed by trustees of temple property, go unpunished. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for fear of the out-cry, 'The Government is supporting Buddhism: better let lying, fraud, and robbery go unpunished, than do anything which would have any appearance of protecting from ruin, and from loss to the public, those lands which have been set apart for the maintenance of a religion which is not ours'—even though that religion is the pure and simple creed which is held by one-third of the human race, and has been the faith of the Sinhalese people for 2000 years. It would be well if this question could be dealt with merely as a matter of good government, untrammelled by the *odium theologicum*. It is simply the question of preserving for the public those public lands at present set apart for religious purposes, which, unless closely looked after, will gradually become lost to the public altogether." What the temples were really entitled to was the usufruct of lands dedicated to them; not to alienate or destroy the value of them. The ordinance of 1856, however, vested absolute rights in the temple authorities and legalized abuse. There have been many subsequent ordinances, none of which have checked the misappropriation of temple property. The last, of 1906, was much resented by Christians on the ground of its giving Government support to Buddhism, by making Government Agents chairmen of local committees! All of which shows how difficult it is for one nation to govern another reasonably, especially when of a different religion, and when the rulers have no permanent personal interest in the land. No ruler who was really "one with the religion and the people," could have borne for a year with the situation which a succession of Christian rulers has merely aggravated.

Education

The people take but little interest in education; it is left to others, whose interests are not always identical with those of the people themselves, to provide what they will. The officially recognised system of education, based on examinations such as the Cambridge locals and London University courses, has no place for any aspect of the national culture*—history, music, art or religion. It appeals only to the material interests,

* "*Our education has destroyed their love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people. and their delight in their own arts and, worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion. It has disgusted them with their own homes—their parents, their sisters, their very wives. It has brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached*"; *spoken recently of English education in India, by Sir George Birdwood, this is, if possible, even more true of Ceylon.*

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with the result that originality and initiative are destroyed, and the recognition of ethical ideals is not promoted. Even more harm is done in Mission schools, where not only the national culture is consistently ignored, but the religion of the people is of set purpose undermined. *The Sinhalese people*

Something must be said of the history of the arts during the last century. That history has been one of continuous decline. Those who read the following chapters and perceive how the religious, artistic and national life of the people formed together the expression of one culture which all classes shared, will understand how impossible it was that the arts should continue to flourish under foreign rulers, ignorant of, and in the main opposed, to the perpetuation of that culture and religion. What befell the royal craftsmen when the Buddhist king was replaced by the Christian Governor? How could there continue that identification of sentiment between ruler and craftsmen which made possible the building of Gaṅgārāma, the Daḷadā Māligāva, or the last festival at Asgiriya? Imagine the effect on English art if English independence had ceased in the reign of Henry III., and the Government had passed into the hands of a nation of materialists *—Westminster Abbey left unfinished, Gothic art no more the vehicle of the national religious sentiment. One of the most sympathetic and cultured of recent Colonial Secretaries of Ceylon, was able to enquire after two years in Ceylon, what a Jātaka might be. Now it is quite natural that an ordinary educated Englishman should lack that knowledge, but for the ruler of a Buddhist people to do so is altogether incongruous and improper. Such an one cannot enter into the life of the people, or be a guide or father to them; at the worst they will imitate him for interested reasons, at the best they will ignore him altogether. *Decline of art*

Even accepting the situation, we find that most injury is done to art through the departmental notions of architecture prevailing.† A majority of official buildings are ugly, and all are unrelated to the national style of art and architecture. Even in the few cases where an effort has been made to build in the style of the country, the result has been a fiasco; the Ruvanveli ambalam for instance, is merely a contractor's structure masquerading as a Kandyan building.‡

Government support of an institution like the Kandy Art Association § however excellent in its degree, is totally inadequate to save the arts and crafts of the country from gradual decay; from that only the people themselves can ultimately save them. But the responsibility of Government (as the inheritors of the great traditions of the Sinhalese kings) to support the culture and arts of the land is none the less real. The hereditary skill and taste of the caste craftsmen might be preserved for the future generations, if the Government gave directly to craftsmen even a quarter of the support given by the later Sinhalese kings; which might be done in many ways, but especially by the employment of craftsmen in all lesser building operations, placing the whole design and execution in their hands (subject to the nature of actual requirements) and not in that of engineers, untrained in art, least of all in Sinhalese art, and also by the commissioning of more elaborate works of art than those now undertaken, and the purchase of these without regard to the possibility or otherwise of immediate re-sale.

* *The Government, as such, is necessarily entirely secular in its relation to the people.*

† *Exactly as in India. The situation is well described by E. B. Havell in the 'Nineteenth' Century' for June*, 1907.

‡ *See 'Suggestions for the Encouragement of the Indigenous Arts and Crafts of Ceylon,' by the author, 'Tropical Agriculturalist,' Colombo*, 1906.

§ *For an account of this see Appendix I.*

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The Sinhalese people

If England chooses to assume the rule of other peoples, she has a responsibility towards their culture, no less than in respect of their material interests. If this responsibility is shirked, her rule may not always be favourably compared with that of the Sinhalese and Tamil kings who preceded her.

The arts, however, can only be saved in the long run by the people themselves. How are the *people* to be saved? How shall they be re-energised and re-inspired, how become once more socially constructive, how learn to re-express the national emotion in literature and art? The answer is, by love of India. There is scarcely any part of Sinhalese life, or religion, or art, which is quite comprehensible without reference to India; the Sinhalese themselves are Indians; the greatness of their civilization dates from the wave of Indian influences that reach Ceylon through Aśoka's missionaries; the air and soil in which the nation has grown and borne good fruit are Indian; how should another soil and atmosphere be suited to it now? India without Ceylon is incomplete, for in many ways, Ceylon is a more perfect window through which to gaze on India's past, than any that can be found in India herself. Much more is Ceylon incomplete if alienated from the Motherland. The most remarkable and significant of the awakenings to national self-consciousness which have taken place in modern times, is the recognition by the people of India of their fundamental unity. Of this unity Ceylon is economically, mentally and spiritually, a part; and with its culture and its life, must her own survive or perish.

We have reviewed in the briefest possible space, the culture-history of the Sinhalese people, as recorded in one of the most interesting chronicles known to the world. We have seen something of the earth whence they sprang, and the waters that gave them drink. At all times the national life was reflected in the national culture. The art expression of that culture in the eighteenth century can only be understood and appreciated, when the people themselves and the ideals of their religion and civilization are understood and respected. An attitude of sympathy is essential also to the comprehension of much that seems strange or repulsive in an alien culture. No aspect of Eastern art can be rightly appreciated by those who approach it only with the intention of discovering what it has not accomplished. A study of what it *has* done will serve us better. Towards that study the present work is a small contribution. In the light of the past and for the help of the future, it is offered to the Sinhalese people as a monument to a part of their departed glory.

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CHAPTER II. SOCIAL ECONOMY OF THE KANDYAN SINHALESE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"*Riches are not here valued, nor make any the more Honourable*" (KNOX).

THE first chapter of this book is intended to provide an historical background for the mental picture of the Sinhalese people which will be formed in the reader's mind. In the present chapter will be found a more detailed account of the constitution of the Kandyan kingdom, and of the social economy of the Kandyans in the 18th century. Sinhalese craftsmanship flourished exceedingly in the Kandyan districts up to the very end of that century and even later, and almost the whole extent of its decline coincides with the succeeding period of foreign rule and resulting decay of the social organism; hence the importance of considering the social conditions of the 18th century, if we are rightly to understand the craftsman and his art. If the present chapter should appear at all superfluous, it should be remembered that the object of this book is not merely to figure specimens of the work of Sinhalese craftsmen, but to provide, if it be possible, some faint picture of a land and a time of which, even as of Mediæval Europe, it could be said 'that in those times there was no such thing as a piece of handicraft being ugly'; and this faint picture would be fainter still if we should speak only of the craftsman's handiwork and forget the man himself and his outlook upon life.

At the close of the eighteenth century, the Kandyan kingdom consisted of ten *disāvana* or districts, each in charge of a *Disāva* (earl), and nine other districts (*raṭa*) each in charge of a chief usually known as the *Raṭēmahātmaya*. All these districts together correspond more or less with the area occupied by the present Central, Sabaragamuwa, Uva, North Central, North Western (part), and Eastern (part) provinces, *i.e.*, the whole of the mountainous districts and some part of the low-country commanded by the mountains, or which the Kandyan kings were otherwise able to protect.

Government

The King ruled as an absolute monarch; his ministers could advise, but not control his actions; with him rested all decisions as to peace and war; he also promulgated edicts. But the acts of his Government were presumed to be guided by the institutions of his kingdom. Before innovations of importance were carried into effect, it was usual to consult the principal chiefs and often also the principal priests, and such persons were usually called to councils when important matters were afoot. The King's authority was exercised through certain officers of state, of whom the two Adigārs ('Viziers'), the Disāvas, and the Raṭēmahātmayās were chief: the officers attached to the King's household (keepers of the robes, treasurer, armourer, etc.), the chiefs of departments employed in his personal service (such as the *Koṭṭalbadde Nilame* mentioned below) and the principals of important temples (the *Diva Nilama* of vihāras and the *Basnāyaka Nilama* of dēvāles) attended also on many public occasions.

The two Adigārs possessed a general jurisdiction over the whole of the Kandyan provinces; by them the King's orders were communicated to the public and to the chief residents in Kandy. The King's orders to the chiefs resident in the provinces were conveyed by olas (palm leaf MSS.) written in the name of the first Adigār, or in his absence from Kandy, in the name of the second. The Adigārs were

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Social economy

charged with the conduct of public festivals, the repair of temples on behalf of the King, and the catching of elephants in Kandy, and were expected to personally superintend all public works; they had charge also of the repair of the streets and of every work contributing to the beauty and cleanliness of the capital. They had many other duties, as well as various privileges and honours. Their staff of office consisted of a lac-painted cane (*veṿela*) curved at the top, which was delivered into their hands upon their appointment; in former times the cane had merely a silver head and ferrule, but a cane cased entirely in silver was introduced by the last king. For the better support of their dignity, a *disāvanaya* was usually conferred upon each Adigār, in addition to his own duties and offices. Under the Disāvas and Raṭēmahātmayās were various minor officers, such as Kōrālas, Vidānes, Araccis, etc. Independent of them were the officers of public departments, and the principals of large temples.

Justice

The dispensation of justice was organized in a way that would not have been unsatisfactory, had it been always purely administered; every person was at liberty to seek redress, first by application to the headman of the village, next to the chief of the province, to the Adigār, the 'Great Court' and finally to the King. But as (1) bribes were often resorted to by both parties in a dispute, (2) fines levied belonged to the chiefs who levied them, and these chiefs received no salary for their services, (3) the chiefs were occasionally required by the King to make extraordinary contributions, necessarily exacted from the people, and (4) the chief, as is the case in the Indian Civil Service to-day, combined judicial and executive functions, it will be seen that opportunities for the miscarriage of justice were not lacking. But the villager is scarcely less at the mercy of the headman now than he was then. Nevertheless in many cases there can be no doubt that substantial justice was obtained; it is said that there were some Kandyan chiefs reputed no less for their ability in the investigation of suits than their integrity in the decision of them. The customary laws regarding marriage, inheritance, crime, slaves, and the like are detailed in the Nītinighaṇḍuva (translation, Colombo, 1888), a work of fascinating interest for the study of Sinhalese society.

The law's delays were as proverbial as in England. One who appealed to the great court or to the King might get immediate redress or might have to remain in Kandy for months or years. Recourse was often had to swearing by ordeal of hot oil or red-hot iron.* Litigation is now a much greater burden on the people than it was then, when touting proctors had not been invented. It must be taken into consideration that the people were naturally honest and law-abiding, and that even to-day the crime so prevalent in the low-country districts long subjected to European influence is much less in the interior; a more honest and trustworthy man than the unspoilt Kandyan villager it would be hard to find. In illustration of his character I quote from a Government Agent's report of 1870, the following:

Character

"There is annually a gathering from all parts of the Island at Anurādhapura to visit what are called sacred places. I suppose about 20,000 people come here, remain for a few days, and then leave. There are no houses for their reception, but under the grand umbrageous trees of our park-like environs they erect their little booths and picnic in the open air. As the height of the festival approaches, the place becomes instinct with life; and when there is no room left to camp in, the later comers unceremoniously take possession of the verandahs of the public buildings. So orderly is their conduct, however, that no one thinks of disturbing them. The old Kacceri stands, a detached building not far from the bazaar, and about one-eighth of a mile from the Assistant Agent's house,

* *For an instance, see Lawrie's Gazetteer, p.* 943.

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Till lately the treasure used to be lodged in a little iron box that a few men could easily run away with, guarded by three native treasury watchers. There lay this sum of money, year after year, at the mercy of any six men who chose to run with it into the neighbouring jungle—once in, detection was almost impossible—and yet no one ever supposed the attempt would be made. These 20,000 people from all parts of the country come and go annually without a single policeman being here; and, as the Magistrate of the district, I can only say that anything to surpass their decorum and sobriety of conduct it is impossible to conceive. Such a thing as a row is unheard of. That does not look like a people among whom crime of a heinous nature was indigenous! In what part of Christendom would the money-box be safe?" *Social economy*

Mention must be made of *Caste*, especially as the caste system of Ceylon is similar to the Dravidian in South India and differs from the well-known four-fold caste division of the Hindus generally. Vijaya himself could hardly have found a place in the Brahmanical caste system. The Sinhalese people from an early date had constant and intimate relations with the Tamils in Southern India. So it is that we find the Dravidian and not the Aryan caste system amongst the Sinhalese. In this system the cultivator ranked highest. With the spread of Aryan civilization came the Brahmanical system, which was superimposed upon the Dravidian, so that the Brahman and Kshattriya ranked above the cultivator. Hence the order of castes in Ceylon came to be—1. *Bamuṇu* (Brahmans); 2. *Raja* (the ruling caste); 3. *Govi* (cultivators); subsequently the *Veleṇda* or merchant was added. But as there was no place for Brahmans in a Buddhist country, and the royal family formed a caste by itself, and merchants were few or none, the *goviyō* have remained to this day of chief importance from the caste point of view. That is, the *goviyā*, or *veḷḷāla* as he is often called, is the man of high caste. The *goviyō* included three ranks, the chiefs (*radala* or *mudali pēruva*), the nobles or titled men (*siṭānō*), and the rest of the *goviyō*; and these together formed as we have seen over ninety per cent. of the community. *Caste*

Authorities differ somewhat as to the order of precedence of the remaining classes. They are given in the following order by the *Janavaṃsa*, a most interesting Sinhalese poem of the fifteenth century, often regarded as an authoritative work, especially by the artificers, but according to others it has been adapted in their interests. The *Janavaṃsa*, by one Siṃha of Kessellena, purports to be founded on a Pali original.* It gives interesting but mainly fanciful accounts of the origin of the different castes and endeavours to show that all men are really of one race though occupied in different ways; stress being laid upon the well-known saying of Buddha, "Not by birth does one become a Vasala (outcaste), not by birth does he become a Brahman. By deed does one become a Vasala, by deed does he become a Brahman." In spite of the recognition of such teaching as truly Buddhist, the strength of caste feeling is but little less than in India; nor is it otherwise even amongst the converts to Christianity.

I now give a table of castes according to the *Janavaṃsa*.

1. *Goviyō* (*haṇduruvō* ['hondrews' of Knox], *veḷḷālas*, cultivators).
2. *Pēsakārayō* (*salāgamayō*, 'chalia' weavers).
3. *Kaṃburu* (*navandannō*, *galladdō*, artificers). } (*acāriyō*)
4. *Vaḍuvō*, (carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.) }
5. *Hannāli* (tailors and embroiderers).
6. *Radav* (dhobies, washermen).

* *Printed edition, Colombo*, 1864; *summary and partial translation by H. Nevill, Taprobanian, Vol. I., parts* 3 *and* 4, 1886.

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7. *Embeṭṭayō* (barbers).
8. *Sommārayō* (leather workers, shoemakers).*
9. *Durāvō* (toddy drawers).
10. *Kumbakārayō* (*baḍahelayō*, potters).
11. *Karāvō* (fishers).
12. *Veḍḍō* (hunters).
13. *Beravāyō* (musicians and weavers, and often astrologers).
14. *Hakuruvō* (jaggery makers).
15. *Hunnō* (lime burners).
16. *Paṇṇayō* (grass cutters).
17. *Ɣamannō* (iron smelters).
18. *Veḷ-vaḍuvō* (rattan workers).
19. *Gahalayō* (menial servants).
20. *Paduvō* (servile or inferior cultivators and palanquin-bearers).
21. *Malakārayō* (inferior florists and gardeners).
22. *Kinnarayō* (mat weavers).
23. *Roḍiyō* (makers of ropes, tanners, etc.)
24. *Oliyō* (dancers).
25. *Indrajālikayō* (conjurors).
26. *Caṇḍālayō* (eaters of unclean food, scavengers).

Of all these, only Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 20, are really important elements in the Kandyan population to-day. Nos. 22 and 23 are clearly defined but very small communities. The bulk of the population belong to the cultivators' caste (No. 1).

Slaves

There were also a certain number of slaves (*vallu*) but not very many, being persons born so or who had become so in various ways, as by inability to pay a debt, by being sold as children, or cast into slavery by the king. Slavery was an economic institution and did not interfere with caste distinctions. A man could not possess slaves of higher caste than his own. Slaves could be freed or become free in various ways. Praedial and domestic slavery of a mild form seems to have been an institution in most parts of India from very remote times, although Megasthenes affirmed it "a great thing that no Indian slave existed."

Knox gives a shorter list in much the same order; so also the *Nītinighaṇḍuva*, where the *goviyō* are also further divided into different ranks. Nowadays the fishers and other castes, especially in the low-country, contest the precedence of the conservative *veḷḷāla*; we find in a list given by Casie Chitty in his Gazetteer (1834), that the fishers ranked second and the toddy drawers third, the others very much as above. Bitter controversies still take place regarding the relative rank of different castes; neither Buddhism nor Christianity have greatly weakened the power of caste.

Land tenure

Land and its tenure form, as might be expected, the key to the social economy of the Kandyans. The possession of land was the foundation of the King's right to the services

* *The five castes numbered* 4-8 *are associated together as the five classes necessary to perform personal service; "both for the weddings and funerals of Raja, Bamuṇu, Grahapati, Velaṇḍa, Sudra and all men, the carpenter giving bedsteads, chairs, pavilions and the like; the tailor sewing and giving jackets and hats; the washer spreading awnings and bringing clean clothes; the barber cutting the hair and beard, trimming the face and adorning it; the leather-worker stitching leather for the feet; thus these five are needed for the wedding and for the funeral" (Ɣanavaṃsa). These are often spoken of as 'the five servants.'*

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and contributions of the people, and vice-versa.* All absolute property in land (except 'pravēṇi' lands, *i.e. nindagam* definitively granted as private property) was vested in the King. In general, persons not owning land were liable to no regular service or duties, though in some cases to light and occasional service. Lands which properly subjected the possessor to regular public duties and contributions were low paddy lands which could be cultivated every year (*i.e.*, ordinary rice fields, *kumburu*) but not, as a rule, gardens (*vatu*) or high grounds (*hēn*, 'chenas'). The land and the service were inseparably associated, one result of which was that wealthy persons would not care to buy up lands held by men of low caste performing menial services; the accumulation of lands by a few wealthy persons was thus desirably checked. No land was sold.† The lands with their service usually descended regularly from father to son, independent of the fact that the services might be regranted to others or dedicated to temples.‡ *Social economy*

This is looking at the matter from the Western point of view. As a matter of fact, the idea is one rather of overlordship or dominion, than ownership of land as understood in the modern west. It is probable that Sinhalese society "developed itself, clearing by clearing, in separate village communities, isolated from each other, and scattered over the land very much as they even now still are in the existing condition of the North Central Province. . . The aggregation of a plurality of villages together under a common head . . . very soon followed" (Phear). Thus arose the petty chieftain, who developed by a process of consolidation into a regulus or kinglet, becoming finally the king of the whole land. The original chieftain did not own land; what he possessed was the right to cultivate his own share of village land, and also a right to certain contributions and services due to him from the other shareholders. The King's right arose by the gradual consolidation of such rights into the hands of a central authority, and is therefore rather one of dominion than of ownership. The point does not much affect the present issues, but reference in the text to ownership of land should be taken as subject to this qualification of the implied idea. Even *pravēṇi* lands dedicated to temples, were not absolute freeholds which the trustees could dispose of as they liked; the land was still the King's, and through him the people's; the services only were dedicated for ever to the temple. *Overlordship*

The personal services (except those of the tenants in royal villages and those of persons belonging to the fourteen departments of public works), theoretically due to the King, became as a rule the perquisite of the local chief (Disāva or Raṭēmahātmaya); the chief being held responsible for any works required of him, the King had no need to insist upon the rendering of particular services direct to himself. In the same way lands which were abandoned by the tenants—as sometimes happened in the last King's reign on account of the severity of the duty§—reverted to the chief, who could appropriate *Service tenure*

* *All service lands might descend to, or be acquired by women, who either paid a money commutation, or provided a substitute to perform personal service. A woman might also hold Pattini dēvāle lands on condition of personally performing the duties of Pattini Amma or priestess.*

† *Except very rarely; see Knox, p.* 143, *also Lawrie's Gazetteer, p.* 736.

‡ *Which could only be done by the King, or by others with his express warrant, or at any rate the Disāva's; as otherwise the King or Disāva would have lost the benefit of services due to them, without being willing to do so.*

§ *Knox remarks 'in my judgement they live far more at ease after they have relinquished the King's land, than when they had it.' But of holders of temple lands, per contra, he quotes the Sinhalese saying to the effect that 'they will surely be punished in the next world for living so easy in this.' For the last King's over-exaction of rājakāriya, see the report of the Temple Lands Commissioners* 1857-1858, *p.* 21.

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the crop or regrant the land to other tenants on payment of a suitable fee. The personal services were often commuted for a money payment which was considered the chief's legal perquisite.

The great majority of persons living in these different sorts of villages were tenants, owing service to a proprietor or Lord of the Manor, who might be the King, a temple, or a chief. Included in the services due to the King, are those to be rendered to officials on duty. The organization of society is best explained by a relation of the various tenancies, according to caste and occupation; a village usually contained tenants of several classes. A list of the principal tenancies or fiefs follows:

Messengers and guards

Atapattu vasama. Tenants of the first rank, messengers and guards. They had to mount guard in Kandy in turns of one month in three, but some paid a commutation instead. They had to attend the Disāva on journeys, and convey his orders, carrying the great banner (*dhaja patāka*), swords of office, state umbrellas (*mutu kuḍaya*, *vaḍana talātta*, *sēsat*, etc.). In Kandy they kept guard in a guard-house called *atapattu maḍuva*, where they had charge of the great banner, the *lēkam-miṭiya* or record, the *mura āvuda* (arms) and any prisoners there might be. They were not liable to the payment of duties in kind. If tenants of a temple, or *niṇda* village, they owed corresponding services to the temple or proprietor, such as keeping guard at the *vallava* (manor house), watching the threshing floors, or walking in processions and going messages. The holding of *atapattu* lands was a dignified position; the *Atapattu* and *Ganvasam* people formed as it were the lesser county families, while the Lord of the Manor represented the titled aristocracy.

Husbandmen

Ganvasama. These tenants had no turn of duty as guards. They had to deliver into the royal store duties in kind (rice and coconuts) or to pay a commutation; to supply the Disāva with similar provisions, especially when travelling on duty in the district; with corresponding duties if the proprietor was a temple or chief. The *Ganvasam* people were often of the same social standing as the proprietor, and sometimes related to him. They were generally the wealthiest in a village and held the most fertile lands. Consequently they had to make contributions in the shape of *aḍukku* and *pẹhindum* (provisions) to the proprietor and his retinue on his periodical visits, to his officers coming on duty, and to his messengers despatched with orders to tenants. They had also to give the *maha-kat* monthly, the *penum-kat* at festivals, and *dan-kat* during *Vas*, and to feed the workmen in the *mutteṭṭuva* or homefield, and the officers superintending the work. It should be explained that the *mutteṭṭuva* just referred to is the field belonging to the proprietor, whether a chief or temple, and cultivated on his account jointly by tenants of every description. The proprietor usually found the seed rice, and bore all cost of agricultural implements, and sometimes gave the buffaloes. The service of the tenants was reckoned not by days, but by the number of the different agricultural operations to which they had to contribute labour. All the tenants took part in the cultivation, and were generally fed by the proprietor or by the *Ganvasam* tenants on his behalf. The services of the different classes of the tenantry on an estate were centred in its *mutteṭṭu* field. Hence the passing of the *mutteṭṭuva* from the family of the landlord into the hands of strangers is invariably followed by the tenants resisting their customary services in respect of the *mutteṭṭu*. A *peṇuma* or *dẹkuma* is a customary gift made by the tenant to the proprietor, annually or often. The *peṇuma* of the *Ganvasam* people consists of sweetmeats, provisions, etc. A *peṇum-kada* (pl.-*kat*) is a yoke-load consisting of such gifts. The *maha-kada* is a yoke-load of provisions given once a month. A *dan-kada* is a yoke-load of provisions given to a priest. *Vas* is the rainy season when priests are the guests of the villagers, and their wants regularly provided for without need for seeking daily alms. The *Ganvasama* had to provide all that was required for strangers visiting the village, and

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generally to discharge those duties of hospitality for which the Kandyan villages are celebrated. This entailed upon the *Ganvasam* the necessity of setting apart a place called the *Iḍangē* for lodging strangers. The whole charge of the *mutteṭṭu* work devolved on the *Ganvasama*, which also had to superintend and assist in building work at the proprietor's house, attend at his house on festive and other occasions, in times of sickness, and at funerals, bringing *peṇum-kat* and provisions. A *Ganvasam* tenant had to accompany the proprietor on his journeys on public occasions, and to guard his house in his absence. A woman of the *paṅguva* (holding) likewise had to wait on the lady of the house, and to accompany her on journeys. The *Ganvasam* took the lead in the annual presentation of the tenants before the proprietor. In temple villages, in addition to the above services performed to a lay chief, the *Ganvasam* had to superintend, and take part in the preparations for, and celebration of, the festivals. *Social economy*

Hēvā vasama. The military class. Their services were similar to those of the *Aṭapaṭṭu vasama*, in addition to felling, dragging and guarding timber. In Kandy they kept guard at the *daṇḍu maḍuva*, or palace timber shed. These were also called *dunukāra vasama*, lit. archers. Bravery in battle was rewarded by titles and grants of land. *Soldiers*

Baḍal paṅguva. The holding held by smiths, called likewise *Navan-paṅguva*. Under the general term are included blacksmiths (*Ācāri*), braziers (*Lōkuruvō*) and silver and goldsmiths (*Baḍallū*). The blacksmith supplied nails for roofing houses, hinges, locks, and keys for doors, all kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, and tools for felling and converting timber. His *peṇuma* consisted of areca-nut cutters, chunam boxes, ear and tooth-picks. At the forge he was given the assistance of a tenant to blow the bellows, and when employed out of his house he was given his food. The *Lōkuruvā* mended all brass and copper vessels of a temple, and generally took part in the service of the other smiths. The silver and goldsmiths worked for the proprietor in their special craft when wanted, and in temples mended and polished all the sacred vessels, did engraving and carving work, decorated the *ratē* (car of the god) and remained on guard there during the *perahḗra*, supplied the silver rim for the *ḗhala-gaha* (*perahḗra* festival tree), and attended at the *kaphiṭavīma* (erection of the festival tree). The goldsmiths presented *peṇum* of silver rings, chased betel boxes, ornamental arrow-heads, &c. The smith tenant also attended and assisted at the smelting of iron. In consideration of the value of the service of a smith, he generally held a large extent of fertile land. *Artificers*

Baḍahḗla paṅguva. The tenement of land held by a potter (*baḍahelayā* or *kuṃbalā*). His service consisted of supplying a proprietor with all the requisite earthenware for his house and bath, and his lodgings on journeys, for his *mutteṭṭuva*, for cooking, and for soaking seed paddy, for festivals, *yak* and *bali* ceremonies, weddings, &c.; also the supplying of tiles and bricks, and keeping the roofs of tiled buildings waterproof, giving *peṇum-valan* (earthern vessels) to tenants for the *peṇum-kat*, and making clay lamps, and *kalas* (vases) for temples. The potter also made a present of chatties as his *peṇum* to proprietor and petty officers. When the quantity of bricks and tiles to be supplied was large, the proprietor found the kiln, shed, clay, and firewood. *Potters*

Daṿul paṅguva. The tenement held by tenants of the tom-tom beater caste (*Beravāyō*). In temples their service came under the kind called the *piṭa-kaṭṭalē* (out-door service). At the daily *tēvāva* (musical service), at festivals, at *pinkam*, and on journeys of the incumbent, they beat the *hēvisi* (tom-toms). On their turn of duty in a temple, they had to watch the temple and its property, to sweep and clean the premises, to gather flowers for offering, and to fetch *bolpeṇ* (water for temple use). The services of the musician (*hēvisi-kāraya*) were required by lay proprietors only occasionally, for weddings, funerals, *yak* and *bali* ceremonies, and on state occasions. This class of persons was *Musicians*

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employed in weaving cloth, and their *peṇuma* consisted of a *taḍuppu*-cloth or a kerchief. The performance of *bali* ceremonies was one of the principal services of the tenants of the tom-tom beater caste. The daily temple music of *hēvisiya* consisted of five *vajjan*. The five *vajjan* of which a regular *hēvisiya* is made up are: 1, the *davula* (the common drum); 2, the *ṭemmeṭṭama* (kettle-drum); 3, the *beraya* (a drum longer than a *davula*); 4, the *taliya* (cymbals); and 5, the *horaṇēva* (oboe).

A *gīkiyana* was the tenancy of another class of musicians whose service consisted in singing at dēvāles on *Kenmura* days (Wednesday and Saturday services) and on festivals, and in the performance of the *diggē-neṭīma*, which latter was a service performed by women. The songs generally related to the exploits of the god. The men sang and played on cymbals, drums, &c., and the women danced. The ordinary tom-tom beater was not allowed to play for dancers of this class, which is supposed to be of Tamil origin.

Washermen

Rada vasama (washermen). The royal tenants performed three months a year service in Kandy, in turn with other relays. The service of a washerman consisted in washing weekly or monthly the soiled cloths of a family; the robes, curtains, flags, and vestments of a temple; decorating temples with *viyan* (awnings) for festivals and *pinkam*, and private houses on occasions of weddings, *yak* or *bali* ceremonies and arrival of distinguished visitors; the supplying on such occasions of *piruvaṭa*-cloths for wearing, *eṭirili* or covers for seats, tables, &c., *piyavili* or carpets, and *diya-redi* or bathing-cloths; the making of *pandam* (torches) and *pānveṭi* (wicks), and the supplying of *dambu* (tow). The washerman had also to attend his master on journeys, carrying his bundle of clothes and bathing requisites. He supplied the Kapurāla (incumbent of a dēvāle) and Yakdessa with *piruvaṭa*, the former weekly when on duty at a dēvāle, and the latter for dancing at festivals. He gave *piruvaṭa* for the *mutteṭṭu* for serving out the food, for *peṇum-kat* and *tel-kat* as covers, and for the state elephant during festivals. The *peṇuma* he gave consisted generally of a piece of wearing apparel or of a *sudu-toppiya* (Kandyan hat), or in some cases of *panā-lēli* (horns for combs). His perquisites vary according to the occasion calling forth his services. Thus at the Sinhalese new year, besides the quota of sweetmeats and rice given on such an occasion, every member of the family tied up a coin in the cloth he delivered to him for washing. At *koṭahalu* festivities (occasion of a girl attaining puberty), the washerman was entitled to the cloth worn by the girl and to her head ornaments, and at a funeral to all the cloths not allowed to be burnt on the pyre.

Servants

Nila vasama or *āliyam vasama*. Their services embraced all domestic and outdoor work of various and arduous kinds, some of which were the supplying of fuel and water to the kitchen and bath, the pounding of rice, the extracting of oil, the mudding of walls and floors, the dragging of timber and other building materials, the preparation of clay and the supplying of firewood for the brick and tile kiln, blowing the bellows for the smith, and supplying him with charcoal for the forge, the breaking of limestone, the cutting of banks and ditches, putting up fences, clearing gardens, sweeping out courtyards and compounds, joining in all agricultural operations on gardens, fields, and *hēn*, removing the crops, tying straw and assisting in thatching, the carrying of palanquins and baggage on journeys, conveying to the proprietor the *peṇum-kat*, *aḍukku-kat*, *pēhindum-kat*, *maha-kat*, *vas-dan-kat*, &c., supplied by the other tenants, joining in the preparations for festivals, carrying *pandam* in processions, and serving at the proprietor's on occasions of importance such as weddings, funerals, arrival of distinguished visitors, and at *yak* and *bali* ceremonies. *Nilavasam* tenants, for the most part, are of a low caste, or belong to the lower classes of the *Veḷḷāla* caste. Hence their yearly *peṇuma* to the proprietor, instead of being a *kada* of sweetmeats, consisted of

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vegetables, and their contributions of raw or uncooked articles of food. Besides service as above, rendered to the proprietor, the *Nilavasam* tenants worked for the proprietor's Vidāne, and for the *Ganvasama*, a few days in fields and *hen*, and carried their baggage on journeys. *Social economy*

Yamannu. Their service consisted of giving a certain number of lumps of iron yearly, the burning of charcoal for the forge, carrying baggage, assisting in field work and at *yak* or *bali* ceremonies. They put up the *tālimāna* (pair of bellows) for the smith, and smelt iron. *Iron-smelters*

Roḍiyō. The *Roḍī* tenants were very few in number, and found in but very few villages. They supplied prepared leather for drums, and ropes of hide, halters, thongs, and cords for cattle, and bury carcasses of dead animals. *Outcastes*

The kinds of villages were as follows:

1. *Gabaḍāgam*, or royal villages; these usually contained lands which were cultivated entirely for the benefit of the crown, supplying all the requirements of the palace; and other lands which the tenants cultivated entirely for themselves; or the crown land was cultivated on the *aṇde* (half share) system. Crown villages much resembled early English royal manors; they included original crown lands, and lands which had fallen in to the crown by failure of the tenant to perform his service or by the death of a grantee. *Royal manors*

2. *Vihārēgam*, or villages belonging to a temple of Buddha. The tenants owed personal service to the temple or made payment in kind to the incumbent priests.* *Religious manors*

3. *Dēvālēgam*, or villages belonging to the temple of some deity.*

4. *Nindagam*, or villages which for the time being were the entire property of the grantee or temporary chief; if definitely granted by the King with a *sannasa* it became hereditable personal property and was called *pravēṇi.* The inhabitants in consideration for their lands cultivated gratuitously for the benefit of the grantee and owed him other services. A *nindagama* was to the proprietor what a *gabaḍāgama* was to the king. *Nindagam* were naturally highly prized by the grantees; they were usually bestowed as a reward for eminent public services or bravery in battle, a policy followed by even the English as late as 1820.† *Nindagam* granted upon a *sannasa* are now the hereditary property of the descendants of the original grantees.‡ *Private manors*

5. *Vidānēgam*, villages under the orders of a Vidāne, and containing usually people of low caste liable to public service.

It will be clear from the account of the land system just given that both husbandmen and craftsmen of all sorts worked either for the King, a religious foundation, or a chieftain, as well as for themselves or their neighbours. Most of these services were themselves a payment for lands held by the family, and so were not otherwise remunerated; and even when work was done to order for a consideration, payment was made in kind, usually shares of paddy from the threshing floor. It will be seen that there was very little use of money, it was indeed so scarce that it could hardly be said to be in circulation;

* *The value of the annual revenue of a few principal temples was estimated as follows: Daḷadā Māligāva, Rs.* 5693*; Kandy Mahā Dēvāle, Rs.* 5677; *Ridī Vihāra, Rs.* 624; *Saman Dēvale, Rs.* 4415; *Dambulu Vihāra, Rs.* 873. *The annual value of all temple villages together amounted to Rs.* 115,567·40 (*about* £7900).

† *See P. E. Pieris, 'Ribeiro's History of Ceilao,' Galle,* 1906, *for an account of Nivitigala Nindagama, granted in* 1820 "*as a mark of Royal Favour and Munificence*" *to one Doloswela Kottalawela Wijeysundara Wickremesinha Tennekoon Mudianse; interesting particulars of the service tenures are given.*

‡ *The annual value of all the nindagam was estimated by the Service Tenures Commission in* 1872 *as Rs.* 44,588·85 (*about* £3000).

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Social economy

even now it is not very much sought after in the remoter districts, the villager, much to the disgust of planters, preferring to cultivate his own land, or to be lazy when occasion offers, above work on an estate for wages. Craftsmen were usually fed and housed while away from home working for the King, temple or chieftain; meanwhile the family lived upon the lands. It can only be when the craftsman is in some such way relieved of anxiety about the future, that his work can bear the impress of that leisure and contentment of which are born the inventiveness and feeling for quiet beauty that mark alike the Eastern craftsman and the mediæval European.

Interdependence of all men

No man was independent of another. Take the case of a *nindagama*; the villagers held lands of the proprietor for their own use, on condition of cultivating the *muttetṭuva*, or proprietor's special field; for this, one tenant, in respect of his *paṅguva* or share, had to supply cattle for ploughing and threshing, or perhaps one gave cattle for ploughing and another for threshing; there might be others to attend to the irrigation; others for ploughing, sowing and watching; others for threshing-floor service; and others for storing the crop; and so in every case, there was a remarkable inter-relation of parts of the social organism. The Sinhalese are now supposed to be incapable of concerted action and unfitted for self-government; and perhaps the 'educated' (which usually means denationalised) classes are so; but it may well be doubted whether the men who were capable of working together successfully so complex an arrangement, and indeed, ordering all the details of their cultivation by mutual arrangement, and who have possessed their Parish Councils from a time antedating the witanagemots of England, are not as capable of self-government as are a people whose Parish Councils are but a thing of yesterday and who seem to have lost the sense of communal interests and capacity for concerted action in small matters. The capacity has now been half destroyed, with the destruction of the society through which it was expressed; but surely it is there still. Observe how remarkably the different parts of the social organism were fitted and dovetailed together; there was a place for every man, and no man could be spared; class distinctions were not invidious, nor emphasized by difference of culture. "Their ordinary *Plowmen* and *Husbandmen* do speak elegantly, and are full of complement. And there is no difference between the ability and speech of a *Country-man* and a *Courtier*." A Sinhalese proverb runs, 'Take a Ploughman from the Plough and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom.' "This was spoken," says Knox, "of the People of *Cande Uda* . . . because of the Civility, Understanding and Gravity of the poorest men among them." This, in the words of Okakura,* is the "spiritual feudalism whereby caste makes a peasant in all his poverty one of the aristocrats of humanity." Honour, pride, *noblesse oblige*, are of the caste idea. But Buddha saw all men as one and proclaimed the equality and brotherhood of all. Christ's position in the West was similar. In neither place has the teaching been accepted. The Western forms of caste are less rigid but more sordid than the Eastern; that is all that can be said.

The Ploughman fit to rule a kingdom

Such an organization of society seems strange already, even in the East, so rapid has been the 'progress' of the nineteenth century. There was no trade in land, nor did agricultural labourers work for hire. Craftsmen made no goods for sale and kept no shops.† "Riches were little valued nor made any the more honourable." Yet there flourished a prosperous agricultural community, a pure and intellectual religion, and a highly skilled and intelligent race of craftsmen. It is probable that in respect of most real advantages, the Kandyan villager was better off in the eighteenth century than he is now.

* "*Ideals of the East*," *2nd ed.*, 1904, *p.* 67.

† "*There are no Markets in the Island. Some few shops they have in the Cities, which sell Cloth, Rice, Salt, Tobacco, Limes, Druggs, Fruits, Swords, Steel, Brass, Copper, Etc.*" (Knox.)

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The villages were to a great degree isolated and self-contained, dependent on the outside world for little but salt. A small external trade in Indian cloth and such things may have been carried on by the Muhammedan 'tavalam merchants' who carried goods on pack bulls along the steep and narrow jungle paths that led from village to village. No doubt Hindu and Muhammedan traders resided in Kandy. South Indian printed cottons and gold woven cloths and brocades were purchased by the well-to-do for use as ladies' robes and for jackets for the chiefs; good specimens of such Indian textiles are even now to be found in the possession of old families. For the dēvāle, printed ceiling cloths with scenes from the purāṇas were needed; these must have come from S. India, or at least from Jaffna, which has still a small trade in printed cotton with the Sinhalese provinces. Trade with the Dutch was a Royal monopoly. Cinnamon, elephants, areca nut, other spices and arrack were the chief items of the trade; money, metals (copper, lead, brass, iron and steel), Indian piece goods, china-ware (sent as presents to the King and his officers of distinction) were the corresponding imports.

Social economy

Villages self-contained

Dutch Trade

Reference must be made to the Muhammedan element in the population. Before the fifteenth century the trade of the island had passed almost entirely into the hands of Arabs who traded on the Indian seas. The trade included pearls, gems, spices, and elephants. Later, there was much rivalry between these people and the Dutch. Arab adventurers settled on the Indian and Ceylon coasts, intermarried with the inhabitants and became important elements in the population. They were reinforced by coast Moormen from Southern India, most of whom were actually converts; at present a majority of Ceylon Moormen are certainly of Tamil extraction.* A few of the Muhammedan communities were settled in the interior, and owed services to the King, chieftains, or even to Buddhist temples, chiefly the conveyance of grain on pack bulls.

Muhammedans

It cannot be too well realised that the Sinhalese society was a community based on rice. Land was not the luxury of a few, but the daily occupation and livelihood of the majority; not to own land is still felt to be scarcely respectable. Every man from the King down had an immediate interest in the cultivation of the land; almost every man cultivated the soil with his own hands. How markedly the same conditions still persist is shown by the census of 1901; out of a thousand persons in the Central Province nine hundred and six subsist by agriculture, thirty-two by the preparation and supply of material substances, eighteen by personal service, ten by some profession, and nine by trade; in this tale craftsmen are included partly in the thirty-two who live by the supply of material substances and partly in the ten professional, forming thus less than the 4·2 per cent. of the whole people which these two classes represent; the proportion was probably higher in the eighteenth century when artistic and literary production was more appreciated.

Rice

"*Husbandry*," says Knox, "is the great employment of the country. . . . In this the best men labour. Nor is it held any disgrace for Men of the greatest Quality to do any work either at home or in the Field, if it be for themselves; but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame: and very few are here to be found that will work so." Great chiefs were not ashamed to hold the plough in their own hands, and it was thought becoming for the young men to reap at least a part of the harvest every year; for which damascened and ivory-handled sickles were sometimes used. The great majority of men, and amongst the village folk, of women also, were continually brought into close touch with the soil and with each other by working together in the fields; even the craftsmen did not as a body rely upon their craft as a direct means of livelihood, and used

* *P. Ramanathan, J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. X.*, 1888, *pp.* 234-262.

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themselves to lay aside their tools to do a share of field work when need was, as at sowing or harvest time. The structure of the regular Indian village community is everywhere apparent, more or less veiled or modified by later developments; the scattered villages of the North Central Province show it best. It is true that the rice lands were held individually and not as common property, but this did not remove the need for communal action in cultivation, each shareholder or tenant or land-owner, as one may prefer to call him, doing an amount of work proportional to the extent of his holding. In such matters as fencing, water-supply and night-watching it would have been absurd to deal with each field separately, and no-one ever thought of doing so. The cultivators decided together in any year whether conditions allowed of the cultivation of the whole or only a part of the fields, the water supply being thus treated as common property due to each in the proportion of his holding. "At reaping they are excellent good," says Knox, "just after the English manner. The whole Town, as I said before, as they joyn together in Tilling, so in their Harvest also; For all fall in together in reaping one man's Field, and so to the next, till every man's Corn be down. And the Custome is, that every man, during the reaping of his Corn, finds all the rest with Victuals." How strongly we are reminded of mediæval England, and Langland's "faire field ful of folke . . . of alle maner of men, the mene and the riche." A great part of the cultivation was looked after by women, the custom varying in different districts. But the presence of women at certain times and places was strictly taboo. The ceremonial purity of the threshing floor was guarded with special care. A special euphemistic vocabulary is made use of while threshing is going on; women are prohibited from entering, as are persons who have attended a funeral, or come from an 'unclean' house* (unless after bathing and putting on clean clothes), or have eaten unclean food.

Manorial organization

An official named *Gamerāla* (like the bailiff of an English manor) was concerned with the administrative organization needed to secure to the head of the village the rents and services due to him; the office was usually hereditary in one of the wealthier families. But as there was also much matter for internal administration in the village, in the interests of the landholders themselves, they elected a *Vel-vidāne* (like the præpositus of an English manor) to control and carry out the system of fencing, ploughing, sowing, etc.

Village court

The village court, or *gansabhāva*, consisted of the principal and experienced men of the village who met at an *ambalam* or shady tree or other central place and gave doom on civil and criminal disputes relating to boundaries, debts, thefts, and quarrels; they were wont to aim at an amicable settlement, and directed their endeavours rather to compromising a case than to the infliction of punishment. It will be seen that, as in India, beneath the outward form of a despotic rule lay the democratic and communistic organization of the villages.

Concerted action

The capacity for communal action is shown in the frequent cases of combination amongst villagers, to erect and endow vihāras. This proof of the possibility of united action even apart from Royal or viceregal patronage, is of particular promise for the future. Thus, in Tumpane, the western division of the Central province, there were but few vihāras before the British accession, and the majority now existing have been built by villagers since 1815, and endowed by them with small parcels of land. The villagers in such cases had the right of selecting the incumbent on a vacancy, and also of ousting one who failed to perform his duties. Thus, to take a special case, Yaṭivavala vihāra in Hārispattuva, was built in Kīrti Śrī's reign by the villagers, who dedicated small pieces of land consisting of nine fields and four gardens. The King is said to have given an ivory image of Buddha

* *Where, for example, a death has recently occurred.*

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and a *karaṇḍuva* to the vihāra on its completion. The incumbency did not descend in pupillary succession, as in the case of other foundations, but was in the gift of the villagers. After the rejection of an undesirable incumbent, rules were framed for the priest and for the thirteen chief men of the village, defining the duties and rights of each (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 973). *Social economy*

There is great charm as one walks along the narrow village paths, in coming suddenly upon some hillside clearing where twenty or thirty men are at work, singing in chorus with an old man leading them; or a party of women weeding and singing as they work across a field with stooping backs in the hot sun. They say that the singing makes the labour less arduous and irksome; no doubt it does. There is a verse in the Makhā Dēva Jātaka, a Sinhalese poem of the thirteenth century, referring to such scenes—"Hundreds of girls he saw, tending the earladen fields of hill-rice, singing sweet songs without fault, wherein his own life was praised." Of agricultural songs I give a few specimens. "In Rayigam Kōrale renowned there grew a famous *tala*-palm, fairer than speech can tell, with various beauty crowned, from village unto village known; fair of hue this palm flower bloomed, as it were lotus petals expanded on the tree." This is part of a reaping song in praise of a *tala* tree (talipot, *Corypha umbraculifera*), a tall and beautiful flowering palm. A sowing song begins as follows: "When the fields are well prepared, which lie round Balagala hill, right quickly then the seed is sown by the four Regents of the Earth." A threshing song contains the following verses: "O bull-king leader of the team, O Vēriya going next him, and Kalāta the bull-calf, make haste to get the threshing ended; I will get your twin horns gilt, deck your pair of ears with pearls, your dew-claws likewise; thus I shall adorn you. Ye bulls that wander by the hillside, yoked together by a woodbine, wearing pearls and coral beads, and eating tender leaves, draw the grain into this threshing floor"; and in another version, "This is not our threshing floor, 'tis the Moon-god's threshing floor; this is not our threshing floor, 'tis the Sun-god's threshing floor . . . etc." The semi-religious character of many of the agricultural songs is very noteworthy. Some, like the last quoted, are associated with elaborate and often beautiful ceremonies, intended to avert disaster, and to secure the growth and successful ingathering of the crop, others belong to that 'pagan' conception of all life as a sacrament, which gives so much beauty and dignity to common things. *Agricultural songs*

The great simplicity of ordinary life must always be kept in mind. The house was a one-storied timber and mud wall building with thatched roof, and if belonging to a man of some importance consisted of a number of rooms arranged about an inner square verandah (the floors being daubed with cow-dung to keep them clean and smooth), within which, again, was a square yard (*hataṛes-midula*) open to the sky, where sometimes a few potherbs might be grown. The rooms were rather dark, having unglazed windows on the inside only, for the sake of privacy. The poorest house, however, had but one room, few more than two or three, except the *valavva* or 'manor house' of a great man. Ordinary houses were not often made by the craftsmen, but each man put up his own, the *kapurāla* performing the necessary ceremonies. A verse from a Cambridgeshire traditional song, 'Ground for the Floor,' exactly describes the situation within: *Domestic architecture*

> As for grates, I've got none, for my fire's on the ground,
> And chairs I've got none to set myself down;
> I've a three-legged stool, it's the chief of my store,
> In my neat little cottage with ground for the floor.

Household work was done by the women on the inside verandah; here they pounded

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rice and *kurakkan*, and wove their mats. One room was set apart as a kitchen. A granary (*aṭuva*) was built up on stone pillars as a protection against white ants, on the inner verandah, or formed a separate building outside. The house could be enlarged by the addition of other courtyards surrounded by their own set of rooms, and in this way there often grew up quite a large house, consisting of several associated but independent parts, occupied by the families of near relations or of married sons or daughters. This is, of course, a feature of the well-known joint family system.

Furniture

Furniture was of the simplest. Three-legged stools, or shaped logs (*kolo̱mbu*) afforded seats according to rank; none but the King might sit upon a stool with a back. Four-legged beds were in general use, but often only by the master of the house, the women, children and servants sleeping on mats on the floor; some beds were elaborately and beautifully carved. For the kitchen a set of earthern pots, a vegetable slicer, a coconut scraper (*hiramanaya*), a stone for grinding curry-stuffs (*miris-gala*), a water dipper (*kinissa*), baskets for corn, wooden spoons, and a spoon rack (*heṇdiāna*) were the principal requirements. Three stones (*lig-gal*) formed a cooking hearth, supporting an earthen pot over a wood fire; but in some districts an earthen hearth in the form of a ring open at one side served the same purpose. Earthern or brass coconut oil lamps afforded a dim light. Agricultural implements, including the yoke (*kada*) for carrying burdens were also stored in the house. Clothing, books (if any) and valuables were kept in wooden chests. Cloths were also stored in earthen pots for their better protection against insects. Cot-shaped wooden cradles were suspended from the roof. For eating purposes, those who could afford it, had silver, brass or china dishes (resp., *teṭi*, *piṉgāna*) on which to lay the plantain leaf from which the food was directly taken. The king's plantain leaf was laid on a gold plate. Honorable persons used a low brass stand (*sĕrak-kalĕ*) as a small table for eating from, being seated on a stool themselves; others ate upon the ground, the plantain leaf being laid on an elegantly plaited grass tray or dish (*atulpata*). All, of course, ate with the fingers; the women separately and after the men had been served. Beef was wholly avoided, and flesh and fish but very little used, rice being the staple food; but the diet of well-to-do persons was sufficiently varied with numerous curries, rice and other corn cakes and sweetmeats skilfully prepared by the women of the household, who, however high in rank, took pride in culinary operations. The common drink was water. When drinking from a vessel the people avoided soiling it, by holding the pot at a distance and pouring water into the mouth, or the hand held as a cup against the mouth.

Costume

Together with this simplicity of life and general absence of luxury went a well-considered love of beautiful dress, affording a remarkable contrast to the modern tendency to combine every sort of personal luxury with gloomy European costume in its extremest forms. There could hardly be imagined a more beautiful sight than a Kandyan lady (Pl. II.) wearing her embroidered bodice covered with a *sāri* of old Indian brocade, bare-footed, and covered with delicate tinkling chains and pendants, rings and bracelets, of which profusion one feels that nothing could be spared. The full dress of chiefs (Pl. III.) is equally striking, but less beautiful.

The Royal costume in the eighteenth century consisted of an eight-cornered hat (*aṭa-mulu-toppiya*) with tree ornament (*mal-gaha*) on the top; a shirt (*kamisiya*), under a long-sleeved tunic (*bō-heṭṭaya*) of silk brocade, with openings for head and arms, the shoulders ornamented with bō-leaves, the wrists frilled; and loose trousers (*uḍaya*) frilled at the ankle, or a gold-wrought *tuppoṭiya* and belt. Attached to the tunic was a cape (*mante*) of white cotton or silk, or even thin gold plate, to protect the oiled hair. The king wore also a profusion of jewellery, and carried a jewelled cane. Special officers of the palace had charge of the royal wardrobe, jewellery, etc., and were required to be present at the

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king's toilet; another officer superintended the royal bath and the people whose service it was to prepare it and himself dressed the king's hair. All these gentlemen-in-waiting belonged to the highest families. Many pictures show the king wearing the ordinary jacket of a chief, buttoned up the front, and with a round or a four-cornered hat (Fig. 1). The full dress is well seen in the illustration of an ivory statuette of the eighteenth century, Plate XXXVI, 1; on Plate V. of Davy's 'Travels in Ceylon,' 1821; and in the portrait of Vikrama Rāja Siṃha in the *Pattiruppuva* in Kandy, reproduced on p. 65 of 'Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon.' The earliest known portrait of a Sinhalese king is that of Vimala Dharma Sūriya I., in A.D. 1602, given in Spilbergen's 'Historiael Journal,' 1605, and reproduced in 'Indische Batikunst,' by Rouffaer and Jouynboll, Vol. III., and in this book, Plate XXII. In this portrait the king is shown in crown, jacket and *mante*, but wearing a cloth (*tuppoṭiya*) instead of trousers. Rāja Siṃha II., according to Knox (p. 34), dressed very much in a fashion of his own. The king possessed a crown, which he seldom wore. The regalia* (*pañca-kakudhabhāṇḍaya*) consisted of the white umbrella (*chatraya*), sword of state (*kaḍuva*), fly whisk, (*val vidunāva* or *cāmaraya*), forehead plate (*nalalpaṭaya*), and golden shoes (*miriveḍi saṇgala*) emblematic of sovereignty. The king on occasions of state, and chiefs' and temple processions, were also attended by bearers of emblems called collectively the *ran āvuda*, 'golden insignia'; these are seen in the procession picture, Plate I. Amongst these may be mentioned the emblems of the sun and the moon, and the ornamented talipot leaf umbrella (*vaḍana talātta*). The latter represents an umbrella for use, the *chatraya* or *mutu kuḍaya* being symbolic only. Chieftains and palace officers wore a four-cornered hat (*hatara-mulu-toppiya*) with a tassel (*boralaya*) instead of the *mal-gaha*. A wavy white frill (*reḷipālama*) round the top of the hat was reserved to royalty and adigārs, the *mal-gaha* to royalty and Māmpiṭiya Baṇḍāras. Inferior officers wore a round hat (*vaṭa-toppiya*), and no jacket. The *tuppoṭiya* and belt (*paṭiya*) completed their dress. Nowadays the etiquette is not strictly observed, and Kandyan chiefs generally wear the *mal-gaha* and other parts of the royal costume (Pl. III). But European costume is being generally adopted, with painful effects.

Social economy

Royal dress

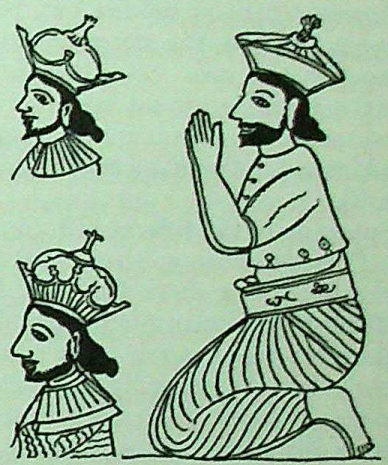

Fig. 1. Royal dress: from pictures of *Sāvisi vivaraṇa* in a paper MS. of 1811. Shows round, four and eight-cornered hats with *boralaya*; *heṭṭaya* with and without *mante*; *tuppoṭiya* and belt.

Knox gives the following description of the dress of the chiefs: "The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew *Callico*, and about their middle a cloth, a *white* one next their skin, and a *blew* one or of some other colour or painted, over the white: a blew or red *shash* girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver sticking in their bosom; and a compleat short Hanger carved and inlaid with Brass and Silver by their sides, the Scabbard most part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven; a painted Cane and sometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a small bag in his hand, which is instead of a Pocket, wherein is *Betel-leaves* and *nuts*. Which they

Dress of chiefs

* *The last king's crown and regalia were sold by auction in London, in* 1820.

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constantly keep chewing in their mouths, with *Lime* kept in a Silver Box rarely engraven, which commonly they hold in their hands, in shape like a Silver Watch.

"The great ones also generally, and spruce young men, do wear their hair long hanging down behind: but when they do any work or travail hard, it annoying them, they tie it up behind. Heretofore generally they bored holes in their ears, and hung weights in them to make them grow long, like the *Malabars*, but this King not boring his, that fashion is almost left off. The men for ornament do wear Brass, Copper, Silver Rings on their Fingers, and some of the greatest Gold. But none may wear any Silk."

Sumptuary laws

The details of costume and many other matters were regulated by well-defined sumptuary laws. Artificers, according to Knox, wore the same apparel as the *goviyō*. Of the barbers, both men and women might wear doublets, but not sit on stools. Potters might not wear any doublet, nor the cloth below the knee, or sit on stools. The *mal-gaha* or flower ornament on the hat, the eight-cornered hat, shoes, stockings, trousers and all regalia such as the sword of state, umbrella of dominion, and royal jewellery none but the king might use. So, too, plastered walls, tiled roofs, finials and two-storied buildings were forbidden to all save the King, temples, and the highest officers. The modes of salutation, and even the language employed, varied according to the rank of the person addressed. Great nicety in the employment of the proper titles for any occasion was used.

Speaking of the difference in costume of the classes, Knox says of the 'Hondrews' (*goviyō*): "These are distinguished from others by their *names*, and the wearing of their *cloth*, which the Men wear down half their Legs, and the Women to their Heels: one end of which Cloth the Women fling over their Shoulders, and with the very end carelesly cover their Breasts; whereas the other sort of Women must go naked from the wast upwards, and their Cloaths not hang down much below their Knees: except it be for cold; for then either Women or Men may throw their Cloth over their Backs. But then they do excuse it to the *Hondrews*, when they meet them, saying, *Excuse me, it is for warmth.*

They are distinguished also by their own Countrey *Caps*, which are of the fashion of *Mitres:* there are two flaps tied up over the top of the Crown. If they be *Hondrews*, their Caps are all of one Colour, either White or Blew: if of inferior quality, then the Cap and the flaps on each side be of different Colours, whereof the Flaps are always Red."

These caps are no longer worn, and were already out of fashion in the eighteenth century. Their appearance is illustrated on Plate XXX., in figure 3. I do not know what the knitted caps made by Knox and his fellow-prisoners in such quantities (Knox, p. 129) were like, probably there are none of these in existence now. It is now usual, and probably was so in the eighteenth century also, for any but officers on duty, to wear no hat, or only a kerchief arranged turband-wise; or in some districts, when engaged in field work, enormous hats of bamboo leaf (*baṭa kola toppiya*) or smaller low-crowned hats of plaited grass.

One other garment must be mentioned, the *diya-kacciya*, described more fully in the chapter on Weaving. It was the dress of runners and watchmen or guards (*murakārayō*), (see Pl. V.); and also a bathing costume generally; it is said also to have been regularly worn as an undergarment. Those worn by persons of rank were elaborately and beautifully ornamented.

Dress of women

The dress of women of high caste consisted of a *heṭṭaya* with *mante* like that of a man, and a cloth (*helaya*) round the loins arranged in various ways (Pl. XXXVI., 2, 3, 4). Otherwise, the end of the cloth, then called *ohoriya*, is thrown over the shoulder, in the Tamil fashion (Pl. II.), but this seems to have been rare in the eighteenth century, as it is never seen in the pictures. The *ohoriya* (*sāri*) is no doubt of Tamil origin.

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"But the women in their Apparel do far surpass the men neither are they so curious in clothing themselves as in making their wives fine. The mens Pride consists in their Attendance, having men bearing Arms before and behind them. *Social economy*

"In their houses the women regard not much what dress they go in, but so put on their cloths as is most convenient for them to do their work. But when they go abroad, and make themselves fine, They wear a short Frock with sleeves to cover their bodies of fine white *Callico* wrought with blew and red Thread in flowers and branches: on their Arms Silver Bracelets, and their fingers and toes full of Silver Rings, about their necks, Necklaces of Beads or Silver, curiously wrought and engraven, guilded with Gold, hanging down so low as their brests. In their ears hang ornaments made of Silver set with Stones, neatly engraven and guilded. Their ears they bore when they are young, and rowl up *Coker-nut* leaves and put into the holes to stretch them out, by which means they grow so wide that they stand like round Circles on each side of their faces, which they account a great ornament, but in my Judgment a great deformity, they being well featured women. *Women's dress (Knox)*

"About their *Wasts* they have one or two Silver girdles made with Wire and Silver Plate handsomly engraven, hanging down on each side, one crossing the other behind. And as they walk they chew *Betel.* But notwithstanding all their bravery neither man nor woman wears shoos or stockings, that being a Royal dress, and only for the King himself." The women's costume at the present day, in the low-country consists of a loose, low-cut bodice, and a cloth round the lower part of the body, and is said to be of Malay origin, like the tortoise-shell combs worn by low-country men.

The position of women, as usual in Buddhist countries, was good in many respects. The property of husband and wife remained distinct, the husband having no power over his wife's estate,—an advantage very newly won in England, but of long standing in the East, despite the supposed slavery of women there. Women could inherit service lands and could exercise much influence. Seclusion was not customary, unless amongst the aristocracy; it is probably more fashionable now than in the middle ages. According to Knox, there was rather too great freedom than the reverse, parents regarding their daughters' lovers with favour, on account of the services they were willing to render when need was. What spirit and character Kandyan women could show is illustrated by more than one anecdote. In the early days of British rule, Miyanadeṇiya Lēkam of Degaldoruva was robbed in his own house by Malay desperadoes, and such wounds inflicted that his bowels gushed out; but such was his firmness, that he bound up his bowels with his waistcloth and found time before his death to leave his property to his only daughter, whose subsequent evidence led to the conviction and execution of the robbers; so courageous had been her behaviour throughout, that a grant of land was specially made to her by the Government (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 137). One heroic tale sounds more like a story of the Rājputs than one of the Sinhalese. It relates the history of a woman trained in arms, whose prowess so delighted the king (sixteenth or seventeenth century) that he rewarded her with gifts of elephants and lands, and made her Disāva of the Four Kōrales (Bell, Kēgalla Report, p. 50). *Position of women*

The following example of a woman's will is of interest for its own sake, and as showing what things were held of value amongst the Sinhalese, particularly land, cattle, and jewellery: "I, Kombi Etanā, the granddaughter of Hannepetiya Rāla, of Dēvarammulla, in Uḍasiyapattuva, do hereby make over to my daughter, Puñci Etanā, the following property, which I inherited from my grandfather: one amuṇa of Vayalekumbura, two amuṇu of Goḍakumbura, with all the houses, gardens, &c., attached to them, and the garden Hevanetenne Megoḍavatte with the one pēla and five lāhas extent of Darandra;

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Social economy

in arms one *kastāna* sword, one gun, one *paṭisthāna* spear, one stone-handled knife; one single-fold chain, one pair of golden ear-rings, twelve silver bracelets, five double rings, one pair of ankle rings, one set of silver jacket buttons, two metal basins, one large hatchet, one small hatchet, one *jagalat* cap, fifty ridīs, one pair of bullocks, two cows with their young ones, four she-buffaloes with their young ones, one *tuppoṭi* cloth, one silk cloth" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 159).

Women

Religious dedications by women were not unusual. For example, Lat Etanā, granddaughter of Abeyakon Mudiyanse of Meḍivaka Minuvangomuva, 'did many meritorious acts with a view of obtaining the other world.' Her daughter, Kudā Etanā, offered to the Daḷadā Māligāva certain lands, 'reserving her right to possess on giving one bag of rice to the Māligāva each year,' and made other offerings of robes, books, mats and cloths, and 'for a general almsgiving,' twenty-two cloths, three cows with calves, five bill-hooks, five axes, five sickles, two areca-nut slicers and lime boxes, two sets ear-flowers, and six silver bangles." The merits of these offerings were to be shared by the gods, the king, the ministers, the incumbent of both vihāras, the low and high inhabitants of the world, her ancestors, herself, and her dead relations, 'and may I obtain such blessings as to see the future Buddha' (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 586).

Knox's account of Kandyan women is as follows:

"They are in their gate and behaviour very high, stately in their carriage after the *Portugal* manner, of whom I think they have learned: yet they hold it no scorn to admit the meanest to come to speech of them. They are very thrifty, and it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their Pride and Glory to be accounted near and saving. And to praise themselves they will sometimes say, *That scraps and parings will serve them; but that the best is for their Husbands.* The Men are not jealous of their Wives, for the greatest *Ladies* in the Land will frequently talk and discourse with any Men they please, altho their Husbands be in presence. And altho they be so stately, they will lay their hand to such work as is necessary to be done in the House, notwithstanding they have Slaves and Servants enough to do it."

Character (Knox)

Of the character and manners of Kandyans generally, Knox remarks (pp. 63-5, and 97) "They are a people proper and very well favoured. . . . They are very active and nimble in their limbs and very ingenious. . . . They are crafty and treacherous, not to be trusted upon any protestations: for their manner of speaking is very smooth and courteous, insomuch that they who are unacquainted with their dispositions and manners, may easily be deceived by them. For they make no account nor conscience of lying, neither is it any shame or disgrace to them, if they be catched in telling lies: it is so customary.* They are very vigilant and wakeful, sufficed with very little sleep: very hardy both for diet and weather, very proud and self conceited. . . . They are not very malitious one towards another; and their anger doth not last long; seldom or never any blood shed among them in their quarrels. It is not customary to strike; and it is very rare that they give a blow so much as to their *Slaves*; who may very familiarly talk and discourse with their *Masters*. They are very near and covetous, and will pinch their own bellies for profit; very few spendthrifts or bad husbands are to be met with here. . . . Of all Vices they are least addicted to *stealing*, the which they do exceedingly hate and abhor; so that there are but few Robberies committed among them. They do much extol and commend Chastity, Temperance, and Truth in words and actions; and confess that it

** Largely a matter of politeness, and without expectation of the person addressed being really deceived, as in England 'Not at home' stands for 'Will not see you.' A Kandyan will promise anything, rather than appear ill mannered; it is your own fault if you look for performance.*

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is out of weakness and infirmity, that they cannot practice the same, acknowledging that the contrary Vices are to be abhorred, being abomination both in the sight of God and Man. . . . When they travel together a great many of them, the Roads are so narrow, that but one can go abreast, and if there be Twenty of them, there is but one Argument or Matter discoursed of among them all from the first to the last. And so they go talking along all together, and every one carrieth his Provisions on his back for his whole Journey. . . . At their leisure when their affairs will permit, they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their Language called *Amblomb*, where they sit chewing *Betel*, and looking one upon the other very gravely and solidly, discoursing concerning the Affairs at Court, between the King and the great men; and what Employment the People of the City are busied about. For as it is the chief of their business to serve the King, so the chief of their discourse is concerning such matters. Also they talk of their own affairs, about Cattel and Husbandry. And when they meet with Outlandish-men they enquire about the Laws and Government of their Countrey, and if it be like theirs; and what Taxes and Duties we are bound to pay, and perform to our King, &c.

Social economy

"In short, in Carriage and Behaviour they are very grave and stately like unto the *Portugals*, in under standing quick and apprehensive, in design subtil and crafty, in discourse courteous but full of Flatteries, naturally inclined to temperance both in meat and drink, but not to Chastity, near and Provident in their Families, commending good Husbandry. In their dispositions not passionate, neither hard to be reconciled again when angry. In their Promises very unfaithful, approving lying in themselves, but misliking it in others; delighting in sloath, deferring labour till urgent necessity constrain them, neat in apparel, nice in eating; and not given to much sleep."

They are grave and stately (Knox)

The four great annual festivals (*maṅgalya**) are the *Avurudu* (New Year) in *Vesak* (May), the *Perahera* in Ḍhala (July), the *Kārti* or feast of lights (Hindu *Dīpavali*) in Il (November), and the *Alutsāl* (harvest-home) in *Duruṭṭa* (January). The great annual holidays occupied two or three weeks previous to the New Year; at this time the fields do not require much attention, the craftsmen are idle, and the people engage in games, such as *aṃkeliya*. Before the New Year, it was the duty of the astrologers to prepare a notice, giving information of (1) the day and precise minute of its commencement; (2) the auspicious hour for the *Nānumura maṅgalya*; (3) the auspicious hour for taking the first cooked food; (4) the hour for taking the first bath; (5) the hour for commencing business; and (6) the auspicious hour for making presents. The *Nānumura maṅgalya* is a purification ceremony immediately following the New Year, in which use is made of a composition of lime-juice, sandal paste, etc., especially for cleansing the hair. In Buddhist temples the reflection of the head of the image in a mirror is carefully bathed. At this time the tenants of *ninda* villages appeared with presents before the proprietor, and attended to the regular repairs of his *valavva*. In temple villages they likewise presented their *peṇum*, repaired the buildings, took part in the processions, erected booths for lights and so forth. Children appeared before their parents, asked pardon for all offences; and chiefs appeared before the king with presents. The whole festival lasted several days, till the last ceremony was performed; during this time all people kept holiday, and chiefs and people were exempted from public service. No craftsman would recommence work after the holidays before the lucky hour; it is still a most inconvenient time, like the English

Four annual festivals

* *For details see Knox, Part II., Ch. IV.; Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' pp. 167 ff.; Service Tenures Commission Report, 1872, pp. 461, 515, etc.; Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XCIX.; and Bell, Kēgalla Report, p. 125.*

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Social economy

Perahera

Christmas or Easter holidays, when nothing can be done, however great the hurry! The *Perahera* was an annual festival held in honour of the four divinities, Nātha, Vishṇu, Kataragama and Pattini. It was observed in all the principal dēvāles, but most grandly in Kandy, where it is still an imposing spectacle. The festival was commenced by the felling of a young jak tree, which must have borne no fruit. The ground about the selected tree was cleaned, and censed with the smoke of burning *dummala*, the tree was anointed with a preparation of sandal wood, and offerings made of a lamp with nine wicks, and of nine betel leaves, and nine kinds of flowers.* The tree was then felled by the wood-cutter of the Maha Vishṇu Dēvāle, wearing a clean cloth, and ceremonially purified. He divided the trunk in four, one part for each of the four dēvāles, to which it was carried in state with drums and attendance. On the day of the new moon, at an auspicious hour, the posts (*kap*) thus prepared were set up in the ground beneath a temporary roof, and decorated with leaves, flowers, and fruits. The posts so set up were called *Eḥala-gaha* or July-tree. The actual *perahera* followed. During the first five days called *Kumbal-perahera*, the insignia were taken in procession round the 'may-pole.' During the next five, called the *Dēvāla-perahera*, the procession went twice daily round the outer court of the dēvāle; in Kandy that is to say, round the great bō-maḷuva mentioned above on p. 12. The procession was very grand, and ordered as follows:

1 Maha Lēkam Mahātmaya with the ... *Lēkammiṭiya* and writing-style
2 Gajanāyaka Nilame " ... *Hastiyā* (elephant) *maha-koḍiya*
3 Koḍituvakku Nilame " ... *Koḍi-tuvakku-eṭi* (gun flag) *maha-koḍiya*
4 Hatara Kōrale Disāva " ... *Ira-saṇda* (sun and moon) *maha-koḍiya*
5 Sat Kōrale do. " ... *Siṃhayā* (lion) *maha-koḍiya*
6 Uva do. " ... *Haṃsayā* (sacred goose) *maha-koḍiya*
7 Mātale do. " ... *Sudu* (white) *maha-koḍiya*
8 Sabaragamuva do. " ... *Paṭaredi* (yellow silk) *maha-koḍiya*
9 Kōrala Tuna do. " ... *Bhēruṇḍaya* (double-headed eagle) *maha-koḍiya*
10 Valapane do. " ... *Mayura* (peacock) *maha-koḍiya*
11 Uḍapalāta do. " ... *Neḷum-mal* (lotus-flowers) *maha-koḍiya*
12 Nuvarakalāviya do. " ... *Gajasiṃha* (elephant-trunk lion) *maha-koḍiya*
13 Vellassa do. " ... *Koṭiyā* (leopard) *maha-koḍiya*
14 Binteṇna do. " ... *Giravā* (parrot) *maha-koḍiya*
15 Tamankaḍuva do. " ... *Valahā* (bear) *maha-koḍiya*
16 Elephant of the Māligāva, bearing the Shrine and tooth-relic, attended by other elephants and the people of the Māligāva
17-20 Elephants and people of the four dēvāles, Nātha, Vishṇu, Kataragam and Pattini
21 Raṭemahātmayas and their flags
22 Maha Lēkam Department ... *Eṭ-kanda-lihiṇiya koḍiya*
23 Nanāyakkāra Lēkam ... *Nil-paṭa* (blue-silk) *koḍiya*
24 Atapattu Lēkam ...
25 Veḍikkāra Lēkam ... *Ratu-paṭa* (red-silk) *koḍiya*
26 Vaḍana Tuvakkukāra Lēkam ... *Sudu-paṭa* (white-silk) *koḍiya*
27 Paṇiḍakāra Lēkam ... *Ratu-paṭa* (red-silk) *koḍiya*

The two Adigārs brought up the rear. The Mahāvaṃsa mentions also "people of strange countries, and men skilled in divers tongues, and numerous artificers and handicraftsmen."

** Directions for these ceremonies are given in the book called Māyāmataya, for particulars of which see Appendix to Chapter IV.*

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Each official had a special banner proper to his district, of which some particulars are given above; further details are given by Bell, loc. cit. The flags were made of cotton, dye-painted, perhaps made in Jaffna, or it may be by Tamils in Kandy; some still may be found amongst the stores of the dēvāles. During the last five days, called the *Maha* or *Ran-dōli-perahḗra*, the procession passed through the main thoroughfare of the town also. On these occasions the streets were "made clean, and on both sides along the Streets Poles stuck up with Flags and Pennons hanging at the tops of them, and adorned with boughs and branches of Coker-Nut-trees hanging like Fringes, and lighted Lamps all along on both sides of the Streets, both by day and night" (Knox, p. 79). This part of the *perahḗra* was extremely magnificent. The palanquins (*ran-dōli*) of the divinities appeared in the procession, each with its golden vessel and sword, and following the elephants bearing the weapons of the gods; and they were attended not only by the women of the temple but by the court ladies and wives and daughters of the chiefs. "Next after the Gods and their Attendance," says Knox, "go some Thousands of Ladies and Gentlewomen, such as are the best sort of the Inhabitants of the Land, arrayed in the bravest manner that their Ability can afford, and so go hand in hand three in a row: at which time all the Beauties on Zelone in their Bravery do go to attend upon their Gods in their progress about the City."* The chiefs also vied with one another in the splendour of their costume and the number of their attendants; the king himself took part, joining the evening procession during the last five days, being drawn in a golden chariot drawn by eight horses. All the elephants and attendants available were present in full glory. In Kandy the tooth-relic of Buddha was carried in procession with the insignia of the four deities; this custom is said to have been introduced by Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha, to conciliate the Siamese Buddhist priests who came over to restore the priestly order, and objected to this purely Hindu festival; but tooth-relic and other processions existed long before Kīrti Śrī's time.

Social economy

Perahḗra

The festival concluded with one of the principal ceremonies, the *diyakḗpīma* or 'cutting of water.' The last evening procession proceeded to the customary ferry (*diyakḗpum-tota*),† and the *Kapurālas* going in a richly-decorated boat to the middle of the stream, cut the water at dawn with the *ran-kaḍuva*, or golden sword. At the same moment the golden goglet (*ran-kḗṇḍiya*) which was filled with water at the last year's ceremony was emptied into the river, and re-filled with the very water cut by the sword. The *Kapurāla* then recited an *aṣṭaka*, and the *Jaya-maṅgala gāthās* from the *pirit* book, after which the insignia and vessel of water were taken back to the dēvāle, to remain there till the next year. After the *perahḗra*, the officers and tenants taking part in it, as well as the elephants, took part in ceremonies for the conciliation of the lesser divinities and evil spirits; these were called *balibat-garāyakun* and *valiyakun-nḗṭīma*.

The third annual festival, the *Kārti maṅgalya*, took place in November. The chief part of it consisted in the illumination of dēvāles and vihāras with innumerable small earthern lamps (*mḗṭi-pān*). In Kandy, the palace and temples, and the principal streets (those

Kārti maṅgalya

* *It may be mentioned of this festival, that Davy records that during the whole time, that though there were several thousand persons assembled, when he witnessed it, he saw no scene of riot or disturbance, and no instance of drunkenness. In these days, when a part of the revenue of Government is derived from the farming out of liquor licenses, and taverns in Kandy are numerous, it would hardly be possible to say the same thing.*

† *The diya-kḗpum-tota of the five dēvāles, Ḗmbekke, Gadaladeṇiya, Vēgiriya and Vallahagoḍa was the Mahavḗli gaṅga at Botalapiṭiya Bō-maḷuva in Kahatapiṭiya near Kandy; that of the Kandy dēvāles was at Gettembe, between Kandy and Perādeṇiya.*

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Social economy

around the bō-maḷuva) were brilliantly illuminated, and the images of the gods were carried in procession on elephants, with almost the same ceremonies and honours as during the first part of the *perahẹra*.

Alutsal maṅgalya

The *Alutsal maṅgalya* or harvest-home took place in January; the astrologers fixed two auspicious hours, one for bringing in the new rice, the other for dressing and eating it. It was brought into Kandy from the royal and temple villages, the ears of rice in earthern pots and the grain in clean white bags. The grain for the Māligāva was conveyed on an elephant, that for the dēvāles and the palace was carried by men on yokes under covers (*gahoni*) of white or clean cloth; they were met on the way by the Adigārs and chiefs, who attended them to the great square, and there the auspicious hour was awaited, after which the grain was taken to its various destinations. At the same time the chiefs and people in the country brought home the new rice in a similar fashion. Two or three days afterwards occurred the auspicious hour for eating the first new rice of the season, dressed in a particular manner.

Buddhism

Some mention of religion must be made. The universal and state religion even under most of the Tamil kings* was Buddhism. Any detailed account of Buddhism would be out of place here; and the information is easily obtained elsewhere. But this much should be understood, that it is a moral philosophy, founded by the great reformer, Gotama Buddha (d. 543 B.C.), and distinguished more or less clearly from the Brahmanical Hinduism on which it is founded, by its condemnation of ritual observances and sacrifices, its rejection of all kinds of animism, its insistence on the equality and brotherhood of all men, and by its monastic institutions. The existence of gods and heavens is not denied, but they, like man and earth, are not eternal, and do not give the highest unchanging bliss; those whose merits bring them even to the highest heavens are not freed from the necessity for rebirth in this or other worlds. The existence of individual souls is denied, as is also that of a God or creator. Personal existence is an evil; the goal before all humanity is the attainment of an unconditional state free from the operation of causality, and called Nirvāṇa; this state is beyond the range of perception of gods and unenlightened men. It corresponds to the fourth state of the Vēdāntist, of union with Brahma, that is Being, of which nought else can be predicated save existence. But many Southern Buddhists hold Nirvāṇa to be strictly annihilation, there being no remainder when the elements composing individuality are dispersed.

Nirvāṇa is to be obtained not by prayer or by sacrifices, but by freeing the mind from all attachment and desire. *Rapid* spiritual progress is only possible to the ascetic; but extreme ascetism and self-torture are condemned as much as sensuous self-indulgence, both hindering progress. But the simple mode of salvation, the 'middle way' for those who remain in the world, and in whom the immediate desire for emancipation has not become intense, is self-restraint, and the performance of good actions without regard to reward, and without thought of an I or a My. This means of salvation thus corresponds to the *karma-yoga* of Hinduism, and is that which makes the most general appeal to good men everywhere.

In practice, Buddhism is a religion of love and pity shown to all living beings; and affords a sufficient sanction for morality in its recognition of the immutable laws of cause and effect, or *karma*, the due recompense, in this world or the next, inevitably attending upon every action. But a great part of the secret of the success of Buddhism lay in the dynamic force of the Buddha's own personality, and the intensity of his love for all living beings. It

** The last kings, as before noticed, were properly Hindus; but made themselves 'one with the religion and the people.'*

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should be understood that the Buddhahood could only be obtained as the result of a determination exerted through countless ages and countless incarnations, in each of which the highest virtues and greatest self-sacrifice must be observed. Hence it is said that in all the world there is not one spot even so large as a mustard seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures. But the greatest evidence of his perfect love was shown in his renunciation of the bliss of Nirvāṇa ages ago when he was born as the Brahman Sumedha, in the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. This implied his voluntary endurance of the miseries of repeated earthly lives until he attained Buddhahood, in order that he might reveal to all beings the way of salvation.

Social economy

Buddhism

The history of many of these earthly lives, both before and after the one just referred to, is given in the Pansiyapanas Jātaka Pota, or Book of the 550 Jātakas. Many of these 'Birth Stories' are exceedingly beautiful; some have been made into extended poems by mediæval Sinhalese writers; certain ones are special favourites, well known to every Sinhalese Buddhist, and depicted on the walls of every vihāra. The best known and most often painted is the Vessantara Jātaka. The Bodhisat, in his last Birth but one before that in which he attained Buddhahood, was born as a prince, Vessantara. In due course he was married to Madrī Dēvī, daughter of a neighbouring king. A son and daughter were born. At this time there was a famine in Kāliṅga, from want of rain; the king of that country, hearing that Vessantara possessed a rain-giving white elephant, sent Brahmans to ask for it as a gift. When the messengers arrived, it was *pohoya* day, and the prince, mounted on the elephant, was proceeding to the public alms-hall to distribute the royal bounty. He gave away the elephant at once, though its trappings alone were worth twenty-four lacs of treasure. But the citizens were angry at the loss of the elephant from which they derived so much advantage, and complained to the prince's father, with the result that he was banished to the rocky hill called Vaṅgagiriya. Madrī Dēvī would not be left behind. The two distributed all their wealth, and set out for the forest in a chariot. Very soon two Brahmans appeared and begged for the horses, which were given at once; but Sakra sent four dēvas in the shape of horses to draw it. However, another Brahman soon asked for the chariot, and it also was given, after which they were forced to proceed on foot. At last they reached Vaṅgagiriya, where Viśvakarma had, by command of Sakra, prepared for them two *pansal*, one for Vessantara, the other for Madrī Dēvī and the children. Here they led an ascetic life for seven months. There was an old Brahman named Jūjaka, the name of whose wife was Amitta-tapa; one day she had gone to the well to fetch water, when the other women insulted and bullied her. To pacify her, Jūjaka promised to do the household work himself in future; but she told him that the charitable Vessantara would give him a slave to wait upon her. Accordingly he proceeded to Vaṅgagiriya, and asked

Jātakas

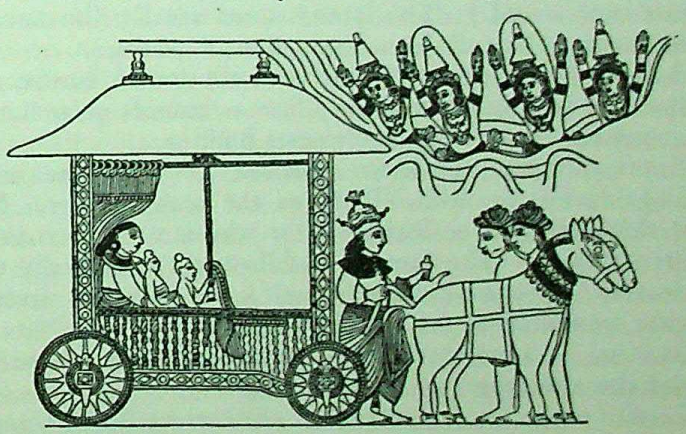

Fig. 2. Vessantara Jātaka: gift of horses. Costume as in Fig. 1. Madrī Dēvī is in the chariot with the two children. Four dēvas are seen above. From eighteenth century painting at Degaldoruva, as in Pl. I.

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Social economy

Jatakas

for the two children, who, hearing the talk, were frightened and hid themselves in a neighbouring lotus pond. At last Jūjaka departed with the children. Madrī Dēvī alone remained; and Sakra thinking it would not be right for her also to be given, appeared as an aged Brahman, and asked for her as his slave. When he received her, he returned her to Vessantara, saying she was to be kept for him, and reminding the hermit that he could not again give away what was now no longer his own. But the trials were now at an end; the necessary gifts had been made, to ensure the future reception of the Buddhahood. Jūjaka took the children to the grandparents, and was so liberally treated by them that he died of over-eating! It was immediately decided to recall the prince, and so he returned to the kingdom. It is then explained who the characters became in a subsequent birth, Vessantara becoming Buddha, Madrī Dēvī becoming Yasōdharā, and so with the rest.

This well known, and here very much abbreviated story is well painted at Degaldoruva. In Pl. I. and in Fig. 2 are shown reproductions of parts of the work. In the Plate, Prince Vessantara is seen riding the white elephant, and next, giving it away to the Brahmans, who are just out of the picture. The lower panel shows Madrī Dēvī and the two children walking in the forest; and again arrived at Vessantara's cell, saluting him. Fig. 2 shows the gift of horses.

It is quite impossible to summarise all the stories of the jātakas usually painted on vihāra walls. The Vessantara story is given by way of example. But the variety is infinite; the Bōdhisat* was born not only as a man, but very often as an animal or a dēva. The whole series of stories forms not merely a collection of edifying fables, of which many are very beautiful, but is the most valuable collection of early folk-lore extant. The stories are accessible in English, in the translation edited by Prof. Cowell, and published at Cambridge (1895—1907); the last of the six volumes of this work has just been issued.† The jātakas most usually illustrated are the Vessantara, Sattubhatta, Sutasoma, Sīlava, Daham-Soṇḍa, Sasa, Kiṇdurā.

A separate subject connected with the former births, often depicted on vihāra walls is the Sūvisi-vivaraṇa, or twenty-four assurances or annunciations received by the Bōdhisat on various occasions from previous Buddhas.

Maitri Buddha

Representations of '*Maitri*' *Buddha* are often the subject of Vihāra paintings, as at Degaldoruva or Ridī Vihāra on the rock ceilings. Maitri Buddha, the 'loving one,' is that *bodhisatva* or Buddha-elect who is to be next in the order of succession of these great beings. The love of Buddhists turns naturally to such an one, still personal and 'human,' since the Buddha himself having reached nirvāṇa, has reached an unconditioned state, unrelated to the world of men. In Ceylon, Nāta deviyo is regarded as the Maitri Buddha. At present he is in Divyaloka, where he awaits the time of his last incarnation, and the attainment of Buddhahood.

Gotama Buddha

Certain events in the actual life of Gotama Buddha must be related here, as they are so often illustrated on vihāra walls. The enlightenment (attaining of Buddhahood) took place beneath the Bō-tree where the Prince had remained during the terrible mental struggle symbolized in the descriptions and representations of his conflict with Māra, the 'devil' of this temptation in the wilderness. The Prince was seated upon a throne beneath the tree; the powers of evil, led by Māra, made repeated and terrific attacks upon his person, accompanied by portents and horrors of every description (Pl. XIV., 2).

* *Incarnation of one who in a future birth will attain Buddhahood.*

† *See also Spence Hardy, 'Buddhism,' Ch. V.: and Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' Trübner's Oriental Series.*

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These powers are depicted as material beings, fiends and devils of every kind, brandishing weapons against the seated Prince, deserted by the terrified Dēvas, and left entirely alone, save for the Earth Goddess Mahīkāntāva, who remained with him throughout. She is represented in a painting at Kęlaṇiya as half-emergent from the earth beside his feet. The conflict is spoken of as *Māra yuddhaya*, Māra's battle. *Social economy* *Māra yuddhaya*

The less philosophical Buddhists no doubt believe in the real material conflict thus represented; for others it is merely a symbol. As such it is most suggestive. The serenity of the seated figure is powerfully contrasted with the vain efforts of the loathsome and horrible devils around; the devotion of the Earth Goddess is the crowning touch.

Ere the sun set, Māra abandoned the vain contest, and withdrew; but the daughters of Māra in the forms of beautiful women now approached and tempted him; but he remained indifferent; and so the struggle ended. Hour by hour the divine insight of the Prince grew, till by dawn came perfect knowledge, and the long-sought Buddhahood was attained. The event was accompanied by many portents, of which one was the spreading of the six-coloured aura (Budureṣ) emanating from his body, throughout all the spheres. In many seated figures of Buddha, this aura is represented as a halo of coloured rays (Pls. XVIII, XIX). Also the Buddha broke into triumphant song, using as a parable of life, the simple wood and clay-built house which in his time must have differed little from the ordinary houses of the Sinhalese in the eighteenth century.

Then followed the period known as the *satsatiya*,* seven weeks. During the first he remained seated in the spot where the victory was won; during the second he remained in contemplation, with eyes fixed on the sacred tree beneath which he had been seated; then he walked to and fro between that spot and the throne for seven days; then for seven days he remained in a golden palace erected by the Dēvas, and as he sat here, the whole of the Dharma, or truth, revealed presented itself to his mind, from the first words spoken after enlightenment and quoted above to the last before his death. During the fifth week he rested beneath a tree named Ajapāla. In the sixth week he sat by the lake Mucalinda, and during a terrific storm was sheltered by the Nāga Mucalinda, who erected his hood as a canopy above him. During the last week he dwelt in a certain grove of Khīrapala trees. Throughout this time he ate no food. On the fiftieth day two Brahman merchants approached the place, and guided by a Devi who appeared in the sky, went towards the Buddha, desiring to make offerings of honey. The story goes on to relate that as it was not right for Buddha to receive anything in the hands, the Regent Gods of the Four Quarters appeared, having each an almsbowl of emerald; but he would not accept this. They then offered four bowls of stone, and when each entreated him to accept the one offered by himself, Buddha received them all, and formed them into one bowl, the fourfold origin of which appeared at the upper rim. In this bowl he received the offering. Subsequently Buddha proceeded to Benāres, and there began his mission, preaching to all men the Dharma, and founding the order of Buddhist monks. *'Satsatiya'*

The following five precepts (*pan-sil*) are binding on the laity in general: not to destroy life, not to steal, to refrain from adultery, falsehood, and intoxicants. Three other precepts are observed on special occasions: not to eat at unseasonable hours, to abstain from dancing, singing, music and unbecoming shows, and from the use of garlands, scents, perfumes, cosmetics, ointments, and ornaments, to abstain from the use of high and broad beds, and from sexual intercourse of any kind. The eight precepts (*aṭa-sil*) *Pan-sil, the five precepts* *Aṭa-sil*

* *See Pl. XVIII., depicting the events of the last four of the seven weeks, and the offering of honey by the two Brahman merchants on the fiftieth day; see also Pl. VII*[A]. *In Pl. XVIII. the temptation by the daughters of Māra is shown in error as taking place in the fifth week.*

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thus indicated, are observed for twenty-four hours on the four *pohoya* or sabbath days of each month, quarter days of the moon. At such times, married persons sleep apart, and white clothes are worn; the ascetic life is, in fact, adopted for a short period. All religions have recognized the great advantage of such fasts or practice of restraint at regular intervals. Members of the *priesthood* have also at all times to abstain from receiving gold or silver, and are very particularly prohibited from practising any magical art or science, making ten precepts in all (*dasa-sil*). False pretension to supernatural attainment by monks is an unpardonable sin. All such things as incantations, charms and ceremonial worship of gods are opposed to the spirit of Buddhism.

Dasa-sil

Giving of merit

A beautiful aspect of Buddhist belief is the 'giving of merit.' This is the giving to others of a share in the merit acquired by one's own acts. The original merit is not diminished, any more than a lamp from which a hundred lamps have been lighted burns the dimmer. A Buddhist mother will take her child by the hand, when she goes with her offerings of food or flowers to the Vihāra, not merely that he may be trained in the path of love and charity, but that he may share the merit of her actions. The great pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is similarly a means both of acquiring merit, and an opporunity of bestowing it on others. The pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is the outing of the year. Parties of men, women, and children are made up and they trudge afoot from their own villages to the summit of the peak, there lay their offerings upon the great footmark, and so return home. A good deal of rough living is involved, but the whole expedition is a delight, as one may judge who has met such a party of pilgrims on the narrow tracks beyond Ratnapura, or even on the main roads below, singing almost continuously, carrying their little store of luggage in a double bag (*ologuva*) slung over the shoulder. The songs show clearly that great sympathy which the people feel for one striving to become a Buddha, and show also the spell which the great forest and high mountain cast upon them. Very magnificent and very tender is the idea of helping the god by sharing with him the merit of the pilgrimage; not that the merit is thereby lessened to the pilgrim, though it is a real gift to the divinity. A few verses from the Śrī Pāga Mana, one of the most popular songs, are as follows:

Entering the forest of the god,
Beholding the god's auspicious forest,
Bestowing merit on the god with cheerful heart,
Ever making him our refuge;

Buddha first all men adore,
They travel many a *yodun* in the forest,
Thinking of Saman Deviyō as they come,
'By virtue of these merits (that we give) the Buddhahood thou shalt attain.'

Go we all to worship Samanaḷa,
And overcome the ocean of rebirth,
Let us offer all these flowers and lamps,
Let us sing all through the forest!

Even very old and infirm people undertake this pilgrimage; it was undertaken by more than one king. Lawrie (p. 119) mentions that Kapuvatte Kumārihāmi, a very wealthy lady, 'in old age and extreme weakness . . . undertook a pilgrimage to Adam's Peak, and died in February, 1884, when she was being carried down the mountain on the back of one of her vassals.'

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Buddhist priesthood

The object of the institution of the priesthood was "to cause the most virtuous, intelligent, unselfish and spiritual-minded persons in a country to withdraw from the social surroundings where their sensual and other selfish desires were naturally strengthened, devote their lives to the acquisition of the highest wisdom, and fit themselves to teach and guide others out of the pleasant path leading towards misery, into the harder path that leads towards true happiness and liberation." No vow of obedience bound the monk; "mental culture, not mental death was the aim set before the Buddhist ascetic by the founder of his order. Each one is to conquer self by himself" (Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism'). A monk was always free to cast off his robes and return to the world if he wished.

The principal duties of a Buddhist priest, beside the observance of the ten precepts, are to care for the vihāra (Buddhist temple), keep it clean, and offer flowers daily, meditate and study; receive the offerings of worshippers, administer *pansil* and *aṭa-sil* on *pohoya* days; explain the teachings of Buddha when required; read and expound the scriptures (*baṇa*) on special occasions (particularly during *Vas* season); perform *pirit* service when required; superintend repairs to the vihāra buildings, and generally oversee the service of tenants; often also they taught the children and practised medicine; the priest in fact should be, often was, and still sometimes is, the intellectual centre of the village. Of the relations between priest and people the Temple Lands Commissioners speak as follows:

"Besides the relation in which the priests stand to their tenants as landlords, and the religious influence of their possession, they have other holds on the affection of the people. Their pansalas are the schools for village children, and the sons of even the superior headmen are very generally educated at them. They have also, frequently, some knowledge of medicine, and when this is the case they generally give the benefit of their advice gratuitously, which the vedarāla seldom do. Add to this that, as every revenue officer who has ever attempted to induce the natives to exert themselves for their own good knows, the priests are generally, when properly applied to, foremost with their money, if rich, or with their influence or both, in furthering every scheme for local improvement; and from what has been stated, it will be evident that not only is it their interest to be kind and considerate to their tenants, but that they generally are so, and that their influence among the people is, in a social point of view, usefully employed" (quoted S.T. Report, 1872), p. 448. There was thus a close parallel between the position of the incumbent of the village vihāra, and that of the parish priest of mediæval England; he, too, had tithes and rents to gather in, and he taught the children at the church door, as the Buddhist priest did in the *pansala*. Each at his best, represented to the community the true ideal of the man of religion

Dēvāles

Buddhism was itself already founded on Hinduism, and close akin to some of the higher forms of it; and the outward forms of popular Hinduism have in later times been mixed with it, a fact not surprising when we consider the long continued Tamil influence on Sinhalese religion, exerted through the Tamil queens and sometimes through actual Tamil rulers, and in countless other ways. Hence it is that we find attached to almost every vihāra, a dēvāle (*dēvālaya*) where some Hindu god is worshipped, often under the same roof, though not officially recognized by the Buddhist priest. The dēvāles are generally endowed with lands after the manner of Buddhist temples; the lay trustee (*Basnāyaka Nilame*), often a personage of political importance corresponding to the *Diva Nilame* of a Buddhist temple, and having jurisdiction over inhabitants of dēvāle villages, while the priest (*kapurāla* or *kapuva*) was usually the principal tenant of the dēvāle. Offerings are commonly made by worshippers at both vihāras and dēvāles, the one with a view to purely spiritual benefits, the other with a view to material ones. But the dēvāles were almost as much political as religious institutions.

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Principal gods of dēvāles

The principal dēvāles are dedicated to the following five Hindu gods: (1) *Vishṇu*; not much resembling the Hindu Vishṇu, but a Buddhist archangel, a candidate for Buddhahood and a tutelary deity of Laṅkā: (2) *Nāta deviyō*, who is to the Buddhist no other than the *Maitri Buddha*, or Buddha of the next epoch, at present in the world of gods: (3) *Kataragam deviyō* (see p. 1): (4) *Pattini*, goddess of chastity (see p. 6): and (5) *Saman* (*Lakshmaṇa*), half-brother of Rāma, who, with Vishṇu and Kārtikeya accepted the general trust of guarding Laṅkā for Gotama Buddha; *Saman* is the special deity and guardian of Śrī Pāda (Adam's Peak), called after him, Samanaḷa.

Nature spirits

Beside these great Hindu gods thus worshipped in a somewhat altered form, a number of lesser beneficent divinities are also worshipped upon special occasions, as for example *Gaṇa deviyō* (Gaṇēśa), *Bhūmi dēvī* (goddess of the earth, who alone remained by Buddha when all other gods fled in terror of Māra's attack); minor deities (*dēvatāvo*) and nature spirits, such as the guardians of the threshold and the door; spirits dwelling in trees, who should be propitiated before the tree is felled, and the like. The sun and moon are regularly spoken of as gods, but are not worshipped with offerings, though often invoked or mentioned with others in religious songs.

Demonism

A very large element of demonism or devil propitiation also enters into popular religion, and represents a survival of pre-Buddhist devil-dread; the rites, carried out by priests known as *Kaṭṭāḍiya* or *Yakdessā* (from *yaka*, a demon), are directed to the cure or infliction of disease by the aid of the demons.

Planet worship

There is also planet worship to be mentioned, as well as the ordinary widespread reliance upon astrology. Planet worship consists in the propitiation of planetary gods by *bali* ceremonies. In connection with some of these the most elaborate temporary images are made in wet clay; some are repulsive, but certain of those representing gods are dignified and even beautiful (Pl. IV., 2). The rites are usually performed only by men of low caste, especially *beravāyō*.

Buddhism and art

The attitude of Buddhism to the arts demands some consideration here. Buddhism holds the one great aim of life, the goal for which all should strive, to be salvation from the round of repeated or individual existence; and considers *rapid* spiritual progress to be compatible only with an ascetic life. By those that seek to follow the path that leads to such salvation, even the highest intellectual and emotional pleasures must be renounced. The priesthood accordingly were required, amongst other things to abstain from dancing, singing, music and stage plays, not to use ornaments, nor to sleep on high or broad beds. They were allowed to possess personally only their robes, a loin girdle, an alms-bowl, a razor, a needle, a water strainer, a fan, and a pair of sandals, eight articles in all. The robes were to be of dull orange colour (originally selected as a colour regarded with contempt) and made of material first torn to pieces and then sewn together, so as to be of no commercial value. But the priestly community as a whole could be endowed with books, lands and houses, and so became at various times quite wealthy; the houses were often by no means lacking in adornment of carving and metal work; also it often happened that presents of beautifully adorned examples of one or other of the eight requisites were made to individual priests, and were handed down by them in pupillary succession; as for example ivory-handled fans, beautifully decorated books and silk robes; but all such possessions made but a small item, and the vow of individual poverty has been for the most part well kept, except at times of admitted degeneracy in the church. But it appears that priests were sometimes wealthy enough to build or repair vihāras and make gifts (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 688, Palkumbure Unnānse); for an example of the inheritance of land, books, fan, bowl, etc., in pupillary succession see the same, p. 856; but the goods are to be in charge of certain lay trustees, who were to be responsible.

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'Form, sound, taste, smell, touch, these intoxicate beings; cut off the yearning which is inherent in them' says the Dhammika Sutta, addressed to priests. Again, the first of the ten 'objects' on which the thoughts of an ordained priest should dwell runs thus: 'Beauty is nothing to me,—neither the beauty of the body nor that that comes of dress' (Dasa Dhamma Suttam); but of course the beauty of Buddha's own person is frequently insisted on in Buddhist literature. As example of the ascetic attitude may be quoted the story of Citta Gutta and the cave with the painted roof, from the Viśuddhi Mārggaya (first quarter of the fifth century A.D.):—"Once on a time a number of monks were walking from cave to cave, inspecting in them various paintings which were found to charm the eye, and so came to the rock cave, Karanda Mahā Lena. Seeing in this cave the representations in paint of the seven Buddhas, Vipassiya, Sikhiya, Vessabhuya, Kakusandhaya, Konagamanaya, Kassapaya and Gautamaya in the act of departing (renouncing worldly pleasures) to become monks preparatory to attaining Buddhahood, they remarked to the great monk (Citta Gutta Thera) who had been dwelling in it, 'These paintings are attractive'; and he addressing them, 'Ḗvętni (long life!), I who am living in this cave have passed sixty years (in it), but no such paintings have ever come under my notice. However, now because of you who have eyes, I have come to know of the existence of the paintings.' This great monk who has been dwelling in this rock cave for so long a time, never opened his eyes and looked up, as he was wont to look about him only within the distance of a yoke (about eight feet). Opposite this rock cave there is a huge nā-tree. This great monk, however, did not see (the top of) it. But when every year it flowered in season, he saw the pollen, etc., of the flowers on the ground, and had thus discovered that the tree had blossomed."

Social economy

Asceticism

This attitude is logical in the case of one who believes that rapid spiritual progress can thus only be made, and who is in haste. But it is admitted that spiritual progress can be made in other ways, and perhaps not much less quickly, for example, by the performance of right action without attachment to the fruit. And for those who tread such paths art is a means and an aid to spiritual progress, but it is important that it should be so used, and not as an hindrance. And so like everything else, it has been made a part of religion. The ascetic path has never been for all men, and all occasions. The citizen or 'householder' is first, as without him the race would not continue and the purpose of the cosmos would fail. Art is of the first importance as the form of culture which most easily humanises his toil and spiritualizes his ideas. So long as man is related to the world of phenomenal appearance, whether real or not, art of some kind is the necessary means of spiritualizing that relation. This applies as much to the ornament of utilitarian objects and to architecture, as to the purely substantive and ideal art which definitely aims at the revelation of the divine. All art is a very essential part of culture, an integral and inseparable part of any noble 'civilization.' The ornament added lightly by the craftsman to an every-day utensil, is at once the humanization of his labour, and the witness that man does not live by bread alone.

Asceticism not for all

Buddhism became indeed the chief patron rather than the opponent of fine arts, which spread with it from India to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Java in the south, and to China and Japan in the north. It thus came to pass that it was important for even the priests to have some knowledge of the theoretical side of craftsmanship at least, and this was often the case; they were rather expected to explain such works as Sāriputra to the less learned craftsman than to learn from him. In the eighteenth century there were even craftsmen amongst the priesthood; but unordained, as the Siamese sect which alone existed then admitted only men of high caste to the priesthood itself (quite contrary to true Buddhism); such a man was Silvatenna, who painted at Degaldoruva and Ridī vihāra.

Buddhism patron of arts

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Convention in Buddhist art

With regard to the conventionalism of Buddhist (and Hindu) art, and the strict rules of proportion for the figure, we shall see that these probably originated (in India) amongst a class of more or less priestly craftsmen perhaps, indeed probably, before the decay of Buddhism in India, not among the monks themselves. Just how long ago the rules were formulated is uncertain (to hazard a guess, by the fifth century A.D., before the final decline of Buddhism in India, and when the craftsmen were still required to satisfy the requirements both of Buddhists and of Hindus), but no doubt one object of them was to make possible the reproduction of images in sufficient quantity by average workmen at all times. This, rightly, I think, sets religious above 'artistic' considerations; but, art having thus sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, the rest was added to it. For such convention is a far greater help than hindrance to real art. It does not prevent the man of genius from producing the most beautiful work possible, though ensuring that it shall so far conform to an accepted standard as to be immediate and universal in its appeal; at the same time it does prevent the possibility of "the holy and elevating subjects being treated absurdly or stupidly, so as to wound the feelings of serious men"; which happens every day now that the old tradition is generally broken with. It is true that present-day painters and imagers have no feeling for the human figure, and images of Buddha are usually wooden and unrefined, sometimes even repulsive in aspect; yet even the worst traditional work is preferable to the weak, effeminate and sensuous drawing of low-country workmen, who under Western influence have attempted a more naturalistic style, without any training whatever, and certainly without taste. The Burmese alabaster Buddhas now so fashionable are equally offensive. The old tradition did really ensure a certain dignity of treatment, however blindly and unfeelingly its rules were followed. What is now needed is for men who do understand the human figure (—as the makers of the tradition must have done—) and whose faith is real, to work willingly and consciously on traditional lines, welcoming the tradition as a help, not rejecting it as a hindrance; for the artist cannot again command the hearts of men, without some relation to the symbols that have for so long appealed to them, and with which are bound up such manifold and complex associations, and so much that is changeless and eternal.

Buddhism and the lesser arts

Buddhism in practice has also been the patron of the lesser arts, as every vihāra and library testifies. Kings, and others according to their means, made gifts of gold and silver plate, books with painted or carved ivory or chased metal covers, to the vihāras, and ornamented furniture (from pottery to beds) to the priesthood, and such things as writing styles and fans to individual priests. Kīrti Śrī gave so much, that he has now the credit of having given almost everything of value now to be found in Kandyan Vihāras. In a *tuḍapata* of 1803 A.D., regarding the Koṭabōgoḍa Vihāra, it is mentioned that Kīrti Śrī 'built the Daḷadā temple in Kandy anew . . . and . . . did likewise make offerings of his own ornaments of gold and set with gems, pearls and diamonds, high and low lands, men slaves and women slaves, elephants, horses, white and black cattle' (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 472). In 1815 A.D. one Upāsaka Ranhoṭi Duraya (a lay preacher) of Haputale made offerings to a vihāra, of a "flag, beds, sheets, pillows, mattresses, brooms, iron walking-sticks, blank ola leaves for writing, *daṇḍasana*, pitchers, cans, spittoons, and tom-toms." An image was made by subscription; an *ambalam* was erected and several *eḍaṇḍu* (log bridges) placed in position; note the practical charity. The temple itself "was built by the villagers, who joined in asweddumizing (reclaiming) a number of little deṇiyas throughout the hēna" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 328). Artificers were regularly employed for years together on religious buildings, and well rewarded for their work. Craftsmen holding temple lands were required to supply the requisites for the upkeep and service of the temple. In such countless ways was art bound up with the religious life of the people.

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Were it not, indeed, for the work lavished on Buddhist temples in Ceylon, and the offerings made to the priesthood, this book might have been left unwritten. We shall see that the landholding craftsmen were practically state-endowed; and in return their work was done essentially for the people themselves, whose palaces and picture galleries were the vihāras and dēvāles where they worshipped, and with which their festivals were associated. Luxury was little, and the amount of fine art absorbed and hidden away by royalty and other wealthy persons was small compared with that belonging to the Church and so to the whole folk. Just so was it in mediæval Europe; art was for the people, and no lack of it. Now it is otherwise, and art is for the rich only, and hard to come by. *Social economy*

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

I. EDUCATION.

In times past the education of boys was carried on by Buddhist priests at the village pansala, the home of the incumbent of the nearest vihāra, just as the village priest taught at the church door in mediæval England. This system has been already referred to, on p. 45 above. At about the age of six the boy was taken to the pansala with an offering for the teacher. At an auspicious hour the teacher took his seat and recited the first line of vowels, beginning with the words *svasti siddham*, 'let prosperity attend'; the alphabet continues, *ayanu*, *āyanu*, etc., . . . ending with the words *iti siddhi astu*, 'so let there be success!' The alphabet first given to the pupil was written in large characters, in three lines on an ola leaf; afterwards a book was given containing the complete alphabet, including combinations of letters. The letters were learnt by loud repetition in a singsong tone; the pupil stood before the teacher holding the closed book to his forehead and so repeated his lesson. Nothing else was taught until the alphabet could be repeated without fault or hesitation. The form of the letters had next to be systematically learnt, the teacher pointed to the letters and read; 'the letter 'a' is read '*ayanu*,'' and so on. Writing was only taught after this descriptive repetition was perfectly mastered. Writing was learnt on a narrow board, called *vęlipiḷa*, spread with sand; it stood on four legs, which were sometimes turned and lacquered; the teacher had a carved ivory style (*vęlipata*) with which he traced the sign *sva*, after which he guided the boy's hand in copying: the boy wrote with his middle finger, supported by the fore-finger and thumb: in this way, little by little, the boy learnt to write the whole alphabet, and by that time he could read short sentences: this might take six months or a year. Ola writing was taught afterwards. The boy was given a long strip of ola, untrimmed, and the teacher wrote large letters on this: the boy was given an *ulkaṭuva*, i.e., a blunt writing style, and with this he traced the letters over and over again till the leaf was cut through; this was called *saṭahan kępīma*; the boy learnt in this way to exercise a very even pressure. Afterwards he used *karakola* (talipot leaf) not tracing but copying the *guru akuru* (letters written by the teacher) as in a copybook, writing smaller and smaller by degrees: finally he was allowed to use a sharp style (*panhiṇda*) and to write on *puskola* (prepared talipot leaf).
As an example of good handwriting (on paper) may be shown the script of Fig. 3, two pages of an eighteenth century paper 'prayer book,' a breviary said to have been used by Narēndra Siṃha himself. The book is further illustrated on Pls. XVII. and XX. *Reading and writing*

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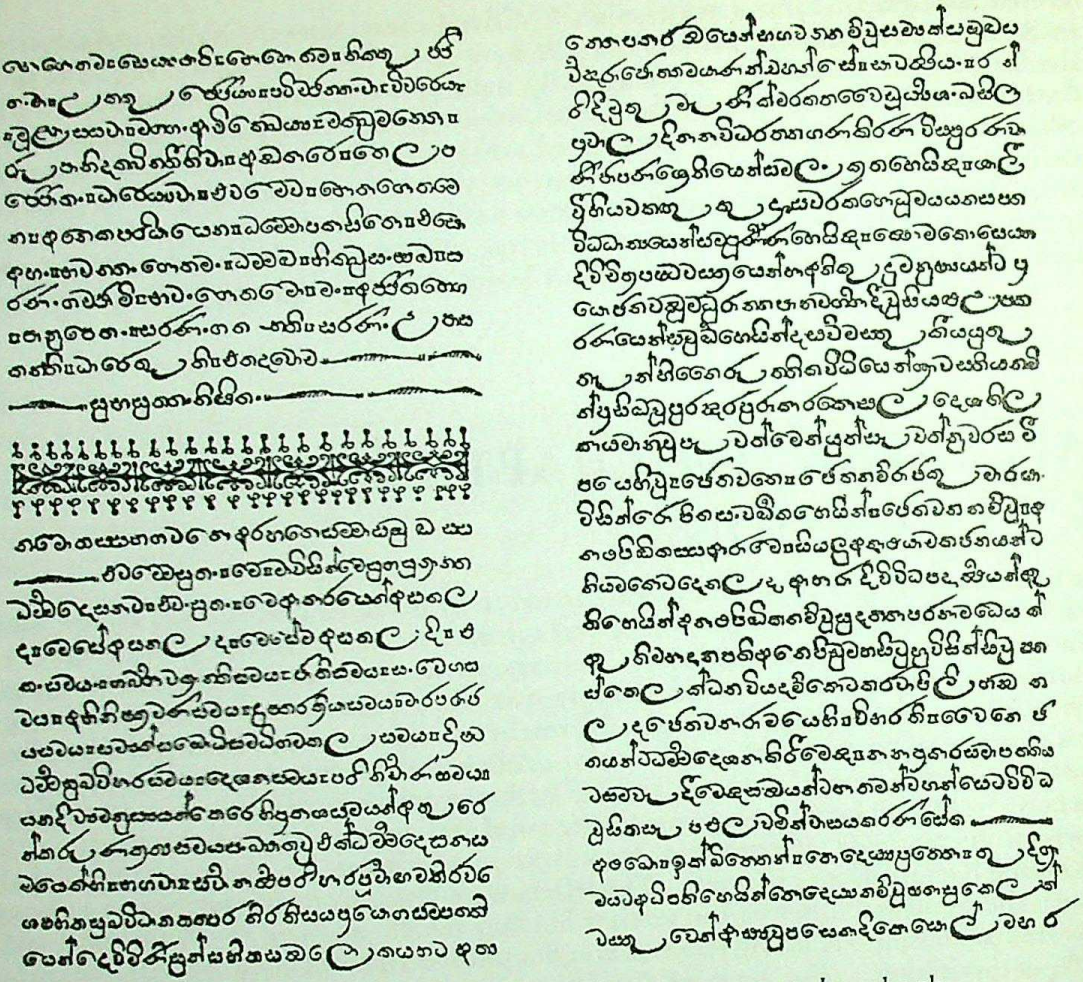

Fig. 3. Two pages of an eighteenth century paper *baṇa* book.

The standard of good writing (on olas) is conveyed in a corrupt Sanskrit verse current in pansala schools:

Samāni samapadāni, Sāmansāni samāh sirah
Aksharāṇi pratishṭavyah, Mṛiduni lalitāni ca

Lesson books 'Well-formed letters should be similar in size, similar in their tails, and in their heads, and (written) with a light pressure.'

The first book read and learnt after the alphabet was the *Nampota*, a list of important places and temples, practically an elementary geography of Ceylon; next came *Mangul-lakuṇu*, a description of the 216 auspicious marks on the soles of the feet of Buddha, in which book Sanskrit words appear, followed by sentences in Pali. Everything had to be learnt by heart and repeated perfectly; much or all of the material so learnt was not understood at the time, but laid a sure foundation for more advanced studies. The books next read were *Gaṇa-devi-hęlla* (account of the youth and education of *Gaṇeśa*), *Vadan-kavi-pota* (grammar, orthography, &c.), *Buddha-gajja* (praise of Buddha in Sanskrit), *Sakas-kaḍa* (prose with difficult combinations of words; there is a saying "the tongue that hath not

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uttered *Sakas-kaḍa* is like a white ant's"). After these came *Nāmashṭa* (Sanskrit ślōkas on Buddha, and Sinhalese paraphrase); *Navaratna* ('nine gems,' nine verses of high value uttered by nine Pandits at the court of Vikrama); *Vyāsakāra*, *Pratyaśataka*, *Anuruddha śataka*, *Bauddha śataka* (or *Bhakti śataka*), *Sārya Sataka*, *Vṛittamālāva*, *Vṛittamālakhyāva*, *Amara Siṃha* (i.e., *Amarakōsha*, the Sanskrit vocabulary), all in Sanskrit: these works completed a thorough general education; a majority of students did not, of course, proceed so far. If, however, the student was intended for a learned profession, as astrology or medicine, or for the priesthood, he now proceeded to specialise; he would read, for example, *Yoga-śataka* (*Arishṭa śataka*) as his first book in medicine. If intended for the priesthood he would study Pali. *Education Curriculum*

Teaching was not always carried on at the pansala: the child might be taught at home by a priest or by his own father. In the case of aristocratic families, the incumbent of the family vihāra became the child's tutor. Otherwise, and especially if there were no pansala near, the father taught his own children in the same way.

Children were taught to be silent in the presence of their elders, and very obedient, and remain so even when grown up. They were also expected to do their own share of household or other work at an early age, and so became capable and responsible much sooner than in Europe, where children expect all their wants attended to by their elders.

The relation between pupil and teacher in the East is one of affectionate respect, almost of reverence. This is marked in many gracious ways; I shall not easily forget the action of a craftsman's apprentice (a man full-grown) to whom I paid money in the presence of his teacher and of another master craftsman; taking the money in both hands he salaamed to his "*gurunnānse*" and gave it to him; he received the money and then gravely returned both money and salute; and so also with the other master craftsmen there.

The old system of education above described could not have been preserved in its entirety; it is in many respects unsuited to modern requirements, besides having intrinsic faults; but it is very unfortunate that so many of its real advantages are lacking in the modern system, and especially unfortunate that an "English education" such as the Royal College provides, leaves the "educated" ignorant of everything that would appear to be of special interest and value to him, and unable to hand on to others even that knowledge which he possesses of the great world beyond, and the lesson he has learnt from a study of the history and manners of other peoples. Most stupid of all is the affectation of despising everything Sinhalese and thoughtlessly admiring everything English; reminding one of that time in England when 'Falsehood in a Ciceronian dialect had no opposers; truth in patois no listeners.' *'Progress'*

II. BOOKS.

Sinhalese books are written on 'olas,' or strips of the leaf of the talipot palm, *Corypha umbraculifera*. The leaves are prepared as follows: a leaf bud of the palm is cut down just before it opens; the leaf segments are separated and the midrib removed, dividing each segment into two strips. These are loosely rolled and placed in a copper cauldron with cold water and then boiled for an hour, and afterwards dried in the sun for three days. The leaves are then again rolled, this time not singly, but in rolls a foot or so in diameter. The rolls are exposed to the dew for three successive nights, after which they become pliable. In this state they can be preserved a long time, especially if kept in a smoky place, such as the loft in a kitchen. When required for use, the rolls are taken one by one and smoothed by rubbing on a polished areca stump; the trunk is tied across *Preparation of olas*

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Books

Preparation of leaves

two posts and the ola laid across it with a weight attached to the stalk end; the ola is then pulled up and down across the trunk until it is smooth on both sides. The leaves are next cut up into various standard sizes, the largest three spans in length, the next and most usual length for valuable books being two spans and four fingers; smaller sizes vary from eighteen inches downwards. Care is taken to make the strips of even breadth. All the leaves are then punched with the two string holes in accordance with the following rule:

Āyāmena catur bhāgaṃ, Tribhāgam punar eva ca,
Ubhayoh sūtra-madhyena, Tathā kuryāt chidra-lakshaṇam.

"Fold the leaf in three and again in four and perforate between the pairs of lines formed by the folding." The leaves are next strung on smooth rounded sticks passed through the string holes, in thick parcels between wooden covers; the four sides of the leaves are singed with a hot iron; the packet, now called *pot-geḍiya*, is so stored until required for use. Each leaf is a *pat-iruva*; a 'gathering' of eight or sixteen leaves, lettered alphabetically, is a *pat-kaṭṭuva* [Clough].

The leaves are removed from the packet one by one and written on with a sharp style (*panhiṇda*): after the writing and revision an ink composed of *dummala* oil and lamp black is lightly rubbed on (*kalu-madinava*) with a rag and wiped with clean chaff, after which the writing stands out clearly.

The completed book consists of the written leaves, enclosed between two wooden covers (*pot-kaṃbi*) of the same size and shape which are painted, lacquered, carved or quite plain. Book covers are also made of ivory, and silver. A string (*pot-lanuva*), composed sometimes of cotton, sometimes of *niyaṇda* fibre, and often with different colored strands, passes through one set of holes and through holes in the covers, and is wound round the book when not in use. One end of the string is attached to a flat button (*pot-sakiya*), ivory, horn or metal, which prevents the string from slipping through the cover. The correct rule for thus tying up the book is given in the verse:

Prathame daśa-sūtrāṇi, Pañca-sūtraṇi maddhyame
Tripanaṃ tripanaṃ bandhaṃ, Mātā mātā vidhiyate.

"Ten strings at the top, five strings in the middle, three and three, and the cross strings in pairs is the rule." The Sanskrit is apparently corrupt.

The actual leaves of the book are rarely ornamented. The full stops, however, are sometimes rubricated, and the small space around the string-hole, which is liable to become frayed and should not be written upon, has also occasionally some decoration in red. Books of magic, such as *Bali* songs, charms and spells, are illustrated wlth pictures of demons, diagrams, etc., in plain black; but only such as can be scratched with the style upon the leaf. Horoscopes are written on full-length strips of leaf and are elaborately ornamented with geometrical decoration similarly incised. Letters were sent on strips of ola, neatly folded, and bound with narrow strips of ola, passing once or several times round, in accordance with etiquette, as given in a verse current in the pansalas:

Letters

Ekaṃ śatru dvayaṃ mitraṃ, Trīṇi bandhum catur prabhuṃ
Pañca matāpitābhrātṛīṇaṃ, Shaḍ gurum sapta bhūpatim.

"One for an enemy, two for a friend, three for a relative, four for superiors, five for father,

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mother, or brother, six for the guru, seven for the king." Knox says that the King "when he sends any Warrants or Orders to his Officers, hath his Writings wrapped up in a way proper to himself, and none else do or may fold up their leaves in that manner but he." In some cases the actual letter was enclosed in an envelope, bearing, in addition to the address, some amount of ornament. One such in the British Museum "is decorated with scroll work . . . embroidered in gold thread with small bosses of red and blue silk."* *Books*

* *Wickremasinghe*, '*Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*,' 1900, *p.* 166.

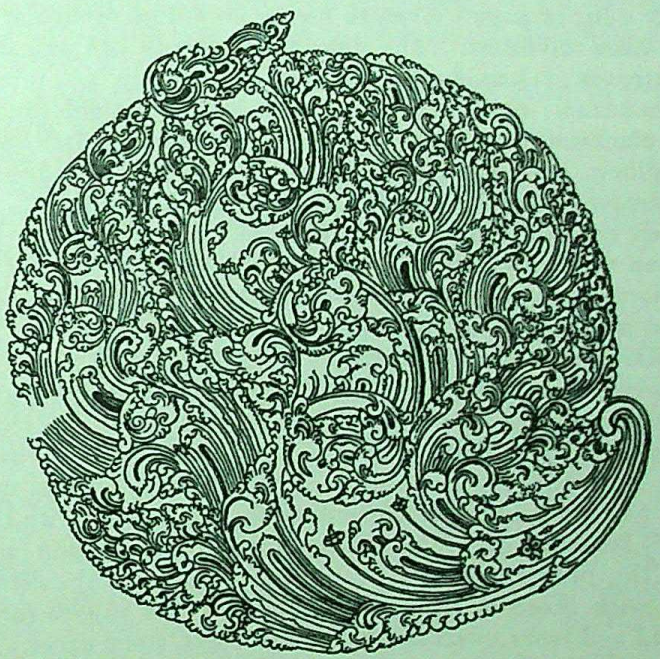

Fig. 4. *Tiringi tale*: from a tracing of an old example belonging to the Nilavala Muhandirams of Maṅgalagama (pp. 57, 58); the design is somewhat inferior compared with that of Fig. 8. For explanation see pp. 65, 66. Half size of original drawing.

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CHAPTER III. PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ARTIFICERS.

'To the craftsman his reward.'

A MORE particular account of the *Ācāri, Navandannō*, or caste or guild of artificers proper, will be necessary. The subdivisions of the caste, according to Valentyn, are eleven in number, viz., *ācāri*, blacksmiths; *baḍallu*, silversmiths; *vaḍuvō*, carpenters; *liyana vaḍuvō*, turners; *ridikeṭayankārayō*, damasceners; *ṭdatkeṭayankārayō*, ivory carvers and cabinet makers; *galvaḍuvo*, stone cutters; *ratne endra kārayō* (?), jewellers; *ṟvaḍuvō*, arrow makers (lac workers); *sittaru*, painters; *lokuruvō*, founders. But Valentyn's divisions are rather a list of names given to men who follow particular branches of their craft, than actual caste divisions. The Janavaṃsa merely distinguishes two principal divisions of the caste, viz., (1) *kaṃburō, navandanno* or *ācāri*, divided into *lokaruvō*, workers in copper, bronze and brass; *sittaru*, painters; and *svarṇakārayō*, goldsmiths; and including also turners and blacksmiths: and, (2) *vaḍuvō*, carpenters, blacksmiths and masons, including housebuilders, agricultural implement makers (who are also mentioned in the first section) and arrow makers (*ṟvaḍuvō*, including all lac workers). The existence of a confusion between the two classes is admitted, and appears to have been inevitable as the work of the two to some extent overlapped. It seems likely that the *kaṃburō* (also spoken of in the Janavaṃsa as *Kammāra Brahmans*) were strictly speaking the imported *kammālar* workmen from the coast, who did fine work as goldsmiths, painters, etc., and that the *vaḍuvō* were the indigenous artificers accustomed only to the ordinary work of building, tool making, etc. Just in the same way there were two groups of weavers, the *beravāyō* who made country cloth (home-spun, so to say) and the 'chalias' (*salāgamayō*) who were brought over from South India to make fine and gold-woven cloths. Confusion also results from the use of terms in a particular as well as in a general sense. At the present day two main divisions, corresponding in the main with those of the *Janavaṃsa* form the only real caste division. Those in the higher division (architects, painters, gold and silversmiths, brass repoussers, ivory and wood carvers) called *galladdō*, do not eat or intermarry with those in the lower division, called *vaḍuvō* (ordinary carpenters and turners of wood and ivory, blacksmiths, damasceners, stone carvers and lac workers). The term *vaḍuvā* now has the general meaning of 'carpenter,' and would hardly be used in speaking of a blacksmith, still less of a goldsmith, but is used in the *Māyāmataya* in the sense of 'architect,' and together with *sittaruva*, 'painter,' refers to men of the superior division. The tailors and embroiderers (*hannāli*) and leather workers (*hommarayō*), potters (*baḍaheḷayō*), weavers of country cloth (*beravāyō*), mat-makers (*kinnarayō*), and makers of whips, cords, and preparers of hides (*roḍiyō*) were of other and inferior caste. These last are only incidentally referred to in the present chapter.

For the requirements of the Royal household there existed fourteen Departments of Public Works:

1, *Atapattu-vasama*; 2, *Gam-vasama*; 3, *Muhandiram-vasama*; 4, *Koḍituvakku-vasama*; 5, *Kalu Hēvā Muhandiram-vasama*; 6, *Batgamvala Muhandiram-vasama*; 7, *Hiṭi-veḍa-kārayō*; 8, *Koṭṭal-badda*; 9, *Henda-badda*; 10, *Baḍaheḷa-badda*; 11, *Radā-badda*; 12, *Kāruvē*; 13, *Maḍigē*; 14, *Valanbadda Maḍigē*. Of these, only the 8th (craftsmen), 9th (inferior carpenters) and 10th (potters) especially concern us here, particularly the 8th.

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Artificers

In each district of the Kandyan kingdom certain craftsmen were organized as a department known as *Koṭṭal-badda*, supervised by two officers called *Koṭṭal-badde Nilame*, appointed by the King for districts other than the Disāvaniya. In the Disāvaniya, the office of *Koṭṭal-badde Nilame* was usually united with that of Disāva, who appointed a *Koṭṭalbadde Vidane*, usually of the craftsman caste, as his lieutenant.

Koṭṭal-badda guild of craftsmen

The body of craftsmen thus organized in the Four Kōrales (one of the Disāvani) consisted of the following classes:

1. Seven *Vaḍuvō* who performed all carpentry work for the King or Disāva; they were usually employed at the *Daṇḍu Maḍuva* (timber yard) in Kandy.
2. Five *Liyana Vaḍuvō*, or turners.
3. Five *Sittaru*, or painters.
4. Fourteen *Ī-vaḍuvō*, or arrow makers, who made bows, arrows, spears, staves, etc., and gauded them with lac; of these men, two worked in the Royal armoury.
5. Fourteen *Atapattu Karayō* who furnished or executed fine work, and were principally employed in ornamenting and inlaying locks, guns, knives, etc., with gold, silver or brass; two of them worked in the Royal armoury.
6. Four *Baḍallu*, or silversmiths, workers in gold, silver, brass, or copper; two of them worked in the Royal armoury.
7. One *Gal-vaḍuvā*, or mason.
8. Twenty *Mul-ācāri*, or blacksmiths, a certain number of whom, varying according to the exigency of the service, attended constantly in Kandy, and erecting workshops near the Disāva's house, executed all kinds of common ironwork, for which the metal was furnished them.
9. Eight blacksmiths without regular service lands such as the foregoing held. These had to appear before the Disāva at New Year with a knife and scissors each, and were liable to be called on for work at any time of emergency.
10. Ten *Disāva ācāri* under a *Haṅgiḍiya*, who worked for the Disāva only. The last three classes of blacksmiths were sometimes placed under the same *Haṅgiḍiya* and *Aṭu-haṅgiḍiya*.

All the above craftsmen, except the blacksmiths in class 9, perform either particular work directed by the King, or work on public buildings allotted to the Disāvaniya.

It may be remarked that certain of the Muhandiram-vasama people (3, above) guarded the *daṇḍu maḍuva* (Royal timber-yard) and others had to fell and fetch timber, cut wall timber and plane it, and thatch public buildings or the Disāva's house.

Of the *Henda-badda* people (9, above), six families in the Four Kōrales had to provide couches, stools, and baskets of various sorts woven in rattan.

The *Baḍahẹla-badda* in the Four Kōrales is described in a later chapter. The foregoing constituted the general body of public craftsmen in one only of the ten disāvani; when to these are added those of the other districts and also the special workers belonging to the Four Workshops now to be described, it will be seen that the Royal and public requirements were well provided for.

The four guilds (Paṭṭal-hatara) of Royal Craftsmen

The best of the higher craftsmen (gold and silversmiths, painters and ivory carvers, etc.) working immediately for the King formed a close, largely hereditary, corporation of craftsmen called the *Paṭṭal-hatara* (Four Workshops); these men worked only for the King, unless by his express permission (though, of course, their sons or pupils might do otherwise); they were liable to be continually engaged in Kandy, while the *Koṭṭal-badda* men were divided into relays, serving by turns in Kandy for periods of two months. The *Koṭṭal-badda* men in each district were under a foreman (*mul-ācāriya*) belonging to the *Paṭṭal-hatara*. Four other foremen, one from each *paṭṭala*, were in constant attendance

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Artificers

at the palace.* Originally there seems to have been only one *paṭṭala* called the *Ābharaṇa* (regalia) *paṭṭala*, but this was afterwards divided into an *Ābharaṇa paṭṭala*, or jewellery workshop, an *Oṭunna paṭṭala*, or crown workshop, a *Rankaḍu paṭṭala*, or golden sword workshop (armoury), and a *Siṃhāsana* lion throne) *paṭṭala*, the last including particularly painters and ivory carvers. But the craftsmen seem to have passed from one *paṭṭala* to another, according to the work entrusted to them. A place in the *paṭṭal-hatara* was usually hereditary in the chief craftsmen families, and was a position much coveted. The chief families had considerable standing, often owning land granted by the King on the occasion of their first settlement, or as a reward for subsequent services.

The Rewards of craftsmen

The rewards given to craftsmen on the completion of a large undertaking, such as the completion of a vihāra, consisted usually of rice, cloth, cattle, gold, silver, lands, etc. The following instances quoted from various *sannas* afford an idea of the amount of wealth expended in such ways by the State or private patrons: Laṅkātilaka, 1342 A.D., paddy, gold, silver, and cloth valued at 3,600,000 gold masas [£120,000]; Meḍavala, all necessaries, and a remuneration of 15,600 fanams; Asgiriya (Alut vihāra) 65,050 ridīs [£2168] and cloths, etc.; Niyangampaha vihāra, repairs and temporary building, 270 ridīs [£9]; Palkumburā vihāra, 25,000 fanams. The cost of certain repairs is carefully specified in the Pusulpitiya vihāra sannasa: "these are the works I, . . . Pānabokka Djammajoti, have done in the Pusulpitiyē Vihāra, which I got from my teacher Aludeṇiya, to wit:—New carved rafters to the lower roof of the main vihāra room, tiled both the stories, constructed a small vihāra five carpenters' cubits long near the dāgaba, a granite image of one cubit in height which was in a dilapidated state was restored, I performed the Nētra-pinkama, constructed a place for flower-offerings to the bō-tree, built another small vihāra in front of the main vihāra and above the rock on which the sacred foot is sculptured, another hall five cubits long, two rows of rooms of eleven cubits, a hall of fifteen cubits, and another central hall for the accommodation of officiating priests. The whole cost of the work is 2,857 ridīs [£95], besides items which may have escaped my recollection" (Lawrie, p. 749). Dehigama vihāra was repaired in 1786, at a cost of 1300 masu [£43], besides materials from the royal stores, and thirty *amuṇu* paddy to feed the workmen; the repairs were of two portals and the seated image, also the painting of one hundred images of Buddha and thirty-two images of *rahat* priests, and other matters on the walls, and the erection of a stone dāgaba nine cubits high. At Gaṅgārāma, according to the Mahāvaṃsa, 16,150 pieces of money (say £538) were spent at the dedication feast; which probably includes the gifts to workmen, of which mention is also made: "the carvers of the statue of Buddha and others did he satisfy by presenting them with gifts of elephants, cattle, and divers things that had life and that had not life" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C.). Craftsmen at the present day require a daily wage of Rs. 1 to Rs. 3 if working in Kandy; good painters at the Māligāva receive Rs. 2. The difference in amount depends more on the feeling of the craftsman for his employer than upon his superiority or otherwise. If executing a commission at home, he prefers to leave the amount of his reward to the patron's judgment, to fixing a price beforehand, but he is likely to be weeks or months in carrying out a piece of work which could be finished in a few days if he were persuaded

** Just so when English royal builders set about the building of a church, the artists employed "were the royal masons attached to the palace"; "to the king's palace were attached a chief royal mason, carpenter, smith, and painter, just as there were a chief butler and cook"; "under the chief master-mason or carpenter a body of journeymen were permanently engaged" (Lethaby, 'Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen,' 1906, p. 112). With the advance of civilization, the craftsmen have been dispensed with, while the butler, the cook, and the clerk remain!*

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of the need for hurry, which he usually cannot be. These particulars apply only to the real hereditary landed craftsmen, not to every low-country journeyman working for the jewellers' shops in Kandy. *Artificers*

The blacksmiths had occasional dealings with the veddas, or wild men of the woods. "The wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a *Smith's* shop, also a Leaf cut in the form they will have their Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the *Smith* do make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring him more Flesh: but if he make them not, they will do him a mischief one time or another by shooting in the night. . . . They are so curious of their *Arrows* that no Smith can please them. The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best made Arrow-blades: which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form" (Knox, pp. 62, 63). *Smiths work for Veddas*

Thus, in spite of the fact that the artificers were already paid for their services more or less adequately by the lands they held, they were liberally rewarded for ecclesiastical work, and not infrequently also for special excellence or skill in craftsmanship otherwise applied. But they were never paid a daily wage, nor required to work a given number of hours a day. I have had craftsmen working at my house in Kandy for weeks together; just as they once worked in the royal workshop. They had no idea of 'making money' or 'bettering themselves'; they wanted only money sufficient to buy food for themselves and their families; they had no wish to save money. When a large piece of work was completed they would expect some special gift, such as a good cloth. They rarely worked a week without having to go home for a few days to find some strayed buffalo, or to take part in the cultivation of their fields. Yet they were always most consciencious in money matters, such as expenditure on materials; and though they would have hated fixed hours of work, often worked far into the night by lamp-light, purely by their own wish, and because they so much loved the work itself. Their pride in real capacity was most naïve and unaffected. Their greatest possible ambition was that I should buy them some small piece of land and reward them with it, as did the kings of old. *Payment of craftsmen*

The reason for the special payments for ecclesiastical work was that it was felt unbecoming for the patron to obtain the credit for a meritorious action, unless the cost was really borne by him; unless, indeed, he did so bear it, there was no real merit acquired. The feeling came out as strongly when the Ruvanveli dāgaba was built (see Chapter I., p. 4), and Duṭṭha Gāmaṇī deemed it unmeet that such work should be executed by unpaid labour, and took extraordinary precautions to prevent any voluntary work being done, lest any of the merit should be lost to himself; he could share the merit by deliberate gift, without loss to himself, but if voluntary work were done secretly, only the doer obtained the merit. The lamp of sacrifice burned as steadily in India as in mediæval Europe. There is no more evidence that in the religious architecture of the East any saving of cost was attempted or desired, than there is of any such thing in mediæval English building of church and shrine.*

The family of Nilavala Muhandirams of Eldeniya and Maṅgalagama, artificers belonging to the *rankaḍu-paṭṭala*, may be chosen to illustrate these points. The early history of the family is given in a *vitti-vaṭṭōruva*† (statement of claim) in possession of the family, tracing their settlement in Ceylon to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. When King Bhuvanēka Bāhu (? VI.) was reigning at Kōṭṭe, he heard that a very skilful master smith from India *Nilavala family*

* *E. S. Prior*, '*History of Gothic Art in England*,' 1906, *p.* 97).

† *Translated by Don M. de Zilva Wickramesinghe in Bell's 'Report on the Kēgalla District,' p.* 98.

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Artificers

Nilavala family charters

had landed in Mānaduva, and said that since such a master had come over to Siṃhala he should be honoured by being brought to the Court on an elephant, and despatched to him Vaḍuvāvala Dēvasiṃha Mulācāri Nayide on an elephant and brought to Kōṭṭe the master smith of Mānaduva on the same elephant. On his arrival he presented himself before the king and offered to His Majesty a telescope (*iri-haṇḍa balana kannāḍiya*) by means of which to look at the sun and moon, and also a *pēṭēṭiya* (an instrument to reckon time). He was liberally rewarded by the king, and he was given the village called Maṅgalagama, in Kiṇḍigoḍa Kōrale, of Four Kōrales, for his sustenance (*baḍa-veḍilla*), and was invested with the title of Mandalavalli Nayide.

After Mandalavalli Nayide's death, the ruling king (? Vīra Parākrama Bāhu VIII.) enquired for his descendants. There being two orphan children related to each other as aunt and nephew, he had them brought up at the Court and finally married to each other, the girl being given the title of Etana (Lady) and the village of Maṅgalagama in *mav-urume* (inheritance in the female line). Her daughter likewise possessed the village; she married Kolomba Nayide, who served Rāja Siṃha II. Her son, Madduma Nayide, inherited the village and served Vimala Dharmma Sūrya II. His son, Gallat Nayide, inherited from him, and served Narēndra Siṃha of Kuṇḍasāle. His son, Madduma Nayide, made the plaint detailed in the *vaṭṭōruva* giving these particulars. The *siṭṭuva*, or order of the Adigār who enquired into the case, confirmed the tenancy of Nilavala Loku Nayide; its date is 1763 A.D. Lands and titles were conferred on other relatives; Rāja Siṃha I. of Sītāvaka, invested the grandson of Mandavalli Nayide with the same title, and he also served the king. In 1644 A.D. the following Sannasa was granted to one Hadu Nayide of Maṅgalagama, a representative of the family who had given to the king a gold-hilted sword:

"Hail! The order delivered on Saturday, the 7th day of the waning moon, in the month of Vap (September—October), in the year of Śaka 1566 (1644 A.D.). Whereas the gold-smith Hadu Nayidā of Maṅgalagama, having presented a (newly) gilt *koku*-sword of gold, hath performed faithful services to the Palace; six amuṇams sowing extent of Mahagoḍa in Kiṇḍigoḍa Kōrale in the Disāvaniya of Four Kōrales, including houses and gardens, trees and plants, high lands and jungles appertaining thereto, have been granted (to him) to be held as *pravēṇi* land, so long as his children, grandchildren and their progeny shall survive. The (original) order upon which this *sannasa* was granted, that order is thus proclaimed the (final) decree" (H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kēgalla District, 1892, pp. 98, 99). A later *sannasa* of the same family reads as follows:

"His Majesty the supreme ruler of Śrī Laṅkā, . . . passed a royal edict that a certain portion of the Saddharmaya, doctrines inculcated by our King Buddha, the teacher of the three worlds, be transcribed on leaves of beaten gold; and on the occasion when Nilavala Ratnavalli Navaratna Ābharaṇaya, to whom gold and gems had been supplied for this purpose, completed and presented the work, His Majesty, out of his bountiful liberality, commanded that the following allotment of lands . . . in all three amuṇu in extent, together with the houses, gardens, plantations, and high and muddy lands appertaining thereto (be granted to him), to be undisturbedly possessed by him and his generations so long as they shall exist, . . . in the year of Śaka 1677" (1755 A.D.) (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 643). Representatives of the family still hold lands at Ēldeṇiya and Maṅgalagama, and possess heirlooms of great historical interest (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 214).

Other charters

The descendants of goldsmiths live at Mottuvela, an ancestor of one of these obtained the following *sannasa* in 1665 A.D.: "During the reign of His Majesty the Mighty Emperor Rāja Siṃha, . . . as Marukona Ratna Ābharaṇa Veḍakāraya offered himself

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before the Great Gate, orders were given to make jewellery required for the royal dress, and having made and submitted several jewelleries to the Great King, he stated that he required the Mottuvela Nilapaṅguve Baḍavēḍilla in Pallesiya-pattuva of Asgiri Kōrale, in the Disāvaniya of Mātale, for his maintenance. . . . His Majesty . . . did . . . in the year of Śaka 1587, absolutely grant the high and low lands in Mottuvelagama Baḍavēḍilla . . . to Marukona Ratna Ābharaṇa Vēḍakāraya, to be possessed without any disturbance or hindrance during the existence of the sun, the moon, Senkaḍagala, and the Mahavēli-gaṇga" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 608). *Artificers* *Their charters*

At Ullandupiṭiya, a painter obtained the following *sannasa* in A.D. 1593: "When the works of Jetavanārāma were fully completed on Thursday, the full moon day of the month Vesak, the year of Śaka 1515, the Great King Vimala Dharma Sūrya, after receiving the merits and becoming joyous on the occasion, thought of bestowing a land to be possessed from generation to generation; and granted unto the painter, Rājēśvara Hittara Ācariya of Ullandupiṭiya, . . . a garden and three hēna lands, situate at Ullandupiṭiya in Kulugammanasiya-pattuva, to be possessed without any dispute whatsoever." (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 872).

In A.D. 1710 the following *sannasa* was granted to an artificer of Gannoruva: "As Gannoruve Navaratna Davuṇḍa Ābharaṇa Ācariya was serving the Great Gate faithfully, on this Tuesday, the eleventh day of the increasing moon, in the month of Ḍsala, in the year of Śaka 1632, styled Vikṛita, the field Vaḍudeṇiya of three amuṇu, with all its appurtenant high and low lands, plantations, and buildings, was granted to him for his maintenance. This is the purport of the command, and it is this" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 278).

"In the reign of King Kīrti Śrī, Gannoruva Muhandirama, a descendant of the last-mentioned, was a skilful goldsmith. He worked in the king's palace. The king made him presents of land and money and an elephant. Later it was reported to the king (Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha) that Gannoruva Muhandirama had died possessed of much property belonging to His Majesty. He seized the property and removed it to the royal treasury" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 277).

It will be observed that in this way the chief families of smiths possessed what was really a state endowment. The artificers were much considered and favoured by the Kings, occasionally so much so as to lead to quarrels between them and the nobles, ending in disaster to the former, befell at the time of the building of the Audience Hall in Kandy, in the last King's reign. Dēvēndra Mulācariya, whose descendants still flourish, was foreman, and is said to have deliberately shortened, and then rejected as too short, the timber supplied by the chiefs! On their complaint the King ordered one of the smith's fingers to be cut off; but he drowned himself in the Kandy lake to avoid this disgrace.* The iron cubit rule (*riyan lḷella*) used by him is still preserved by his descendants ('Ceylon National Review,' No. II., 1906, p. 235). *Dēvēndra Mulacariya*

The names of artificers are not recorded in their work, nor as a rule remembered except by their own descendants. The most famous painter of the late eighteenth century, however, appears to have been Devaragampala 'Unnānse' Silvatenna, an 'unordained priest' of ācāri caste, who painted at Degaldoruva, Ridī Vihāra and elsewhere in Kīrti Śrī's reign. He wore a white robe and was unordained, because only Veḷḷālas were admitted to the priesthood by the Siamese sect, which was the only one then in existence, having been established in Ceylon as the result of Kīrti Śrī's and his predecessors' missions *Silvatenna*

* *Dēvēndra Mulacariya also built the octagon* (*Māligāva Library*) *in Kandy; at Mīdeṇiya there is a maḍuva built by him* (*Lawrie's Gazetteer, p.* 589).

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Artificers

to Siam.* The names of innumerable other craftsmen are recorded in *sannas* and deeds of various sorts, but can hardly ever be associated with any particular piece of work.

Penalties for bad work

We gather an idea of the reasons and manner of punishment of craftsmen from an incident connected with the building of the parapet of the Kandy lake, about A.D. 1806; although the work was carried out as *rājakariya* by ordinary villagers, and was not (except as regards the design), done by the craftsmen themselves. One Gannoruve Ṭikiri Gammahe of Gannoruva had charge of part of the work, which was allotted to his people, and those of Parakaṭavela Āracci. When the king came to inspect the work, the gammahe's part was still unfinished, but the rest completed. He was taken to prison by the *kaṅkāṇama* (overseer) of the Veḍakārayō people, and his certificate of office forfeited. He was eighteen days in prison, but 'got released,' after which other adventures befel him.

A story is told of the goldsmith, Ratnavalli Navaratna Ābharaṇa of Nilavala, already mentioned, that seeing the King (Kīrti Śrī) one day asleep he conceived the idea of setting a gem in the royal great toe nail; which he succeeded in doing without awakening the sleeping monarch. His awakening was awaited with some trepidation, lest he should have presumed too far; but the King was delighted at his skill, and rewarded him with liberality.

Rewards

Amongst the rewards and marks of favour bestowed by the Kings on artificers, were portions of the royal dress; when the Gaṅgārama Vihāra was completed an entire costume was presented. In the ordinary way no one would have been allowed to wear such garments, the sumptuary laws being very definite; but probably the smiths could use them as the *kumāra eṇduma* at *nētra maṅgalya* (see Appendix to this Chapter); in the meanwhile these gifts were, and still are in a few cases, greatly treasured. It is also said that the maker of the crown might try it on his own head; which would have been horrible treason for any other to do. The *paṭabeṇdi* decoration was sometimes conferred on eminent craftsmen; it was a *paṭa-tahaḍuva* or gold frontlet, tied on by the king himself as a mark of honour.

High spirit of the craftsmen

The high spirit of the craftsmen is sufficiently indicated in Knox's account of them. He says: "Next after the degree of Hondrews may be placed Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters and Painters. Who are all of one degree and quality. But the Hondrews will not eat with them: however in Apparel there is no difference; and they are also privileged to sit on stools, which none of the inferior ranks of People hereafter mentioned, may do. Heretofore they were accounted almost equal to the Inferior sort of Hondrews, and they would eat in these Artificers' Houses, but afterwards they were degraded upon this occasion. It chanced some Hondrews came to a Smith's Shop to have their Tools mended, when it came to be Dinner time, the Smith leaves work, and goes in to his House to dine, leaving the Hondrews in his Shop: who had waited there a great while to have their work done. Now whether the Smith fearing lest their hunger might move them to be so impudent or desperate as to partake with him of his Dinner, clapt to his Door after him: Which was taken so hainously by those hungry people in his Shop, that immediately they all went and declared abroad what an affront the Smith had put upon them. Whereupon it was decreed and confirmed, that for ever all the people of that rank should be deposed, and deprived of the Honour of having the Hondrews to eat in their Houses. Which Decree has stood in force ever since.

Nevertheless these Smiths take much upon them, especially those who are the King's Smiths (i.e., *paṭṭal hatara* men); that is, such who live in the King's Towns, and do his work. These have this Privilege, that each has a parcel of Towns belonging to them, whom none but they are to work for. The ordinary work they do for them is mending

* *See P. E. Pieris, 'Kīrti Śrī's Embassy to Siam,' J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII.*

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their Tools, for which every man pays to his Smith a certain Rate of Corn in Harvest time according to ancient Custom. But if any has work extraordinary, as making new Tools or the like, besides the aforesaid rate of Corn, he must pay him for it. In order to this, they come in an humble manner to the Smith with a Present, being Rice, Hens, and other sorts of Provision, or a bottle of Rack, desiring him to appoint his time, when they shall come to have their work done. Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the set time, and bring both (*char-*) Coals and Iron with them. The Smith sits very gravely upon his Stool, his Anvil before him, with his left hand towards the forge, and a little Hammer in his Right. They themselves who come with their work must blow the Bellows, and when the Iron is to be beaten with the great Maul, he holds it, still sitting upon his Stool, and they must hammer it themselves, he only with his little Hammer knocking it sometimes into fashion. And if it be anything to be filed, he makes them go themselves and grind it upon a Stone, that his labour of fileing may be the less; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finisheth it. That which makes these *Smiths* thus stately is, because the Towns People are compelled to go to their own Smith, and none else. And if they should, that Smith is liable to pay Damages that should work for any in another Smith's Jurisdiction."

Artificers

We have seen that less than four per cent. of the Kandyan population now appear to belong to the artificers' caste. But in the census report, on which this estimate is based, statistics are given of occupation, and not of caste; for in this social institution, Government affects a blindness which in actual administration it cannot maintain.* The number of persons belonging to the craftsman *castes* greatly exceeds the number of those still practising their craft, so that we may suppose that quite as many as ten per cent. of the population in the eighteenth century, consisted of craftsmen and their dependents. Of these, not more than half can have been *navandannō* (p. 54), the superior artificers which alone are spoken of in the present chapter. It is necessary to say a few words as to their origin.

Their number

At first sight it seems strange to suppose that many of them were of Indian origin; yet this is a point on which no doubt can be entertained. Numerous references to the importation of artificers from Southern India have been given in Chapter I.; that the practice continued even into the eighteenth century is attested by contemporary records and *sannas*. The *navandannō* at any one time, speaking of the eighteenth and immediately preceding centuries at least, consisted partly of indigenous craftsmen, and partly of newly-settled Tamil artificers, coming from Southern India, to work for the king, who showed them favour and made them grants of land. Hence it is that not only do we find the closest correspondence in detail and technique between South Indian (Tamil) and Sinhalese work; but also that the artificer families have often Hindu names (such as Rājēśvara Dēvasurēndra), they preserve traces of Śiva worship (such as Sanskrit ślōkas written in his praise), and of other Hindu ceremonies (*nētra maṅgalya*, etc.); their technical works are obviously a part of the Indian *Silpaśastra*; some of their technical terms are corruptions of Tamil words; they make use of Hindu mantrams (cf. p. 74); they are occasionally referred to as *Kammālar*; and so forth. The community of design elements would not

Indian origin of some craftsmen

* *So far does this fiction prevail, that a valuable paper, dealing with the origin, distribution and traditions of the craftsmen in Ceylon, recently offered to the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, was rejected by the referee, a Government official (though not in any sense an official censor to this learned society) who vetoed it on the ground that it dealt with caste; as if any such paper could do otherwise!*

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alone suffice to prove the recent Indian origin of many of the craftsmen, as the decorative motifs go back to a source common to both India and Ceylon.

Immigrant Tamil craftsmen

The indigenous craftsmen and the newly-arrived Tamils worked together side by side. They did not always agree, as we learn from the case of one Vaḍugē Anura Appa of Hārispattuva who in A.D. 1765 made a complaint regarding tools stolen from him and from a certain *Demaḷa Baḍāla* (Tamil goldsmith), and also against the Demaḷa Baḍāla himself (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 354); ill-feeling between the old-established craftsman and the newly-arrived 'Tamil goldsmith' evidently existed! Nevertheless, the craftsmen thus from time to time imported, very soon became part and parcel of the Kandyan Sinhalese people, Buddhist by faith; the style and feeling of their work was modified under the influence of the living local tradition, something of the Hindu-Dravidian element being lost, and the Buddhist-Aryan acquired. It is remarkable indeed, that the local tradition should have so successfully and continuously preserved its vitality and individuality.

The indigenous tradition

The indigenous craftsmen, it will be perceived, represented both the original Sinhalese stock, and the later immigrant craftsmen incorporated from time to time into their community. It would be difficult to say how far an original Sinhalese element is represented in the body of superior craftsmen; for we do not know much of the state of the arts in very early times, and we have the record of the introduction of Indian craftsmen with Buddhist missionaries from the North (p. 2), and again at the time of Gaja Bāhu's invasion of Southern India (p. 6). The inferior craftsmen, potters, weavers (except *salāgamayō*), mat makers, etc., on the other hand no doubt represent an integral part of the Sinhalese population, perhaps even carrying on the remote traditions of the pre-Sinhalese inhabitants, who may have been by no means uncivilised.

In a general way it may be stated that the indigenous craftsmen of all sorts, integrally a part of the Sinhalese population, were makers of the plainer and most necessary articles normally required by a simple agricultural people, and the imported craftsmen were more especially sumptuary artists from the big cities and craftsguilds of Southern India, making the more elaborate and costly goods required by the Court and the capital. The distinction is clearly marked in the case of weavers, the indigenous *beravāyō* making country cloth, good but not fine, and the imported *salāgamayō* making the gold-woven muslins worn by royalty and nobility. So, too, the dye-painting of cloth, the more elaborate sorts of embroidery (with gold), and tailoring and sandal making and so forth were crafts practised almost exclusively by foreign craftsmen, at the Court only. The king, sometimes himself a Tamil, and always with Tamil queens, naturally favoured Tamil fashions, and the results are seen in the Tamil influence upon jewellery and dress in the eighteenth century. India was the source of sumptuous cloths and skilled craftsmen for the Sinhalese, much as Paris sets the fashion in London. Even at the present day, those who require silk brocades or gold-woven turbans in Ceylon, are obliged to import them from Southern India, and dye-painted kerchiefs are made in Jaffna for sale in Kandy. It will thus be seen how intimately connected was the art of Southern India and Ceylon; but while thus recognizing the influence of the Tamil craftsmen, it is necessary to remember also the continuity and vitality of the indigenous tradition, and to give to the Sinhalese people the full credit for the fact that their art, taken as a whole, is perfectly distinct in style and feeling from that of Southern India, and preserves clearer and more numerous traces of the Early Indian, and especially of the Early Buddhist style, than can easily be found in India itself.

It is desirable to trace a little more fully the history of the *kammālar*, the South Indian craftsmen who thus came to Ceylon from time to time, and there joined their fellows already settled there and practising their craft. The *Kammālar* in South India are *the*

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craftsmen par excellence, the builders and sculptors of the great Hindu temples. The following account of the *Kammālar* in South India is mainly condensed from Dr. Pulney Andy's paper in No. 50 of 'The Journal of Indian Art and Industry': *Artificers*

The *kammālar* are descendants of a race of Aryans who entered India across the Panjāb long before Vyāsa began the collection and arrangement of the Vēdas. They were known in early times as Viśva Brahmans, Dēva Brahmans or Dēva Kammālar, in contradistinction to the modern Brahmans who are descendants of Vashishta. They spread gradually towards the south and appear to have gone thence to Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Java, the art of all which lands is closely related to that of South India. They reject the authority of the Brahmans, having priests of their own caste, and perform many rites after the manner of Brahmans. The Kammālar claim to have been at one time spiritual guides and priests to the whole people, of which a trace survives in the proverb, 'The Kammālan is *guru* to the world,' which is said to be current in Southern India. They still perform priestly rites in connection with the consecration of images. They both claim and possess various special privileges which they have always upheld with much vigour. Their priests are or were learned in the *Silpaśāstra*. The majority are Saivites. They trace their ancestry to the five sons of Viśvakarma, of whom the first-born Manu, worked in iron; the second, Maya, in wood; the third, Tvastra, in brass, copper, and alloys; the fourth, Silpi, in stone; and the fifth, Viśvajna, was a gold and silversmith and jeweller. Even to-day the blacksmith is said to take precedence amongst the artificers—a point of difference from Ceylon. In former times the artisans had their own guilds, which protected the interests of their own trades; but as these institutions gradually declined, the Kammālar were driven to seek the aid of capitalists of other castes, and now they are, in a majority of instances, reduced to mere paid workmen, earning daily wages. The five occupations are not mutually exclusive; for example, the son of a goldsmith may, if he likes, follow any of the other crafts, or *vice-versa*. We have seen this is only partially the case in Ceylon, as there is a general division into two groups which do not intermarry. In India the five sects form one compact community; as indeed they do in Ceylon, though partly divided as remarked. *Origin of craftsmen*

Some part of the foregoing history of the Kammālar is mythical. A critical examination of the history and traditions of the Kammālar, and of their technical literature is greatly to be desired, and may be expected to throw light on the general history of art, of guilds, and perhaps of freemasonry. Will not the Viśvakarma Kulabhimana Sabhā in Madras begin this much-needed investigation before the opportunities are lost for good and all? It is probably true that there existed a caste or guild of artificers at a time long antecedent to the Christian era, and that they had spread all over India, perhaps as far as the extreme south at the time of the founding of the Sinhalese nation by Vijaya. Later, they passed to Ceylon, Java and other places. There is a remarkable unity underlying the diverse developments of Indian art (including the art of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Java), not merely as regards the persistence in time of elements of decoration, but also geographically; here I refer to the present peculiar isolation of particular trades and techniques which survive, so to say, in scattered 'islands' all over India (cf. 'Indian Art at Delhi,' 1904, pp. 112, 154, 158, 179, 206, 221, 233, and also this work, in various places). The argument from distribution is, that a knowledge of these crafts was once more widely spread and continuous; it is also fairly clear that it was once very much more extensive and thorough.

The greatest interest attaches to the system of apprenticeship and instruction found amongst the Kandyan craftsmen. From the social and guild point of view, the same method may be said to be characteristic of all the craftsmen, both of the artificers' caste *Apprenticeship*

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and also potters and weavers, etc. That is, the trade was hereditary, and the sons are brought up to it as a matter of course,* and trained in the actual workshop, being given easy or monotonous work at first (as grinding colours) and little by little picking up a knowledge of the craft by precept, example, and practice; and so the tradition was perpetuated. Thus from the very beginning, the disciple absorbed together, technique, tradition and metaphysic. No technical education of the future can replace the workshop training of the old craftsmen; for technical education supplies only technique, and that inferior; the imagination it takes no account at all! When the son married and set up for himself, he would be given tools, but would still very probably continue to work with and for his father. We see here the working of the joint family system. Very often also the craftsman trained up with his own sons those of other men of the same caste. In either case the relation between master and pupil was one of lasting reverence and affection; especially where the period of instruction was prolonged, and the information imparted of great value, as amongst the higher craftsmen.

Such was the general type of apprenticeship amongst the craftsmen; but the teaching of drawing and design was confined to the superior division of the artificer's caste, the *galladdō* from whom the *paṭṭal-hatara* men were drawn. The lower division of craftsmen had also some knowledge of design, but in the main relied upon the others to set out their work.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

I. TEACHING OF DRAWING.

As architects, painters and designers, a thorough knowledge of drawing was essential to the superior craftsmen, and we find a highly systematic course of instruction in use for the education of apprentices. These were usually the sons of master craftsmen; but the sons of relations and even of outsiders were also received. A man of the proper caste, wishing to apprentice his son to a master-craftsman, would first find a fortunate hour (*nękat balanavā*), and then proceed to the craftsman's house with his son of about six years old, and one or more servants carrying presents of food and betel leaves on a yoke. The boy was first set to learn drawing; he was given a *yaṭipōruva*, or wooden drawing-board covered with a preparation known as *vadi*. *Vadi* was made by grinding together tamarind seed (two *palam*), coconut charcoal (one *palam*), iron slag (two *palam*), and indigo (ten *mañjaḍi*) with the juice of *kīkiriṇḍi* leaves (*Eclipta erecta, L.*).† The ingredients were ground together and mixed with finely-powdered quartz (*tiruvanagala*) and smoothly

** "No Artificers," says Knox, "ever change their Trade from Generation to Generation; but the Son is the same as was his Father, and the Daughter marries only to those of the same Craft: and her Portion is such Tools as are of use, and do belong unto the Trade."*

† This was the practice; but the mnemonic verse in which particulars are given implies the use of only one palam of the iron slag:

"Neraḷukaṭu gurut yadaḷut suṅkara ṇa Dasaṭak pamaṇa mada nil geṇa aṃbarami ṇa
Potuhęra siyaṃbala ęṭa tunpalaṃ ge ṇa Madarada pat yusin nimakara gā soṇḍi ṇa"

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spread on the board and allowed to dry. Upon the board so prepared the pupil learnt to draw, using for his pencil the spine of a sea-urchin (*ikiri kaṭuva*) mounted in a bamboo handle; or failing that, a pointed style of *kumbuk* (*Terminalia glabra*) bark. Now-a-days, ordinary slates and slate-pencils are used. *Teaching of drawing*

The first copy was the *vaka deka*, or double curve of Fig. 5; the boy had first to trace over and over again the teacher's copy on the *yaṭi-pōruva*. After some control of the hand had thus been acquired, and the form was deeply impressed on the pupil's mind, he had to draw the same from memory, particular care being taken to show the right feeling in drawing the subtle curve. When he had attained some proficiency the figure was complicated by the addition of 'wedges' (*paturu*); then a 'flower' (*sīna mala*) was added at one end (these are seen in Fig. 6), and finally the *vaka deka* by means of internal divisions and external additions, was made into the designs known as *katuru mala* (Fig. 7), *moṭṭak karuppuva* and *tiriṅgi tale* (*talaya* or *talai**) (Figs. 4 and 8, and Pl. XVII). These are successive complications all based on the original *vaka deka*. The ornament of which the *tiriṅgi tale* is built up is called *liya pata* or *liya pota* (q.v. in Chapter IV). The *tiriṅgi tale* itself is not a form used in decoration, but is rather a 'tour de force' or test of skill; when the pupil was able to draw a good example, not from a copy, of course, he was considered to be proficient at this sort of work. A few specially good specimens have been handed down in craftsmen's families from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; these, like some working drawings for royal jewellery which I have seen, were executed on Dutch paper, which was also used for the very rare illuminated manuscripts. Pattern or copy books ('*padimakada*' *pot*) were regularly used, and I have seen both modern examples, and an early one (Pl. XIV., 1) on Dutch paper. Old copies were often set also on loose sheets of Dutch or other paper, and not in regular books. Sinhalese paper was coarse and ill adapted to fine brush drawing such as that of Fig. 8. English paper came into use later.

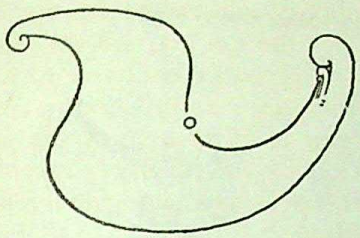

Fig. 5. *Vaka deka*; modern drawing, $\times\frac{1}{2}$.

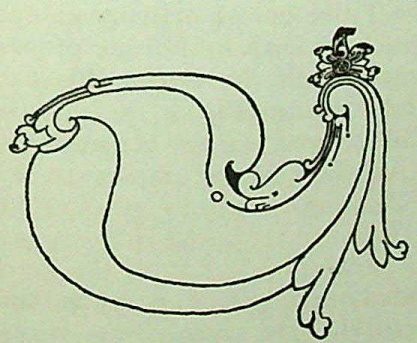

Fig. 6. *Vaka deka* with *paturu* and *sīna mala*; modern drawing, $\times\frac{1}{2}$.

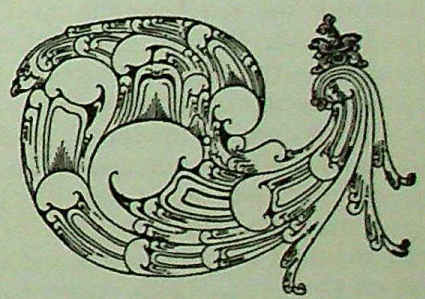

Fig. 7. *Katuru mala*; modern drawing, $\times\frac{1}{3}$ [D.S.M.].

* *The words 'moṭṭak karuppuva' and 'tiriṅgi tale' are of interest as they are probably corruptions of Tamil 'moṭṭaik karukku' (blunt or round edge), and 'tirigu talai' (twisted blade); I have seen the latter word written 'tirikit talai' on a Sinhalese drawing (Fig. 4) dating from about the end of the eighteenth century. 'Katuru' is probably a corruption of kartṛi, 'agent' or 'craftsman.'*

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Teaching of drawing

At no time was the pupil taught to draw from nature. He was made free of the traditional idealised forms which have been handed down from generation to generation; much as the Gothic artist inherited the Freedom of the Tudor rose. The trained artist is contemptuous of any fault in symmetry, carrying this idea almost too far; he thinks

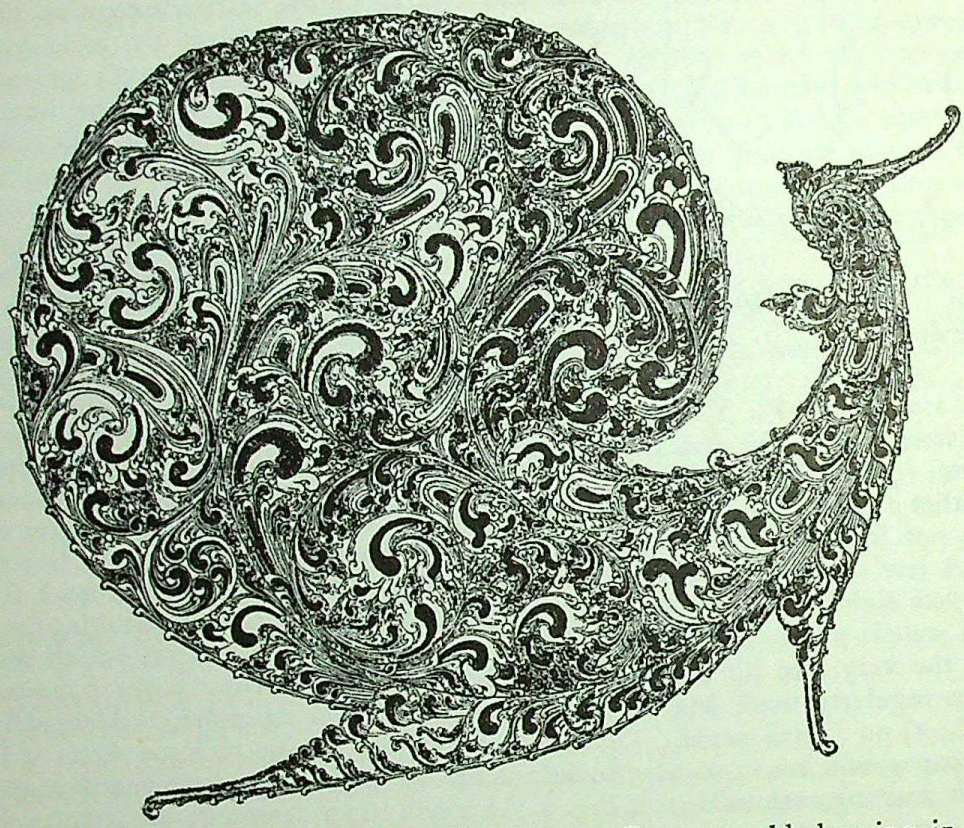

Fig. 8. *Tiriṅgi tale*, half-size of original. From an old drawing in black and red belonging to T. B. Kęppiṭipola, Basnāyaka Nilame of Ęmbękke Dēvāle. The *vaka deka* first drawn is clearly recognizable within the elaborated design (this is not the case in Fig. 4, p. 53, which represents an inferior example). The broad curved tongues (*taṇḍu*) are red in the original drawing. All these figures are drawn with a brush, as described in Chapter IX. (Painting).

that the balanced design of the lid of the box shown Pl. XXXVI., 6, is much superior to that on the back, which is not equally symmetrical. He regards 'design' as the knowledge of, and power to make use of, already determined forms; in complete contrast to the modern Western idea of the continually fresh adaptation of natural forms by each artist at his own will and in his own way. He is scornful of those who do not know (*dannē nę*) the traditional forms, and of those who draw after their own vain imagining (*kalpanāvaṭa aṇdinavā*). When shown, however, good work of other countries, as for example, Kelmscott borders, he is interested, and remarks, '*Ek eka raṭa, ek eka vęḍa*, 'Each country has its own style'; which is getting very near to the root of the matter.

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The method of setting about a piece of drawing is remarkable, and shows the strong visualising power of the painter, and his reliance upon memory. In drawing for example, a lion, a beginning is made with the muzzle, and the brush is carried thence round the whole outline, without preliminary sketching. The painter always seems to see his design upon the surface, and merely to outline what is to him already there. The drawing may or may not be good, but there is never any vagueness or hesitation about it; there is a total absence of all 'messing about,' all is concrete and clear. *Teaching of drawing*

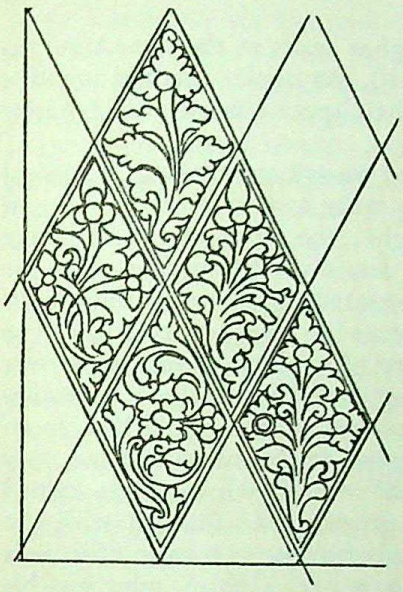

Fig. 9. *Tundan veḍa*; repeating design with geometrical construction; modern drawing, × 1.

The pupil was also taught to draw repeating patterns with a geometrical construction, called *tundan veḍa* (Fig. 9) and all the different types of conventional floral ornament made use of in Sinhalese design. These, by the way, varied a little in different families, wherein they were traditionally transmitted from generation to generation. The types of *tiriṅgi tale* also varied slightly. There was some opportunity for individuality here; it should not be supposed that the strictly traditional character of the arts made it altogether impossible to distinguish one man's work from another's. Most noteworthy is the great ease and certainty with which beautiful ornament like that of Fig. 9 can be drawn at a moment's notice. If one watches such sketches made, it seems rather as if the pattern grows of itself, than that the draftsman makes it.

By this time the boy began to draw figure and animal subjects; the first of these was always a curious combination of a bull and an elephant, called *usaṃba-kuñjara* (bull-elephant); next in order came the following designs: *catur-nāri-palakkiya* (4-women-palanquin), *pañca-nāri-gęṭa* (5-women-knot), *sat-nāri-toraṇa* (6-women-arch), *sapta-nāri-turaṅga* (7-women-horse), *aṣṭa-nāri-ratha* (8-women-chariot, and *nava-nāri-kuñjara* (9-women-elephant).* All of these are drawn on the *yaṭipōruva*, from the teacher's copies; it should, however, not be forgotten that the object of instruction was not to enable the pupil to copy a design before him, but to enable him (1), to reproduce from memory certain well-known designs and figure subjects, and (2), to make use of the traditional elements of design in the decoration of whatsoever varied forms and surfaces he might be called upon to decorate.

Meanwhile the apprentice learnt by heart the Sanskrit *Rūpāvaliya*, containing instructions for the drawing of images of gods and mythical animals; *Sāriputra*, containing instruction for making images of Buddha; and *Vaijayantaya*, a compendium of instruction in the arts, containing, for example, a detailed description of the sixty-four kinds of jewels proper for gods, kings, and men, the design and quantity of gold required for each; measurements of swords, thrones, dāgabas, etc. The pupil had by this time begun to use the brush, which he learnt to do by practising on unimportant work and by filling in details and completing work laid down (*lakuṇu karaṇavā*) by the master. If the master was engaged *Technical handbooks*

* *Most or all of these are designs well known in India. They are not specially adapted to teaching drawing, and it would seem rather by chance than intention that they have been made a part of a regular course. For further details of these forms see Chapter IV., p.* 90.

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Teaching of drawing

on the decoration of a vihāra there was no lack of minor work which could be executed by pupils while he himself was busy with the most important and difficult parts. The pupil, like the pupils of the painters of mediæval Europe, thus got his hand in, by completing the easier parts of real work in progress, instead of attempting too early to execute individual work of the most difficult sort, or perpetually working at uninteresting copies of no permanent value.

As it was usual for one man to practise several of the higher crafts at the same time (as painting and ivory carving together, or with others as well), the pupils also had practice in several crafts, but usually selected one or more as their special work. A *galladda* proficient in five crafts was called *silpacariya*.

Workshop education

It should be pointed out that in the case of such pupils as we are considering, a general and religious education was imparted at the same time, similar to that given in *pansala* schools. Reading, writing and arithmetic were thus taught; the latter was essential for the purpose of the astrological calculations required to determine favourable times for the commencement of important works, and for the understanding of the measurements given in the technical books referred to. The rules for drawing figures necessitated the construction and use of scales. A good deal of geometry of a practical character was also learnt in connection with the construction of repeating patterns. The master craftsman had thus a small school where technical instruction was given in addition to an ordinary education. The relation between master and pupil remained to the last, one of affectionate reverence. It was customary for the pupil to offer whatever he earned to his teacher, who, unless specially asked, returned the greeting and the gift with the same grave courtesy with which it was offered. A friend of mine, now over fifty, tells me that he always observes this custom with his father (now over eighty), who was his teacher. The whole system was indeed mainly one of hereditary transmission of a craft or 'mystery'; and though other pupils were admitted, the master was loth to reveal his last secrets save to a son, or perhaps to a faithful pupil at the completion of his course. If the pupil was an outsider, his father from time to time made presents to the teacher, and at the conclusion of the period of instruction some more substantial gift, such as a buffalo. As the pupil grew up, he continued to work for and with his teacher, and thus the tradition was perfectly transmitted. It is indeed a strange thing for anyone used to the ecclecticism of modern Europe to be brought face to face with strong living traditions in this way; for in Europe "whatever of art is left which is in any sense the result of continuous tradition is, and long has been, so degraded as to have lost any claim to be considered art at all"; while the only art existing in Ceylon, worthy the name of art, is strictly traditional.

Teaching in English schools

Before leaving the subject of teaching drawing, it may be noted that it is one worthy of close study in India and the East generally. The information gained from a comparative study of the methods employed in different parts of India would be of the utmost historical, artistic and anthropological value. Since Indian craftsmen are admittedly masters of design, their methods of instruction should be of permanent interest and value to all interested in the teaching of drawing; and a proper and rational system of instruction might be introduced into English schools in Ceylon, where at present the poor learner is put through the old-fashioned South Kensington mill, and may 'learn drawing' without acquiring any knowledge of Indian traditional design, or in any way connecting the subject with his ordinary life or the past history of his country. The object of teaching drawing should surely be educational, and not merely utilitarian! I have not space to enter into the subject at length; but the points which I consider of greatest importance are, (1) a greater recognition of the value of drawing from memory; (2) instruction in the use

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of ruler and compasses at an early stage, the drawing of curves to be taught first of all, leaving the straight lines to take care of themselves later. Anyone who can draw accurately a sensitive curve could also draw a straight line; (3) the postponement of model drawing to a late stage; (4) the elimination of scientific perspective from the ordinary drawing course; (5) recognition of local tradition, by a large use of Eastern decorative forms for freehand work, and of brass and earthenware for model drawing; and (6) cultivation of taste in, by explanation of, the principles of design, and exhibition of examples or pictures of good work, mainly oriental. I do not wish to condemn direct drawing from nature, but rather to postpone it to a late stage in the actual drawing course; at an earlier stage I would introduce it only in connection with *nature study* and not as a part of the actual instruction in drawing. A logical contrast would thus be drawn between drawing as a means of recording observations of scientific interest or practical value, and drawing as an art, *i.e.*, as a means of interpretation of nature; and both points of view would be of interest. *Teaching of drawing*

The first thing to do in this investigation, would be to compare the South Indian methods with those of Ceylon, and with one another, and from these observations to reconstruct as it were a perfect text, exhibiting the instruction as a connected scheme. In this direction I have made some enquiries at Tanjore, from an old master-craftsman named Annasāmi Stapati Rayar. Drawing was taught as in Ceylon, upon a wooden board, prepared by covering with a lime and rice, or charcoal, lime and rice paste, and drawn upon with a leaden pencil. The forms first drawn were the simplified but comparatively naturalistic outlines of certain fruits and vegetables (can this really be a part of the tradition, or is it of modern origin?); and certain double curves or conventional leaf forms, called *kaḍaikaḍḍu*, *kurippū* and *akatti karukku* (Fig. 10), which apparently correspond to the Sinhalese *vaka deka* (an example of the latter (Fig. 5) was recognized by the Stapati as *kaḍaikaḍḍu*). Copy or sketch books, called *kaḍuttam pustakam*, were used as in Ceylon. One such in my possession, about a century old, consists mainly of sketches or memory notes of images of the principal deities and their attributes as detailed in the śāstra. The chief śāstra used by my informant was the Dhyāna Ratanāvaliya. The Silpa śāstra forms a bulky literature, but usually very corrupt, and greatly neglected, alike by Indian and European scholars.* A knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, and of the art, is required for its adequate study and comprehension. Several of the books are to be found in the Tanjore library, and in that of the Theosophical Society at Adyar. I venture to commend their investigation and the study of the methods of teaching drawing, and of South Indian art and artists generally, to the members of the Viśvakarma Kulābhimāna Sabhā in Madras.

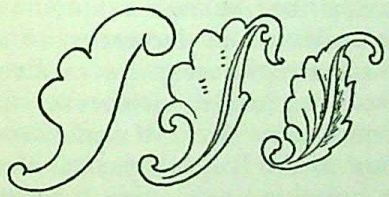

Fig. 10. Tamil forms used in teaching drawing, called *kaḍai-kaḍḍu*, and *kurippū* or *akatti karukku*. From A. Stapati Rayar, Tanjore, 1907.

* *The subject has been touched upon once or twice in the Journal of Indian Art; see 'Dravidian Architectural Details,' by A. Rea, in Vol. V.*

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II. NĒTRA MAṄGALYA.

Nētra Maṅgalya

The *Nētra Maṅgalya* ceremony is one of great interest in itself, and important from our point of view as showing the craftsman in his sacerdotal capacity (see p. 63) and as illustrating the relation between him and his patron. The ceremony was really the dedication of the temple (more exactly, the image in it); and it will be well for the sake of completeness to trace very briefly the whole course of events connected with the building of a new vihāra, before laying special stress on the *nētra maṅgalya*. The patron was almost always the King, who had, of course, the state workmen at his disposal. But in many cases the patron was a layman or group of laymen*; or might be a priest who made himself responsible for the construction or restoration of a temple.† Having determined to build and endow a new vihāra, the King sent presents of betel, etc., by yoke, to the artificer (whom hereafter I speak of as the foreman) in the *paṭṭal-hatara* who was to be entrusted with the work, and requested him to undertake it. Any lesser man than the King would on such an occasion go himself with the presents to the smith's house. The foreman appointed a meeting with the patron (as I shall call the King hereafter) on the spot, after determining an auspicious moment for beginning the work (*nēkat balanavā*). He there received presents of clothing and rice, and performed various prelimary ceremonies analogous to those proper to the building of a house, but more elaborate. An altar to Gaṇa Deviyō (Ganesha) and *bulat taṭuva* to Bhūma Dēvī were erected and an *aṭamagala* diagram drawn (see glossary), after which the work on the foundation was begun.

The artificers were provided with food and clothing while the work continued. Presents were made to the foreman from time to time, especially when the image was first plastered and whitened preliminary to painting, and again later as described below.

By far the most important ceremony connected with the building and decoration of a vihāra or with its renovation (*jarā-vęs-arinavā*) was the actual *nētra maṅgalya* or Eye ceremonial. The ceremony had to be performed in the case of any image, whether set up in a vihāra or not. Even in the case of flat paintings it was necessary. D. S. Muhandiram when making for me a book of drawings of gods according to the Rupāvaliya, left the eyes to be subsequently inserted on a suitable auspicious occasion, with some simpler form of the ceremony described. Knox has a reference to the subject as follows: "Some being devoutly disposed, will make the Image of this God (Buddha) at their own charge. For the making whereof they must bountifully reward the Founder. Before the Eyes are made, it is not accounted a God, but a lump of ordinary Metal, and thrown about the Shop with no more regard than any thing else. But when the Eyes are to be made, the Artificer is to have a good gratification, besides the first agreed upon reward. The Eyes being formed, it is thenceforward a God.‡ And then, being brought with honour from the Workman's Shop, it is dedicated by Solemnities and Sacrifices, and carried with great state into its shrine or little house, which is before built and prepared for it. Sometimes a man will order the Smith to make this Idol, and then after it is made will go about with it to well-disposed people to contribute towards the Wages the Smith

* *As in the cases recorded in the Damunumeya and Ovala sannas, quoted on pp. 77, 78, below.*

† *As, for example, recorded in the Dembaralāve Vihāra tuḍapata (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 717).*

‡ *Rather it is thus consecrated; as Knox himself remarks elsewhere, 'As for these Images they say they do not own them to be Gods themselves but only Figures, representing their Gods to their memories; and as such they give to them honour and worship.'*

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is to have for making it. And men will give freely towards the charge. And this is looked upon in the man that appointed the Image to be made, as a notable piece of Devotion." *Netra* *Mangalya*

Almost in the same way, the mediæval guilds in Europe, wishing to make offerings to the parish church, would sometimes undertake a work beyond their means, and raise money for it by a popular entertainment or 'Ale,' which nowadays has degenerated into a bazaar. But the Sinhalese made use of no such inducements; they had only to ask, and the money was gladly given, by those who were eager to share in the merit of the work. The ceremony would seem to be rather Hindu than Buddhist in origin; the underlying idea seems to be an endeavour to secure good 'conditions' at the time of definitely consecrating the image as a medium which shall put the worshipper in touch with the unseen god whose symbol is thus set forth, and this is rather a Hindu than a Buddhist idea; for Southern Buddhism does not regard Buddha as a still existent personal God, and would not have been likely to originate such a ceremonial, in connection with a mere memorial. But the ceremony no doubt dates back to the time when Buddhism and Hinduism were more distinctly recognized as two aspects of one faith, which historically and fundamentally they are. Some idea of danger (as of 'playing with fire,' or 'calling down lightning from heaven') appears to attach to this consecration of the image, whereby it is made a medium between the worshipper and his god (which would be a Hindu not a Buddhist idea); and the object of the ceremonial is, in this connection, to avert misfortunes, akin to those resulting from a glance of the 'evil eye,' which might otherwise afflict the presumptuous builder and artist. Something of the same feeling is shown in other cases, where images are held to be the vehicle of power. A golden image at Morapaya vihāra, is said to have possessed such power, that when a priest attempted to repair its head, his own head became leprous and withered away.* The image appears to be regarded as charged with power, like a Leyden jar, and similarly, when dealing with it, means should be taken to avoid a shock; but all this is rather foreign to the spirit of Southern Buddhism, and belongs to the Hindu stratum in it.

The first essential was, as always, to find out a suitable day and hour for the ceremony (*nekat balanavā*). As the eyes had to be painted about five a.m. in memory of the fact that Buddha attained enlightenment at that hour, a *nekata* that falls at that time must be waited for. Till then the ceremony had to be postponed, even if for a whole year, as auspicious *nekat* falling at other times were of no use. *How it is begun*

The preparations for the ceremony were elaborate. At about six p.m. the previous evening, a beginning was made with the recitation of *Kosala-bimba-varnanava*†; at eight or nine the arrangement of the *kalasthapanaya* was begun; about three a.m. the offerings (*pidenna*) at the altars were made; and about five the eyes were painted. Outside

* *Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 375.*

† *A sixteenth or seventeenth century work in Sinhalese prose, relating how in Buddha's time, King Kosala used frequently to visit Him with his retinue, to offer gifts and hear the doctrine. On two occasions Buddha was away from His cell, and the retinue began to grumble at their long journey in vain. Upon the next occasion the King asked from the Buddha whether, in order that they might not again be disappointed altogether, he might get made a beautiful image as a representation of Himself. Upon permission being given this was accordingly done. The image was of red sandal wood (rat handun pilima). It is, of course, generally held by German archæologists that no image of Buddha was actually made until very long after His death. However that may be, the tale is recited as affording a sort of precedent for the use of the image about to be consecrated.*

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the vihāra were erected eight altars (*dibba-gē*, lit., god's houses) to Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairṛita, Varuṇa, Vaijavya, Uttara and Isānah*; alternating with these were eight others for the attendants of these gods. On each side of the door were prepared altars to the guardian dēvatāvō (*dvārapāla*), whose images (*doraṭu-pāla-rūpa*) were carved at the base of the door jambs (often on ivory plaques, as at the Daḷadā Māligāva, Kandy); and on the threshold an altar to the guardian (*kshētrapāla*) of the site. One altar, for the *Kadgapāla dēvatāva* was prepared outside the vihāra, beyond the limits of the *pansala* grounds. A *kalasthāpanaya* was prepared, i.e., a collection of eighty pots (*muṭṭi*), in which were placed rice, coconuts, jaggery and money (a fanam in each); each pot was covered by a napkin. A *kanyā nūl* (thread spun by a virgin) was drawn round, and the pots covered with a cloth of five colours.

The details of the preparation of the *kalasthāpanaya* were as follows: rice (*hāl*) was spread on the ground, and an *aṭamagala* diagram [see glossary] drawn in it with the finger. The area was next covered with mats over which five kinds of paddy had been thinly spread, and the space was then divided into eighty parts by strips of coconut leaf. The eighty pots were arranged in the places thus indicated, separated into two groups of forty each, forming the *Brahma Garbbhaya* and the *Vishṇu Garbbhaya*. A special pot set in the middle of those of the former group, containing gold, silver, pearls and the nine gems, was called *Brahma Kalaya*, and another pot set in the middle of the other group and containing rice was called the *Vishṇu Kalaya*. These chief pots were elevated on stools above the others. The whole collection formed the *kalasthāpanaya*.

Inside the vihāra was prepared an altar to *Gaṇa Deviyō* (Gaṇesha); also the *indrakīla*. This was a figure made of rags, supported on a *rukattana* stick (*Alstonia scholaris*) set up in a *kaḷageḍiya* (earthen pot) in which the nine gems, gold, rice, etc., had been placed. It was set in the middle of an *aṭamagala* diagram drawn in rice on the vihāra floor, in front of the image and facing it.

All the foregoing arrangements were made by two or more men or youths dressed as Brahmans; the costume (*brāhmaṇa ẹṇduma*) consisted of *dhoṭi*, shawl, turban, ear-rings, and thread. When completed another man, dressed in red clothing, called *ratu ẹṇduma* (red *tuppoṭiya*, *heṭṭaya*, handkerchief, and tall pointed *jagalat toppiya*), and provided with a sword, took a *dummala kabala* and a *kotalaya* and went before each of the altars offering incense and water and reciting Sanskrit ślōkas; he walked round the vihāra ten times (keeping always to the right), and finally proceeded with drums and music to the *Kadgapāla* altar and made offerings there, then returned to the vihāra. The purpose of the drum was to attract the attention of those to whom offerings were made. Offerings were also made at the *Gaṇa deviyō dibba-gē* inside the vihāre.

All was now ready for the second and most essential part of the ceremony. The foreman dressed up as a prince, and had further a fine cloth (called *vahantarāva*) over his head. The costume (*kumāra ẹṇduma*) consisted of *tuppoṭiya*, *heṭṭaya*, *toppiya*, sword and jewellery. It would appear from the Mahāvaṃsa (Ch. LXXIII.) and other references that the eyes were at one time regularly painted by the King himself. The chronicle states that an ecclesiastical building (*Dhammāgāra*) was erected by Parākrama Bāhu I. "It was adorned with many images of the Conqueror made of gold and the other precious substances, and decorated with an array of pictures of the Omniscient wrought on cloth. And whenever the great king entered the house to paint with his own hands the eyes of the images of the Conqueror, or to make offerings to the Tathāgata, or to hear the

** Regents of the four quarters and four half-quarter points of the compass, E., S.E., etc., in the order in which the names are given.*

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preaching of his doctrines that have never been surpassed, the nautch girls danced and sang songs sweet and melodious as the music of heaven; and it was also adorned with (the image of) a peacock of great splendour that joined the women always in the dance, uttering wild screams that amazed and delighted the people greatly." The use of the frequentative probably implies that the building referred to was regularly used by the king for performing the *Nētra Maṅgalya* ceremony for images intended for various situations. Another instance is recorded in a *sannasa* held by one Kalu Nayide, of Vannipola (Lawrie, p. 910): "When the King of Kings, Śrī Saṅghabō Senasammata Vikrama Bāhu, was reigning in Senkaḍagala, he ordered on the full moon day of the twentieth year of his reign two sheets of cloth (twenty cubits by nine cubits) to be woven, and caused Ācharilla Dityaya and his son Sivanta Dityaya to paint thereon the likeness of Buddha seated on the Vajrāsana and surrounded by Śakra, Brahma, and other Dēvas. On the completion of painting the two sheets, he ordered the performance of the ceremony of placing pots full of water and of other rites; and on the completion of the Nētra Pinkama, his hands having been washed, he was graciously pleased to bestow on the two artists, with the object of satisfying them and to enable them to make offerings to Buddha, fields . . . to be held absolutely from generation to generation." Here the King himself painted the eyes, as the reference to the washing of his hands shows; and this appears to have been the usual custom. It is stated likewise of Kīrti Śrī, that on the completion of the Gaṅgārāma Vihāra, and all preparations had been duly made, that "he set the eyes of the image amidst great rejoicing, and the sound of musical instruments." On the other hand, the eyes were sometimes painted by the craftsmen themselves, even in the days of kings. A deed of A.D. 1753 makes mention of a land which had been 'granted to Hamadi Baḍāla for painting the eyes of Buddha' (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 937). Evidently the ceremony was performed by the king if possible; just as in modern times, great men are availed of to lay foundation stones; but when the king was not available (and, of course, always after 1815, when the rule of the Kandyan kings came to an end) the chief painter, in royal garb, performed the ceremony himself; and it is thus that the ritual has been described to me by present-day craftsmen.

Nētra Maṅgalya

The painter of the eyes, whether the King or craftsman, was accompanied by a second man, also robed, and with a cloth over his head, but less elaborately; both, and also the 'Brahmans' if not very youthful, entered the vihāra, but all other men, and still more, women, stood afar off. The second man carried a mirror (*kannāḍiya*: originally, no doubt, of metal) and the brushes and black paint for painting the eyes. On opening the door, mantrams were said, and the dhoby spread a white cloth to walk upon (or perhaps this was done at an earlier stage). Proceeding to the image, before which stood the *indrakīla* above described, the second man held the mirror in front of it while the first man painted in the eyes. The second man repeated mantrams* the while. If there

*As "*Ōm āyusmantan karmasvaham visam visāradhāyastu bhūmi sābbhyāsē āyus svardhatēmidham. Ōm nētra prasādakāraya akshavudahava tathāgatāya āyusvargāya balavardhanāya, Ōm sāntir astu tushtir astu pustir astu avignam astu ārōgyam astu subham astu subhakarmmāstu Ōm sāntir astu tushtir astu pustir astu avignam astu ārōgyam astu karmma siddhir astu*": *of which the general significance is perhaps, 'Hail! mayest thou become possessed of the fruit of deeds may there be increase on earth . . . . and length of days. Hail eyes! auspicious orbs giving felicity, increase, blessing, prosperity and power. Hail! let there be peace, let there be joy, let there be fulness, let there be freedom from hindrance, let there be freedom from sickness, may it be auspicious, may our deeds be auspicious, may our actions be blessed'; but the mantrams are very corrupt, and are given as recorded. The correct originals could probably be traced in India. I give this version merely as a sample of the corrupt Sanskrit in use.*

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were more than one image, the same process was repeated for each, also for the images of gods, if any; but no ceremony was needed in the case of representations of human beings, as, for example, if the patron were represented on the walls. The purpose of the mirror was to receive the glance (*belma*) of the image*; and similarly the *indrakīla* acted as a scapegoat, like the scarecrow (*paṃbaya*) in a rice-field which serves not only to frighten birds, but to avert the effects of the evil eye by receiving the glance.

As soon as the work was done the painter drew the *vahantarāva* over his eyes, and thus blindfolded, was led out and up to a vessel of water already prepared. Here he washed his head, repeating the *ashṭaka*

Gaṅgā yamunā tīrē, Gōdhā sindhu sarasvatī
Narmadā sindhu kāvērī, Jalais nasmin sānti mispurē,
Padman patran visā laksh(m)ī, Padman kēsaran varan,
Nityan padmālayan dēvī, Savahpātu sarasvatī.

which is particularly corrupt; but the first part is of interest as it evidently represents a mantram used in India for ceremonial bathing, viz.:

Ōm gaṅgā ca yamunē caiva gōdāvari sarasvati:
Narmadē sindhu kavērī jalē 'smin sannidhim kuru.

"Hail! Oh ye Ganges, Jamna, Gōdāvari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu (Indus) and Kavērī, come and approach (hallow and purify) this water." This is an invocation of the seven sacred rivers of India, a prayer that the ceremonial may be, as it were, a lustration with the very waters of these sacred rivers.† It has also a mystical interpretation.‡ The foreman, while thus purifying himself by ceremonial bathing, cut the water with his sword (cf. *diya-kepīma* or water-cutting ceremony performed by the *kapurāla* of a dēvāle after a *perahera*; see p. 39); and after that the vessel was shattered.

Returning to the vihāra, the doors, carefully closed after the ceremony, were opened, and the foreman stood on the threshold facing the people who cried, '*kartṛi darisenayaṭa āvā*,' i.e., the patron has come to see the work'; for so it was, and he now approached the door and gave presents into the hand of the *kāraka* (craftsman). These the latter handed to a pupil, and taking water repeated mantrams§ and sprinkled the people.

* *Is this a parallel to the Gorgon's head, which could only be safely regarded in a mirror? It seems to belong to the same group of ideas, but with this difference, that the mirror is not used by the painter to avoid the necessity of looking at the image, but only as a 'lightning conductor' to receive the glance. A remarkable parallel to the use of the mirror on this occasion, is its use on the occasion of the annual Nānamura maṅgalya, or head-washing festival. The priest washes the sacred reflection of the head of Buddha in a mirror held in front of the image for the purpose* (*Service Tenures Commission*, 1872, *p.* 501). *It is said to be a weekly ceremony at the Māligāva* (*Rep. Temple Lands Comm.*, 1858, *p.* 5). *See also Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism,' for use of mirrors in Tibetan ceremonial.*

† *The same prayer is uttered by the Buddhist in Ceylon, and by the Hindu in Bengal! We have here a single example of the 'geographical sense' which pervades Hindu culture and religion.*

‡ *See 'Daily Practice of the Hindus,' Allahabad*, 1906 (?), *p.* 212.

§ *These are evidently the verses called "dorakaḍa asna," which are referred to in the copper sannasa* (A.D. 1415) *of Beligala Vihāra, as having been recited by Sendipperuma Baṇḍāra when a nētra maṅgalya ceremony was celebrated there in the reign of Parākrama Bāhu VI.* (*Bell, Kēgalla Report, p.* 28).

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At the same time the Royal or other patron made grants of land to the temple, arranged for the establishment of priests for its service, or set afoot further building operations for their accommodation. Thus, in the Dambulla Vihāra *tuḍapata* of A.D. 1726, it is stated that King Senaratna restored and repaired the temple. "At the completion of the repairs, which took three years, the king, on the festival of painting of the eyes of the images of Buddha, proceeded to the temple accompanied by the three queens and three princes. After the festival was over the king stood on the semicircular step-stone of Mahārāja Vihāra and called on the priests there assembled to nominate a person fit to be appointed incumbent of this vihāra, sixty-five images of which, including the one in a reclining posture, had been painted and finished. The priests, in response to the call, stated that Kahavandala Tanhankara was fit to be incumbent, being also a lineal descendant of the priests who had officiated in the temple since the days of King Valagam-Bāhu, and a person who took much pains in effecting the repairs. The king being very much pleased, defined boundaries for the four villages aforesaid, viz., Sirasgamuva, Nalalkumbura, Giriyagamuva, and Pādeṇiya. . . . For the above . . . and their appurtenances, high and low lands, jungles, and ponds, he, the king, granted a Śrī Sannas in order that the rites and ceremonies in the Dambulu Vihāra might be continued to be performed duly, and that this vihāra benefice might permanently continue in the *Śisyanu-paramparāva** of Kahavandala Tanhankara. And further considering that a lasting sannas should be given to the said priest he also caused the figures of the sun and moon to be engraved on the stone lying to the south of the Dēvarāja Vihāra. After this, standing on the semicircular stone of the Mahārāja Vihāra, His Majesty directed Abasiṃha Mudiyanse to have dormitories built in the village Lenavela, and allowed him (for the expenditure) thirty amuṇu of seed paddy from Akuramboda, thirty pieces of iron, ten buffaloes from the fold of Dumbukolagama, ten oxen that were brought laden with sacks of sand from Kandalama, ten cows with calves from Bovatte, and ten she-buffaloes with calves from the *gabaḍa* village Kaduruvela" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 126).

Netra Maṅgalya

On such occasions, king, chiefs and people were brought near together, taking part in joint dedications. At Ovisa, for instance, in 1775, on the occasion of eye painting, the King dedicated lands to the Nallegoḍa Vihāra, and many dedications of *praveṇi* lands by villagers were also made, the chiefs and others being witnesses (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 671). In the case of communal or private dedications, the Royal consent was required, and readily given, often with the addition of further gifts. And so, to quote again the words of the chronicle, the king was 'one with the religion and the people.'†

After such almsgivings had been completed, the curtains before the image were drawn back, and all the people entered with loud cries of 'Sādhu! Sādhu!' For some days the festival (*nētra pinkama*) continued, when many further presents were given to the craftsmen, and the temple was formally endowed with lands.

The workmen remained at the vihāra a week before returning to their homes, and on the night of their return a *pirit* service‡ was held to complete their purification.

* *Pupillary succession.*

† *How very different a state of affairs now exists, must be apparent to all who contrast with this picture, that of the English Governor, often, it may be, conscientious, efficient and hardworking, even perhaps sympathetic, but very far from being 'one with the religion and the people.'*

‡ *Described by D. J. Subasinha, 'Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon,' p. 193; also J. F. Dickson, J.C.R.A.S., Vol. VIII., p. 226.*

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III. ARTIFICER TENANT HOLDINGS.

The system of land tenure, by which certain services were to be rendered in return for land held from the king, a religious foundation, or a chieftain, has been explained above (p. 25), and the general character of the craftsmen's services indicated. Some examples of the holdings of artificers are here quoted in greater detail, from Lawrie's Gazetteer.

The Daḷadā Māligāva had a Baḍal Paṅguva at Ḗmbulpure, Hārispattuva; tenant, Vijēndragē Puñci Nayide, holding 1½ acre fields and 1½ acre garden. Services, commutable for Rs. 1·50: to go to the Māligāva and polish the gold and silver vessels and implements of the temple during six days in a year; to give either an arecanut-cutter or two rings of silver wire to the Diva Nilame after the New Year. When on duty at the Māligāva, the tenant received gruel in the morning, curry and rice in the afternoon, and a *huṇḍuva* of raw rice in the evening.

The Gādalādeṇiya Dēvāle had a Baḍal Paṅguva (goldsmith's holding) at Gādalādeṇiya; tenant holding half an acre field. Services (commutable for Rs. 7·35): to supply a silver *sura* and polish and repair the *ran-avuda* for the *perahḗra*; put up an *ānamēstraya* and decorate it; join in weeding the *maḷuva*; supply one *huṇḍuva* oil for Kārti; at each of the festivals to give to the Basnāyaka Nilame and the Vidāne two silver rings each. Also a Navan Paṅguva (smith's holding) of the same extent. Services (commutable for Rs. 5·85): to give iron utensils for the *multen-gē*; work as a blacksmith; clean *ran-doli* and *pandan* for the *perahḗra*; nail laths; give a pair of scissors and an arecanut-cutter for the *dalumura taṭuva*; clear *maḷuva*, and put up an *ānamēstraya* and decorate it; give a *huṇḍuva* of oil for *Kārti*; at each of the festivals to present to the Basnāyaka Nilame and Vidāne an arecanut-cutter each.

At Etipola, a tenant held one acre field and 2½ acres *hēna*, and his service (commutable for Rs. 2) was to appear before the proprietor at the New Year with forty betel leaves; and to make billhooks for the proprietor, by whom iron and food were supplied, for six days in the year.

At Ḗmbekke, the Kataragama Dēvāle possessed a Navan Paṅguva held by two goldsmiths and a Buddhist priest. The area held was 1a. 3p. fields and 1a. 2p. gardens. The services (commutable for Rs. 53·60 a year) were: to polish the gold, silver, brass, &c., vessels; to work in gold, silver, copper, and iron work; to make and repair the hinges and keys; to join in repairs; to make a silver *sura* for the *ḗhela* tree; to maintain, whitewash, and decorate an *ānamēstra-gē*; to present the Basnāyaka Nilame at each of the festivals with a ring and an arecanut-cutter; to make iron implements for the tenants for three months, iron and charcoal being supplied.

So much for the services due to chieftains, or the proprietors of Ninda villages. The service of the various Royal Artificer Tenants, as we have seen, consisted in supplying craftsmen as members of the *Koṭṭal-badda* and *Paṭṭal-hatara*, the former for a part of the year, the latter more continuously working for the king in Kandy.

IV. VIHĀRA GRANTS.

As examples of vihāra *sannas* or charters recording endowment, so frequently referred to above, I quote two, the first one of quite typical character registering Royal dedications; the second, dedications by the chief men of a village, decided upon in a common assembly, and subsequently sanctioned by the Palace.

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I. Degaldoruva (A.D. 1786). "When His Great Majesty King Kīrti Śrī Rāja Simha, . . . was reigning with equity and justice in the city Sirivaḍḍhanapura, which is styled Seṅkaḍagala Nuvara, and having won the affection of his subjects, His Majesty caused new temples, dāgabas, and images to be made, and others to be repaired: and when he was by such deeds promulgating the Buddhist religion, his brother, who was also great in royal birth, having heard that there was a small cave in a rock at Amuṇugama, in Dumbara, and having supplied from the royal stores crow-bars, hammers, pickaxes, &c., caused the cave to be enlarged to a length of twelve cubits, and a breadth of eight cubits, and a height of three cubits, and the floor of the front court or hall to be levelled, whereon twelve pillars were set and stone steps were placed leading to the court from the stone at the entrance *saṇdun-kaḍa-gala*, and when the work had thus far been carried on, His Highness Asthana, the younger brother of the King Kīrti Śrī, at whose feet virtuous men performed services, as bees gather themselves around flowers, caused stone walls to be put up, and doors and windows to be set with keys and bars, and an image of Buddha of twelve cubits in length to be made in a reclining posture, and six other images in a sitting posture to be placed at the head and feet of the image, and also caused twenty-four Buddha's images to be depicted on the ceiling and on the walls within and without, and other workmanship and paintings to be made thereon and upon the stone pillars, the roof of the front court to be put up with beams and rafters and covered with tiles, and on the cross-walls thereof a representation of hell and heaven, near which he also caused a dāgaba of nine cubits in height to be erected, and a bō-tree to be planted, and a *pohoya-gē* and as well as a priest's residence to be constructed, enclosing the temple on all the four directions with ditches and embankments, and he also caused jak, mango, cocoanut, and plantain trees to be planted; and having furnished the temple with curtains, cloths for ceiling, umbrellas, flags, tom-toms, trumpets, and silver priests'-dishes, kettas, spitting pots, betel stands, and lamps, His Majesty, on the seventeenth day of Bak of the increasing moon, in the year of Śaka 1693 (A.D. 1771), ordered the festival Nētra Pinkama to be performed, and His Majesty also furnished all the necessaries thereto, and having granted much riches as clothes, money, &c.. to the artificers, the painters, and stone cutters, His Majesty received merit and was filled with ecstasy, and for the purpose of carrying on the offerings of rice, flowers, &c., and for the necessaries for five ordained and unordained priests in the said temple to reside therein and perform the rites, and also for the necessaries of the chief priest who presides over and causes the ceremonies to be performed therein, His Majesty having received much instruction and exhortation in the Buddhist faith and full explanation of the books Dighanikāya, Upāsaka-Jana-Alaṅkāraya, Milindapraśnaya, and Mahāvaṃsa from the High Priest Moraṭoṭa Dhammakanda, who had a thorough knowledge of Buddhism, granted to him, his pupils, sub-pupils, in succession, to be held by them for ever, the following property: . . . and His Majesty enjoined that none shall take forcibly any of the above lands. His Majesty Śrī Rājādhi Rāja, who surpassed all other kings in dignity and possessed a virtue that attracts all as bees to flowers, sitting on a golden throne in the Audience Hall under a pearl canopy in the city of Seṅkaḍapura, surrounded like Śakra by all his ministers, on Thursday, the seventh day of the increasing moon of the month of Vesak, in the year of Śaka 1708 (A.D. 1786), called Parabave, granted to the said temple the lands above-mentioned, written on a copper *Sannasa* to be possessed uninterruptedly as long as Buddhism lasts. Any one who shall take for his own use even a blade of grass, fuel, flower, or fruit which belongs to Buddha shall be born as a *prētaya*" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 138). *Degaldoruva sannasa*

II. Damunumēya Vihāra (A.D. 1635). "The chief men of the village Damunumēya, in Mēgoḍatihe Haṇgurańketa in Hēvāheta, having built a vihāra, and not having time to

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Damunumēya sannasa

get images made at the time they wished to hold a festival there, proceeded to the vihāra at Mādanvala, borrowed therefrom three images and secured the attendance of its priest, Mādanvala Unnānse, to officiate at Damunumēya Vihāra. At the close of the religious ceremonies that same evening the Upāsakas took part in the observance of *aṭasil* On the next morning a Pattra Pinkama was held, followed by a consultation among all present that for the benefit of the vihāra and the good of their own souls an offering of lands should be made. It was resolved by the assembly that Bolagedara Haḷuvadana Rālahāmi should offer two peḷas sowing extent, Mudiyanse of Naranmēya three peḷas, Madurave Rāla two peḷas. When Haḷuvadana Rālahāmi brought this resolution to the notice of the Mahāvāsala (the Palace), permission was given to carry it out, and accordingly, on Saturday, the full moon day of the month of June, in the year of Śaka 1557, the said offering was made, and the lands were dedicated as vihāra property. The merits of this offering are due to the illustrious Mahāvāsala, to the ministers and high officials, and all the people of the land. Those who shall help to settle any dispute that may arise regarding these lands shall be blessed, and shall enjoy happiness among the gods, and finally, having beheld Maitri Buddha, shall attain Nirvāṇa. But those who shall take unlawful possession of any of these lands, or enjoy the fruits thereof, shall be damned and suffer the torments of hell" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 324).

A very similar *sannasa* is that of the Ovala or Kehelvala Vihāra, which was built by villagers, who dedicated small bits of land.

III. Ovala, A.D. 1790: "Under the constellation Uturusala, . . . in the year of Śaka 1712, . . . the following lands are dedicated by the charitable devotees of the village Kehelvala: Ovala Meḍḍuma, Duraya and Neḳat Duraya the lower bed of Siyambalēva, the coconut tree by the border of the field standing on Gedaravatte, the coconut tree near the *maḍuva*, the betel vine and the jak tree above the house, the jak tree (named) *valimiriya-kosgaha*; Deldeṇiye Rāla dedicated Varapota deṇiya . . . Piṭiye Kirāla Āraccila dedicated one coconut tree in Geṭakohovatte, and the coconut tree (named) *geṭakosgaha-mula-polgaha* (lit., the coconut tree in the corner by the gnarled jak tree) . . . and Pallegē Āraccila the coconut tree on the border of Ovala Neḳat Duraya's garden" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 663). The two last give us delightful pictures of the village elders impatient to get their vihāra finished, and dedicating small parcels of land and single coconut trees.

V. VIŚVAKARMA.

Viśvakarma, already referred to as the mythical ancestor of the Kammālar, is the patron deity of arts and crafts, the great Over-craftsman of the Universe. He is the architect of the gods, and revealer of the Sthapatya Vēda, or science of architecture and mechanics. He is described in the Mahābhārata as 'Lord of the arts, the carpenter of the Gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, Who formed the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal God, they continually worship.' He is known in India also as Kāru, the workman; Takshaka, the woodcutter; and Dēvavardhika, the builder of the Gods. In the last capacity he is frequently referred to in the Mahāvaṃsa, and as assisting human undertakings at the command of the Gods; as in Ch. XXVIII., where by his aid, bricks are miraculously produced. In Ch. XXX., when the King enquired of a certain bricklayer, "In what form dost thou propose to construct

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the cētiya?", it is stated that Viśvakarma in that instant inspired him. The bricklayer, filling a golden dish with water, and taking some water in the palm of his hand, dashed it against the water (in the dish); a great globule, like unto a ball of crystal rose to the surface; and he said, 'I will construct it in this form.' The delighted monarch bestowed on him a suit of clothes worth a thousand, a splendid pair of slippers, and 12,000 *kahapaṇam* (coins)" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXX). It would be easy to quote any number of such stories from Indian literature. *Viśva-karma*

The Indian craftsman, indeed, conceives of his art not as the accumulated knowledge of ages, but as originating in the divine skill of Viśvakarma, and revealed by him. Beauty, rhythm, proportion, idea, have an absolute existence on an ideal plane, where all who seek may find. The reality of things exists in the mind, not in the detail of their appearance to the eye. This inward inspiration upon which the Indian artist is taught to rely, appearing like the still small voice of a god, that god was conceived of as Viśvakarma. He may be thought of as that part of Divinity which is conditioned by a special relation to artistic expression. In another way, again, he may be conceived of as the sum total of consciousness of individual craftsmen of all ages and places, composing a 'group soul' of a higher order of consciousness. These philosophical conceptions are not consciously present in the minds of modern craftsmen, but they are not foreign to Indian thought.

Viśvakarma, like the other divinities, is represented as possessing a certain form and attributes. These are detailed in v. 149 of the Rūpāvaliya: "Salutation I give to Viśvakarma, the fair and great, who is renowned and free, who hath five *tilaka*-marked faces, ten arms, holding a book and writing style, a sword, an adze (lit. a club), a citron, a cup, a water-pot, a rosary, a cobra (about his neck), a noose, hands betokening sternness and beneficence (one closed and one open) and wearing a golden sacred thread."

On Pl. XXI. will be found a representation of Viśvakarma, drawn to scale and with the proper attributes as directed in the canon, prepared for me by Dēvasurēndra Muhandirama of Ḗmbḛkke.*

Viśvakarma is not worshipped by craftsmen or others with offerings or ritual, but is often referred to in charms and songs connected with building operations, where he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist the craftsmen. An example of such a charm is the *Uḷuvahu Pḛnīma*, "The Jump from the Threshold," detailing ceremonies and offerings necessary to hallow and protect a newly completed building, at the close of which the officiating craftsman or *kaṭṭāḍiyā* has to 'spring from the threshold.' Of this work there is a printed version, giving, beside the song itself, the auspicious mantrams that are chanted. This *Uḷuvahu Pḛnīma*, after the manner of such works, recites the origin of the matter in hand, in this case, the revelation of building and arts and crafts generally, by Viśvakarma in the time of the mythical Maha Sammata, and concludes with auspicious mantrams.

* *The initials* [*D.S.M.*] *attached to figures in this book, indicate the work of a craftsman named Dēvasurēndra Muhandirama of Ḗmbḛkke.*

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CHAPTER IV. ELEMENTS OF SINHALESE DESIGN AND ORNAMENT.

BEFORE proceeding to a systematic description of the various crafts, architecture, painting, woodwork, pottery, etc., it is necessary to explain the technical terms applied to the different kinds of ornament, and give some account of their meaning and origin. Accordingly, in the present Chapter the chief elements of Eighteenth Century Kandyan Sinhalese design are named and explained,† the elements, that is to say, of the strictly decorative art, distinguished from the more pictorial and sculpturesque art of the *jataka* paintings and images. The motifs in Sinhalese decorative art may be tabulated as follows, using, as far as possible, the names employed by the craftsmen themselves:

Divine. Symbols of the sun (*ira*) and moon (*haṇda*).

Animal. Mythical: *kiṇdurā*,* '*śerapeṇdiya*,'* *et-kanda-lihiṇiya*, *makara*,* *bhēruṇḍa-pakshaya*, *nara-siṃha*,* *gaja-siṃha*.
Partly mythical, with a natural prototype: *haṃsa*,* *siṃha** (incl. '*kibihi*'), *nāga*.
Natural (real animals decoratively treated): fish (*matsya*, etc.); birds, especially parrot (*giravā*), cock (*kukuḷā*), peacock (*moṇarā*), *seḷa-lihiṇiya*; beasts, especially deer (*mṛiga*), hare (*hāva*), squirrel (*daṇḍu-lenā*), bull (*usaṃba*), elephant (*etā*), horse (*aśvaya**); dog and crow; man (*manushya*).

Vegetable. Mythical: *nāri-latā-veḷa* (semi-human); *kaḍu-pul*, *parasatu*, *palol*, *daṃba*, *iṃbul*, *kap-ruka*, *mahari*.
Conventional: *katuru-mala* (scissors flower), *picca mala* (jessamine), *sīna-mala*, *nelum-mala* (lotus), *palā-peti* (lotus petal), *mala* (flower in general), *sapu-mala* (*sapu* flower), *veṭakeyiyā* (*Pandanus*), *mal-gaha* ('flower tree'), 'flower in pot,' *liya-veḷa* ('branch' or 'vine'), *liya-pata* ('vine-leaf'), *bō-kola* (bō-leaf), *bō-pat-kaṇgul*, *suliya*, *mālaya*; and traditional forms without special Sinhalese names, including 'pine-apple,' 'palmette,' 'honeysuckle,' 'knop and flower,' 'cone,' 'calyx-volute.' No forms derived directly from fruits appear to occur.

Inorganic. Geometrical: dot (*biṇduva*), line (*iri*), curve (*vaka*), circle, spiral, triangle, chevron (*diya-reḷa*), arch (*toraṇa*), cross, *svastika*; diaper, esp. *deḷa* (the 'net'), *tuṇḍan-veḍa*, *kalas-daṇgaya*, *kuṇḍi-rakkan*; chequer; plait (*lanu-geṭa*); borders, *gal-biṇduva*, *ariṃbuva*, *panāva*, *havaḍiya*, and 'fret.'

Certain methods of combining these elements are next briefly referred to, as: serial repetition (G. *Ranken-bordure*); alternating repetition (knop and flower, etc.); interrupted branch (G. *intermittirende Wellenranke*); continuous branch (G. *fortplanzende Wellenranke*); knop or knot (*geṭa*, *pota*, *bandha*); interlacements (*pāṭṭuva*, *daṇgaya*); whorl (*pōruva*); 'affrontment,' (G. '*Wappen-stil*,' a special case of symmetry); parsemé; 'flower in mouth.' The 108 *Maṅgalya lakshaṇa* or *ma(ṇ)gul-lakuṇu* are also explained and partially illustrated. These elements of design I now describe in the foregoing order. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are further described in mnemonic verses quoted from the Rūpāvaliya.

† *Some other pattern names will be mentioned, and further examples given, in Chapters on Lac Work and Weaving.*

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SUN and MOON. The symbols of the sun and moon, the physical vestures of the great beings that control them, may be mentioned here. They are cut on *sannas* and on boundary stones as symbols of eternity, and are represented as a plain disc and crescent, the circle sometimes with human features. Used as a charm or protection, on a *divi-niya-pota* (cheetah's claws mounted as a child's pendant), they are seen in the example of Pl. XLVIII., 9. But the circles in Figs. 15 and 17 (same Pl.) represent not the sun, but the disc of Vishṇu, a weapon resembling the Sikh quoit. When used on a larger scale in painted decoration, the sun has always a full round face with human features (as in Pl. XVI.; and the moon has in it the figure of a hare (see below, p. 89). The symbols of the sun and moon are among the 108 *magul-lakuṇu* (Fig. 69). The sun and moon are never worshipped with offerings, but are often invoked as guardians and protectors, especially in religious agricultural songs.

Design and ornament

Sun and Moon

KIṆDURĀ, KINNARA. The *kiṇdurō* of Sinhalese painters, are beings, human above and bird-like below; like a siren or a harpy, but with human arms and shoulders, and the wings not large enough for flight (Fig. 10). Like other mythical creatures, they are thought to dwell in the Himālayas, that Indian forest of Broceliande, where the boundary between the common world and the ideal world of the imagination may at any moment vanish. There has been some confusion as to the meaning of the word *kiṇdurā*. The meaning given by Monier Williams (Skt. Dict.) is a being of the centaur type, half horse, half man; and he is, presumably, followed by Dawson (Hindu Mythology, p. 158), and Pincott (Prema Sāgara, 1897, pp. 16, 232). I do not know how the confusion arose. In the man-bird form they are represented at Barāhat (third century B.C.), at Ajanta (fifth century A.D.), and mentioned by Aelian (second century A.D.) as follows: "These are matchless for the melodious notes of their throat and tongue, so that . . . they are sirens, or nearly so, for the mythical maidens so named are represented alike in the song of the poet and the picture of the artist, as winged and having the legs of birds." In the Prema Sāgara (loc. cit., p. 310) they are described as 'playing away on pipes and kettle-drums.' Grünwedel ('Buddhist Art in India') reproduces a rather graceful modern Siamese drawing of the bird-woman form.*

Kiṇdurā

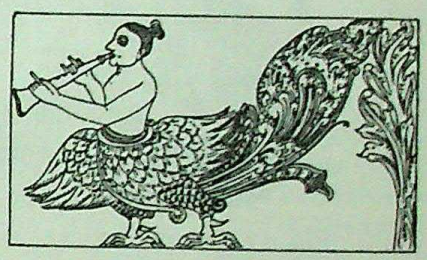

Fig. 10. *Kiṇdurā*; from a modern drawing [D. S. M.].

The type of *kiṇdurā* known to Kandyan artists is, then, the true one. It is often called *liya-* or 'woman-*kiṇdurā*,' just as a mermaid is oftener spoken of than a merman. The form is found not only in purely decorative work, but of necessity also in pictures of the Canda Kinnara Jātaka, as at Kelaṇiya (Pl. VIIA.). The story of the jātaka is briefly thus: The Bōdhisat was incarnated as a Kinnara and lived with his wife Candā in the Himālayas. The king of Benāres committed his Government to his ministers and went alone to the Himālayas on a hunting expedition. The two Kinnaras, whose home was on the Mountains of the Moon, had come down from them and were playing and singing by a stream, Candā dancing to the sound of her fellow's flute. The king heard the sound, and creeping near, was smitten with love for Candā. 'I will shoot the husband,' thought he, 'and kill him, and I will live here with his wife.' He shot and slew the Kinnara; his mate fled in fear and sorrow to the top of the mountain, and a dialogue ensued between

* *For a further discussion see Grünwedel's useful, but uninteresting and sometimes misleading work, 'Buddhist Art in India,' English edition, 1901, p. 47.*

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Design and ornament

Kiṇḍurā

herself and the king, and she refused to live with him; his passion died away and he departed indifferent. Candā embraced her fellow and brought him to the hill-top and cried aloud over him, taunting the gods to bring him to life again. Śakra's throne grew hot.* 'Pondering, he perceived the cause; in the form of a Brahman he approached, and from a water pot took water and sprinkled the great being with it.' The dead Kinnara was restored to life, and Śakra departed, warning the Kinnaras never again to seek the haunts of men. The master thus identified the Birth 'At that time Anuruddha was the king, Rāhula's mother was Candā, and I myself was the Kinnara.'†

A scene from this story is shown also on the lid of a Kandyan brass box (*heppuva*) in my possession; the hunter king is shooting at the male *kiṇḍurā*, who with his mate is dancing and playing unconscious of danger; the environment is given by the rock, the cheetah, and the tree.‡

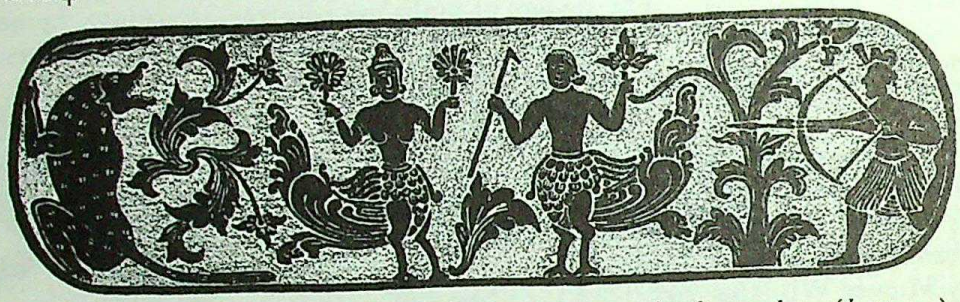

Fig. 11. *Canda kinnara jātaka* scene, from engraved tobacco box (*heppuva*).

Two other sorts of *kiṇḍurō* are recognized by Kandyan painters: these are *saṇḍa-kiṇḍurā*, altogether human in form, with wings like an angel, and the *jala-kiṇḍurā* or mermaid; of these the *saṇḍa-kiṇḍurā* is rarely seen in Kandyan work, but has, I suspect, more than a half share in the 'angels' that are oftener seen in low-country paintings, where the influence of the Christian angel has perhaps also to be reckoned with; but the Christian angel is after all really a *gandharva* or *apsara*.§ The *jala-kiṇḍurā* I have never seen used; but a drawing made for me represents a typical 'mermaid.' A *kiṇḍurā* and *saṇḍa kiṇḍurā* are among the 108 *magul-lakuṇu* (*maṅgalya lakshaṇa*, auspicious marks on the feet of Buddha).

The Kinnara is described as follows in v. 146 of the Rūpāvaliya: The Latā Kinnara "hath a tuft of hair on the head, a garland around the neck, a human body, and singeth melodiously; hath a human face and hands, but the nether part like that of a bird, with

**Śakra, or Indra, is the Chief of the Gods, and Lord of Dēva-loka. In stories it is said that his throne grows hot whenever important events take place on earth, requiring immediate attention.*

† Condensed from 'The Jataka,' Cambridge, 1895, Vol. IV., pp. 179-182. A somewhat similar story is related in the Takkariya Jataka; but here the two kinnaras are brought before the king by a hunter who has captured, not slain them; this appears to be the story illustrated in the sculpture at Barāhat ('Cunningham, Bharhut Stūpa, Pl. XXVII., and p. 69). See also "Two Kandyan Brass Boxes," 'Ceylon National Review,' 1906.

‡ Observe that although the jātaka is called canda *kinnara, the representation is of* liya *kiṇḍurō; so also at Kelaṇiya, in Pl. VII*A*., below. But on the same Plate, above, canda kiṇḍurō may be seen in the makara toraṇa, as if issuing from the mouths of the makaras. The distinction drawn by Kandyan painters may be erroneous.*

§ See Baring Gould, 'Curious Myths of the Middle Ages'; section 'Swan Maidens.'

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wings; a face fair and radiant, a neck graceful as Brahma's." The anatomical proportions are also given in the Rūpāvaliya, and are quoted in the Appendix to this Chapter.

Design and ornament

'ŚṆRAPĒṆDIYA.' This beast, also called *guruḷu-pakshaya*, has a head rather like that of a lion, joined to the body of a bird like the *haṃsa*. The whole animal appears in Fig. 12, and in Pls. XI., 3; XIII., 9 and XLI. (chank); but the head alone, or the head and wings only, are oftener seen (Pls. XI., 1; XLIII., 3; XLV., 10; XLVI., 2, 3, 9; LII., 2, etc.). Thus used it is very characteristic of metal-work, particularly palanquin fittings, areca nut slicers, door handles; and ivory work, especially ear-picks; but I do not remember to have seen a painted example. The main point of difference from the lion's head is seen at the point of the snout, which in the *śṛapeṇdiya* curls inwards, but in the lion ends in a small s-shaped scroll, well seen in Pl. XXXVIII., 5, where the animals are side by side. The head of the *makara* is readily distinguished by its trunk. The word '*śṛapeṇdiya*,' which I have also seen spelt *śarapendā*, is probably derived from a corruption of *sarpa+indriya*, 'ruler of serpents,' possibly of *śarabhā+indriya*. A verse in the Rūpāvaliya bears this title of *Śarabhā dhyānam*, and describes an animal, half beast, half bird: "Half of the body is like that of a bird, a face and four hands above, a face and four hands below; like a conflagration at the end of the world, uttering the sound of a storm in the blue firmament, destroyed the might and the glory of the ten serpent kings. Adore the Incarnation of Śarabhā, . . . having eight feet." The Tamil equivalent of the *śṛapeṇdiya* is the *sarja anna paḍçi* (Fig. 13); the Siamese, '*indriya*' (?), Fig. 14. But the Tamil *yāli* (Fig. 15) is a combination of lion's body and '*sarja*' head. There is also a creature called *sarapa mūrti* which I have seen represented in an old Tamil drawing, with a lion's face, human trunk, wings, 4 hands, lion's body, 2 fore legs and 6 hind legs.

'Śṛapeṇ-diya'

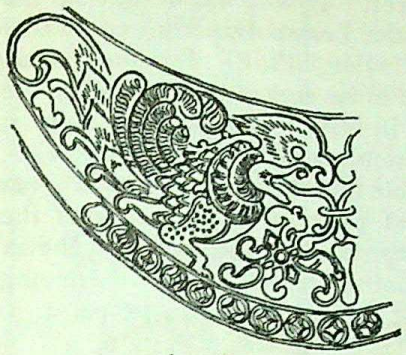

Fig. 12. '*Śṛapeṇdiya.*' From metal mounting of *ran-doli* (palanquin) at Vishṇu Dēvāle, Haṇguraṅketa.

Fig. 13. *Sarja anna paḍçi*, from modern Tanjore drawing (Tamil).

Fig. 14. '*Indriya*,' 'bird's head,' Siamese. Drawn by P. C. Jinavaravaṃsa Unnānse, late Prince Prisdang.

Fig. 15. *Yāli*: old Tamil drawing, Tanjore.

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Ęt-kanda-lihiṇiya

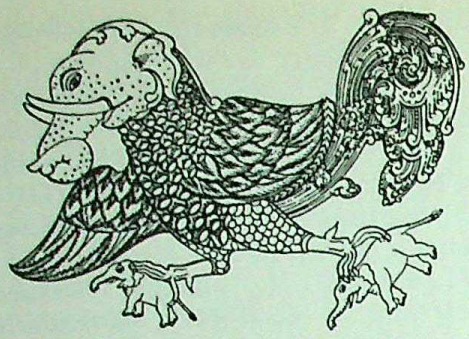

Fig. 16. *Ęt-kanda-lihiṇiya*. From a modern drawing [D.S.M.].

Ęt-kanda-lihiṇiya. This 'elephant-seizing-bird' is a sort of roc, carrying off and devouring its prey; (Fig. 16). It was the device on the flag of the Maha Lēkam Department. Davy ('Travels in Ceylon,' Pl. 8) reproduces some drawings then to be seen on the walls of the Mahā Dēvāle in Kandy, and amongst them is one of these monsters carrying off an elephant. It seems possible that the elephant's head given to this bird of prey, is a corruption of the original conception. I have seen an Indian brass incense-burner, representing a bird seizing two elephants, and with a head proper to a bird of prey.

Makara

MAKARA. The *makara* resembles a dolphin or crocodile; the snout ends in a trunk like an elephant's, but shorter and often curled up so as to be inconspicuous; the body and tail are bird-like; but the Early Indian forms (Fig. 18) had a distinctly fishy tail; as also in Pl. XLVII., 8. Fig. 17 is from an old drawing by a pupil of Devaragampola Silvaṭęnna. The *makara* is one of the signs of the zodiac; one of the 108 *maṇgul-lakuṇu*; it is also the banner of the Indian god of love. A special form of necklace, called *makara-mālaya*, is shown in Pl. XLIX., 11. But its only common use in eighteenth century Sinhalese art is in the *makara toran* which abound in Sinhalese architecture above doorways and images, as in Pls. VII., 1; VIIA, above the image: Pl. XXXVIII., 9 shows a modern, debased rendering in ivory. The *makara toraṇa* is an ornamental arch springing from two profile *makara* facing each other, and with a '*kibihi*' face in the position of the keystone; the intermediate space on either side is variously treated. In Pl. VIIA. it is filled with flying *saṇda kiṇdurō*. The *makara* face is never used by itself; Mr. Bell's '*makara* quadrifrons' of the Meḍagoḍa Dēvāle stone pillar is really a '*kibihi* quadrifrons.' He also mentions *makara* faces in error on p. 20. Almost all full-face detached heads are *kibihi*; all profile, *śęrapēṇḍiya*. Mr. Bell finds the prototype of the curious ornamental arches (*makara toran*) in the *chaitya* window of the early Buddhist cave temples of India (Kęgalla Report, p. 21).

The *makara* is described as follows in v. 148 of the Rūpāvaliya: "The *makara* has the trunk of an elephant, the feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish living in water, the teeth turned outwards, eyes like Hanuman's, and a splendid tail."

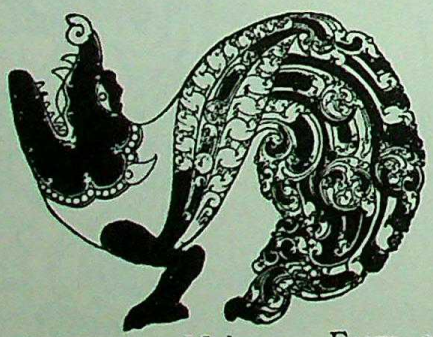

Fig. 17. *Makara*. From a colored drawing by Sērugōlayā Hitaranayide, a pupil of Devaragampola Silvaṭęnna.

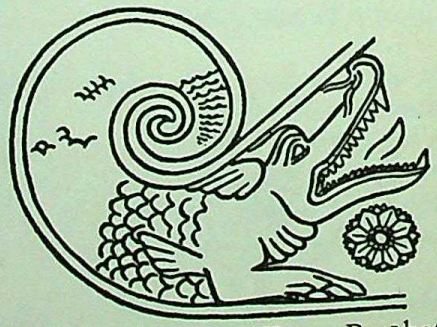

Fig. 18. *Makara*. From Barāhat Stūpa, Early Indian, circa 200 B.C. [thus about 2000 years earlier than Fig. 17]. Cunningham, Pl. IX.

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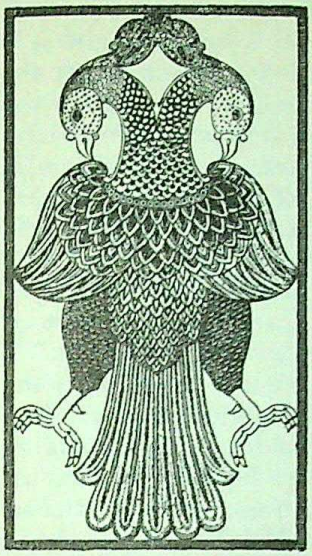

Fig. 18A. *Bhēruṇḍa pakshaya*, flag of the Three Kōrales. From Bell's Kēgalla Report.

BHĒRUṆḌA PAKSHAYA. A 'double-headed eagle,' like the eagle in the arms of Russia and Austria. Fig. 18A, representing the flag of the Three Kōrales, shows very well its character. The form also appears in wood and ironwork, and very commonly in modern brass trays and plates. As a jewelled pendant, it is not an unusual form (Pls. XXIII., 6 and XLVIII., 6). It may be noted here, that there can be little doubt of the eastern origin of *heraldry*. The heroes of the Mahābhārata had each his own device. We have seen in the description of the great *perahera*, how each district of the Kandyan kingdom had its own flag and device; also that the *makara* is the device on the banner of the Indian Eros. So there need be no occasion for surprise at recognizing in the arms of Austria and of Russia, the very 'double-headed eagle,' an Indian form which we find in Ceylon as the device of the Three Kōrales. The historic evidence for the migration of this particular symbol, by direct contact, is regarded as complete.* *Design and ornament* *Bhēruṇḍa pakshaya*

Heraldry was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders. When at a later period, the European penetrated further East, he brought back with him the old devices to their early home. An especially striking instance was the return of the lion of the Dutch, which has influenced in some cases, the representation of the Sinhalese lion itself, as in the corners of the 'Sun and Moon' Flag figured by Bell in his 'Report on the Kēgalla District.' I possess also a jaggery-mould upon which an evidently Dutch lion rampant with sword in paw is carved in sunk relief. The influence of the Dutch lion upon the Sinhalese was facilitated by its presence on the small Dutch copper coins which were soon in common use throughout Ceylon.

HAṂSA. The *haṃsa* is the well-known 'sacred goose' of Hinduism, where it stands for discrimination, being able, as the bird of Svarga Loka, to drink the milk only, from a vessel of milk mixed with water. The name stands also for beautiful gait; it is regarded *Haṃsa*

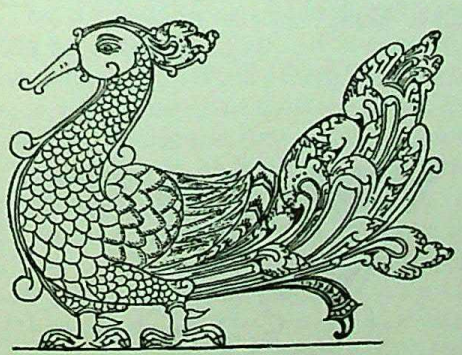

Fig. 19. *Haṃsa*. From a modern drawing [D.S.M.].

Fig. 20. *Haṃsa pāṭṭuva*. From an old *padimākada pota* (copy book).

* *T. Wilson, "The Swastika," Smithsonian Monograph* (N.D.), *p.* 963, *quoting Count Goblet d'Alviella, "La Migration des Symboles." But I do not think the double-headed bird is a Garuḍa, as there suggested.*

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Design and ornament

as beautiful and auspicious; in poetry, especially erotic, it stands for the breasts of women, or for women themselves; the resemblance between a swan and a beautiful girl is a common motif in Indo-Aryan folk-lore. In Sinhalese as in Hindu decorative art the

Haṃsa

haṃsa is everywhere to be seen; figure 20, from a modern *padimākada pota*, shows the typical Sinhalese form, the use of which is illustrated on Plates XXIII., 2; XXVI., 2; XXXIX., 2, 8; etc. Very usual, too, is the arrangement, called *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*, of two, three, or more *haṃsayō* with entwined necks, as in Fig. 20 and Pls. XXXII., 8; XL., 4, 12.

Fig. 21. *Anna paḍçi.* From a modern Tanjore drawing (Tamil).

The following description of the *haṃsa* is given in the Rūpāvaliya: "The *haṃsa* has nails like those of a dog, and eyes like those of a fowl, a very red beak, a fish-like face, and an unexpanded tail." In Fig. 21 is shown the South Indian (Dravidian) form of the *haṃsa* ('*anna paḍçi*') for comparison. This illustrates very well the difference of feeling in Sinhalese (Buddhist) and Dravidian (Hindu) art; for other examples, compare Figs. 13, 15, and 24 with the Sinhalese treatment of the same forms. For an Indian *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*, see 'Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. V., Pl. 84.

Siṃha

SIṂHA. The lion is the mythical ancestor, and totem animal of the Sinhalese, standing for majesty and power, as in the case of Buddha's name of Śākya-siṃha, or the royal name Rāja-siṃha. A typical representation of the Sinhalese lion is given in Fig. 22, from a modern drawing; see also Pls. XXVI., 1; XXIX., 7; XXXVIII., 1 and 5; and XLV., 3. The full face detached, called *kibihi-māna*, shown in Fig. 23, is most often seen in *makara-toran*, where it forms the central feature in the position of keystone of the arch; and it is used in design as the starting point of sprays and branches of foliaceous ornament. Some sixteen, or thirty-two kinds of *siṃha* are recognized by Sinhalese artists; there are three kinds beside the *kesara siṃha*, or lion proper; and the others are not really lions at all, but other beasts, the word 'lion' being used generically for 'animal,' as the word 'deer' is used in speaking of 'mice, and such small deer,' and regularly in the same way in older English. But the *nara siṃha* and *gaja siṃha*, described below, are not reckoned as 'lions' by the Rūpāvaliya which gives the following account of lions: "Kēsarī, Hariṇī, Kyāghu, Varātū, Śisū, Mariṇī, Mātangi, Śikhī, Kinnarī, Gandharvajī, Bhallukā, Mañjari, Tuṅga, Sākhā, Mṛiga, Viratikā—these are the sixteen kinds of lions."

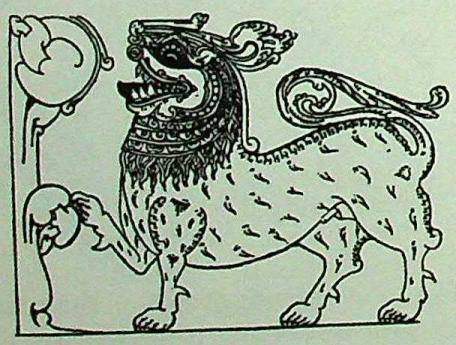

Fig. 22. *Siṃha.* From a modern drawing [D.S.M.].

Fig. 23. '*Kibihi-māna.*' From a modern painted box [D.S.M.].

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"The expert painter should know a further sixteen kinds, beside those already mentioned, the lion, the dog, and the fowl, the deer, the serpent, the elephant, the cat, the fox, the goat, the goat-faced animal, the horse, the monkey, the ass, the *mṛigēndra* (=a lion), the tiger, the shark."

"Of the four lions (proper), Tṛiṇa, Kāla, Pāṇḍu and Kēsarī, the Kēsarī is the highest."

"The lion has eyes like those of a hare, a fierce look, soft hair, long hair on the chest and under the shoulders, back plump like a sheep's, the body of a well blooded horse, a stately walk, and a long tail."

The last verse describes the *kesara siṃha*, or lion proper, as usually portrayed in Sinhalese art.

The lion is naturally a very common motif in Sinhalese art. It must be confessed it is often badly drawn. The position of the lion rampant may perhaps be due to European influence; this is almost certain when he carries a sword in the right paw, as in the case of one carved on the jaggery-mould referred to on p. 85, and the *ira-haṇda maha koḍiya*, illustrated by Bell (Kēgalla Report, p. 126); these show clear evidence of Dutch influence, the latter exerted probably at Jaffna, where the flag may have been made. The common circulation of Dutch coins with lion rampant would explain such borrowings.

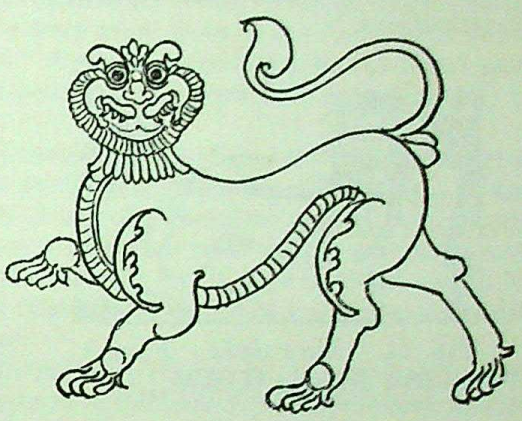

Fig. 23. '*Simmam*' (lion). From old Tamil drawing: rough sketch only (Tanjore).

I give an example of a drawing of a lion from an old Tamil craftsman's note-book, obtained at Tanjore, for comparison with the Sinhalese drawing.

It may be remarked that the title of king or lord is often given to representations of the *haṃsa*, lion or cobra—it is the *haṃsa rāja*, *siṃha rāja* or *nāga rāja* whose form is represented, rather than individual animals. This is but another way of saying that all Indian art is idealistic, representing types rather than individuals.

The Rūpāvaliya accounts of the lion (above), *nara siṃha* (overleaf), and horse (p. 90) should be carefully noted. For comparison I quote the description of a lion from an old Chinese canon. "With a form like that of the tiger, and with a colour tawny or sometimes blue, the lion looks like the Muku-inu, a shaggy dog. It has a huge head hard as bronze, a long tail, a forehead firm as iron, hook-like fangs, eyes like bended bows, and raised ears. The eyes flash like lightning, and the roar is like thunder."* It is only in the light of descriptions that the aim of Eastern art in representing animal forms can be rightly understood. A tendency to naturalism is but rarely found, and it is rather the expression of a mental conception than a realistic picture that is aimed at. It is this point of view which has preserved Oriental art from such paltry and emasculated realism as the lions of Trafalgar Square. The artist's lion need be like no lion on earth or in any Zoological Garden; he is not illustrating a work on natural history; it is rather for him to express through it the whole theory of his national existence and the strength of his individual and national idiosyncracy. It is this possibility which explains the vitality and expressiveness

* *Quoted by Sei-ichi Taki*, '*The Kokka*,' 1906, *No.* 198, *p.* 486.

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Design and ornament of the heraldic lions of England, the Barāhat lion, the lion of the Sinhalese craftsmen, and the lions of Hokusai's 'Daily Exorcisms,' as compared with the absence of imagination in the handiwork of the English painter of domestic pets.

Nara siṃha NARA SIṂHA. Lion with a man's head, as in Fig. 24. The Rūpāvaliya account describes the *nara siṃha* as of 'reddish hue down the knees, with fair nails, hair falling on the back, dazzling with divine ornaments, beautiful eyes like the petals of a lotus, expert at emitting flames of fire, possessing hot and cold dispositions like the Sun and Moon, with curved teeth projecting outside the lips, with a tuft of hair on the crown, bestowing all good.'

Gaja siṃha GAJA SIṂHA. Lion with an elephant's head, as in Fig. 25. This was the flag of Nuvarakalāviya.

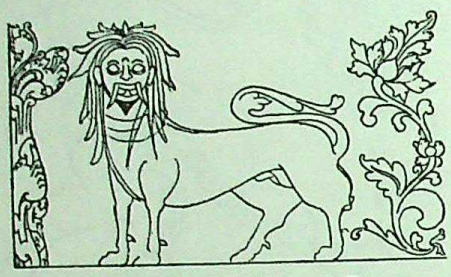

Fig. 24. *Nara siṃha*. From a modern drawing [D.S.M.]

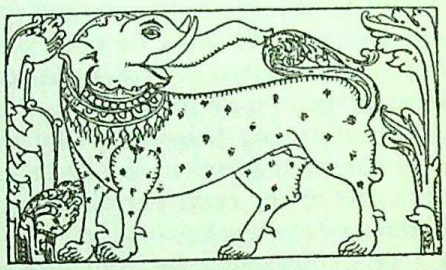

Fig. 25. *Gaja siṃha*. From a modern drawing [D.S.M.]

Nāga NĀGA. The *nāga*, or cobra, in relation to Indian religion and art is sufficiently well known to need no long description. We do not find in the later Sinhalese art the semi-human forms seen at Barāhat, Ajanta, or Anurādhapura. The Nāga Rāja, Ananta, is often referred to in Sinhalese poetry; the Nāga Mucalinda who sheltered the Buddha is often depicted or wrought (see Pl. XVIII.). In decoration we find the *nāga* as a simple cobra, e.g., on woven cloths, embroidered on betel bags; in architecture as a protective symbol, e.g., the *nāga bandha* or 'cobra knop' marking the transition from the square to the octagonal part of a wooden pillar.* The *nāga pōruva* is a whorl of cobras interlocked in succession, often seen on modern brass trays; the simple *nāga pāṭṭuva*, or pair of cobras with heads only entwined I have only once seen and then not quite obvious; but the *nāga daṇgaya* (*daraṇa* or *daṇgaraya*) an elaborate entwining of two cobras is not very rare (Pls. VII., 6, and LII., 3); it is probably the same as Mr. Bell's *nāga-puṭuwa* (for *pāṭṭuva*) and *nāga vṛiksha*; if so, it may also be called *nāga pāṭṭuva*, though I have never heard it. The form is well known in widely separated parts of India (see Journal of Indian Art, Vol V., Pl. 84), it is of interest as corresponding to, and perhaps the origin of the classical *caduceus*. The cobra's hood is one of the 108 *magul-lakuṇu*.

Fish FISH. The mythical fish called *matsya*, an incarnation of Vishṇu, is one of the 108 *magul-lakuṇu*. Fish are not often used in pure decoration; but examples are to be found in the ornament of earthenware, as in Pl. XXV., 2. It may be remarked that fish and wavy lines are symbolical of water, as in Pl. I., where fishes are shown in the river, preventing any possible mistake as to what is intended, much as ships and fishes are often shown on the sea in old maps. The seven great rivers of India, in the *magul-lakuṇu* (Fig. 69), are represented by seven squares, each containing a wavy line and a fish.

* *The geṭa-liya-pota mentioned by Bell* (*Kēgalla Report*, *p.* 132) *as the same, is really a distinct form used in a similar position, see below, under 'liya pata.'*

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BIRDS. Birds have always a great fascination for the craftsman, perhaps because the shapes of many common objects readily lend themselves to the suggestion of bird form. Brass or bronze hanging lamps have frequently the form of birds (Pl. XLIV., 4). A well-known example is the brass lamp at Laṅkātilaka, which has very often been copied for the Kandy Art Association. The various bird pendants, especially the Pānabokka pendant (Pl. L., 8) are examples of the feeling for bird ornament; so also the bird-shaped handle of the plough (*nimun-kurullā*), and the bird-shaped block through which the taut rope of a loom is passed (Pl. XXIX., 1, centre of end of warp). *Design and ornament* *Birds*

Fig. 26. Parrot. From modern painted box [D.S.M.].

The peacock (*moṇarā*) is not often seen; it may be recognized by the long tail (Pl. XLV., 2), or, if in front view, from its fan form, quite distinct from a *haṃsa* or other bird. A peacock is amongst the 108 *magul lakuṇu*. The *makara's* tail is not 'a peacock's tail expanded,' as indicated by Bell (Kēgalla Report, p. 133).

The parrot (*giravā*), as in Dravidian art, is often met with; but the *giravā pūṭṭuva* of Pl. XXXV., 2, is exceptional. The flag of Bintenna is a parrot. The *seḷa-lihiṇiya* is as much spoken of in Sinhalese poetry, as the nightingale in some English verse; but it is not often used in decorative art; I cannot point to any example, unless it be amongst the birds on Pl. XV. or XIV., 7; but there is a reference to its use in a pottery poem which is quoted in a later chapter.

Much the same is true of doves (*kobeyiyō*), pigeons (*paravi*), cocks (*kukulō*) and *kovulu* mentioned in verse 14 of the *Gaṇa Devi Heḷla*, which describes the decoration of the young god's palace thus: "after the walls were daubed with clay, and smoothly plastered with lime, a painter was engaged, who painted pictures of *makaras*, *haṃsas*, *gavaras*, leopards and lions, peacocks and parrots, ringdoves and cocks, pigeons and pretty *kovulu*." Kandyan painters, indeed, show quite a Chaucerian love of birds, and constantly introduce them in their designs, in association with flowers and foliage (Pl. XIV., 7). The different kinds of birds seen in the ceiling painting reproduced on Pl. XV. are drawn with great spirit and observation.

MṚIGA. The deer is rarely found in decoration. One appears amongst the flowers in the ceiling painting just teferred to They are found sometimes on *kalāla* mats. In jātakas and other romantic stories they are often introduced. The word *mṛiga* has also a general sense, referring to any animal, just as the very word deer itself did in old English; for this, see *siṃha* and verses from the Rūpāvaliya, quoted above, p. 87. *Mṛiga*

HARE. A legend often depicted on vihāra walls is that of the Hare in the Moon. The story is briefly as follows: The Bōdhisatta was born as a hare who one day observed that other animals provided themselves with stores of food, from which, if need were, they would have something to offer to a beggar; reflecting that he himself had nothing suitable, and could hardly offer grass, he determined to offer his own flesh if the occasion arose. Perceiving this splendid display of virtue, Śakra descended to the forest and appeared to the hare in the form of a Brahman, who addressed the hare thus: "Wise Sir, if I could get something to eat, after keeping the fast, I would perform all my priestly duties." To which the hare replied, "Brahman, you have done well in coming to me for food. This day I will grant you a boon that I have never granted before, but you shall not break the moral law by taking animal life. Go, friend, and when you have piled together logs of wood and kindled a fire, come and let me know, and I will sacrifice myself by falling into the midst of the flames, and when my body is roasted, you shall eat my flesh and fulfil all your priestly duties." Śakra did accordingly, though the fire was but a feigned one. The Bōdhisatta came, and offering his whole body as a free gift, he sprang up, and like *Hare*

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Design and ornament a royal swan alighting on a cluster of lotuses, in an ecstacy of joy he fell on the heap of live coals. He was not burnt by the feigned fire; Śakra revealed himself as having come to put the hare's virtue to the test, and saying, "O wise hare, be thy virtue known throughout a whole æon," he took up the hare and painted the figure of it on the moon, then replaced it on a bed of grass in the same forest and returned to his own place in heaven. This story is told in the Sasa jātaka (ed., Cowell, Cambridge, Vol. III., p. 34). The hare is used decoratively in the forest scene shown on Pl. XVI.; (ceiling painting) the hares are arranged in pairs, face to face, or in heraldic language 'affronted'. The hare does not appear to be used with conscious symbolism in Sinhalese art; in Hindu mythology it stands for mildness and speed. In simple representations of the moon, which like those of the sun, are a common vihāra decoration, the hare is usually represented on the moon's disc. Other paintings show Śakra with a brush in one hand, and the hare under his left arm, painting its form on the moon's disk.

Squirrel SQUIRREL. The use of the squirrel (*daṇḍu-lēna*) in decoration is shown in the forest scene, Pl. XVI.; there is also a squirrel amongst the birds in the ceiling painting of Pl. XV., and they are also found on a painted box in my possession. Their use is purely decorative.

Bull BULL. The bull (*usaṃba*) is not often seen in decoration. Fig. 66 shows a pair of bulls arranged face to face (*Wappenstil*), from a modern brass tray; illustrating well how entirely archaic even present-day ornament may be, when strictly traditional. The bull is represented amongst the 108 *magul-lakuṇu*; also in the *aṭamagala* diagram. A curious device is the *usaṃba-kuñjara* (Fig. 27). This name of 'bull-elephant' is given to a combination of the two animals used as a copy in teaching drawing, and also rarely in decoration, as on a carved wooden pillar at Ḍmbękke dēvāle. I have seen it also in an old Tamil Kammālan's *kaḍuttam pustakam* at Tanjore; he called it by the same name (*virasuba kunçaram*).

Elephant ELEPHANT. Not often used in pure ornament, but more often in jātaka and historical pictures; roughly painted on granary walls, Pl. VII., 9; on woven cloth, Pl. XXIX., 7; carved on stone at the entrance to the Daḷadā Māligāva. The elephant is sometimes seen on eaves tiles. Two elephants are also associated with the goddess Śrī (Lakshmī), pouring water on her seated figure, in the conventional representation (Pl. IX., 1). I have seen a bronze hanging lamp in the form of an elephant. There is a bronze elephant of unknown purpose in the Colombo Museum. As in early Indian art (e.g. Barāhat) the elephant is usually very well drawn though not so in Fig. 27. It is one of the 108 *magul lakuṇu*.

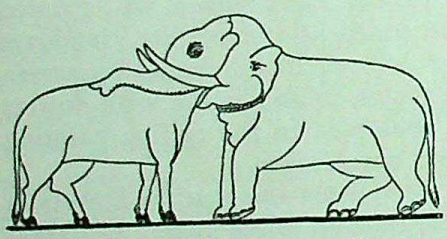

Fig. 27. *Usaṃba kuñjara*. From a modern drawing [D.S.M.].

Horse HORSE. The horse (*aśvayā*) is but rarely met with in Kandyan decoration. The following description is given in the Rūpāvaliya: "The horse has hoofs like balls, and the lower parts like a mound, a neigh like the sound of a storm, and lotus eyes; he is swift as the wind, stately as a lion, has the gait of a dancer, a face like a cluster of *munamal* flowers, and the hinder part like a stack of corn."

Dog, Crow DOG, CROW. These marks of degradation were occasionally inscribed on stones in the case of villages degraded for any offence against the king. For such instances and causes of offence see Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 17, 708, etc. They appear also on grants and charters as symbols of the degradation awaiting those who should contravene them; but these instances can only by a stretch be included in the discussion of decorative art.

Man MAN. The romantic and conventional treatment is seen in Pl. XVI., of a forest scene, a ceiling painting. There is also a human figure between two elephants in Pl. VII., 9. One

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style of brass box (*heppuva*) of the Dutch shape has human figures with guns, riding horses, etc., and seems to show European influence, as does another in my possession, showing figures and horses amongst foliage in a Renaissance style. The jātaka decoration of Figs. 5, 11 and 28, is however, purely Sinhalese. *Design and ornament*

The most remarkable decorative use of the human figure, however, is in the peculiar combinations of women arranged in the form of various animals and objects. A typical example, and the only one often seen, is the *pañca-nāri-geṭa* (5-women-knot) of which an example is seen in Fig. 28 (A). There is a fine example carved in stone at the entrance to the Daḷadā Māligāva, Kandy, and another at Haṉgurańketa, in which, however, there is evident Dravidian feeling; there is a very fine example in ivory (Pl. XXXVIII., 1) over the dēvāle store-room door at Ridī Vihāra. The remaining combinations of this character known to Sinhalese painters (and used as drawing 'copies') are the *catur-nāri-palakkiya* (4-women-palanquin), *ṣat-nāri-toraṇa* (6-women-arch), *sapta-nāri-turaṉge* (7-women-horse), *ashṭa-nāri-ratha* (8-women chariot), and *nava-nāri-kuñjara* (9-women-elephant); in some of these the figure of Anańga, the Indian god of love, is also introduced, and it appears possible that the whole series was once symbolical, associated perhaps with some Kṛishna cult*. The original series may have been more complete; I have seen in a *kaḍuttam-pustakam* from Tanjore several of these combinations, and many other different ones. Such curious combinations are also met with in other parts of India, even far north; I have, *Man*

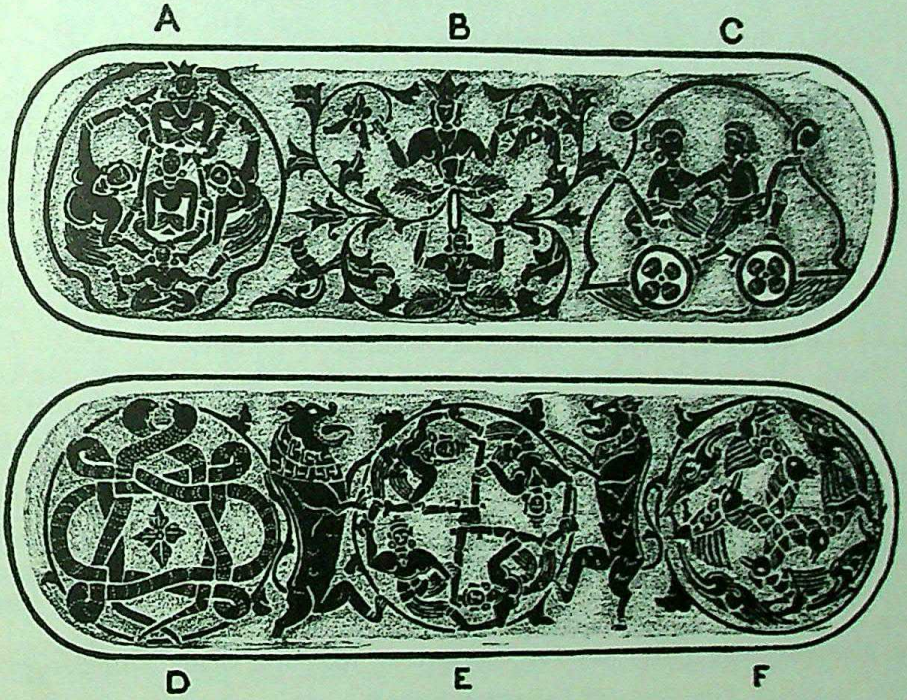

Fig. 28. Kandyan brass tobacco box (*heppuva*). A., *pañca nāri geṭa*; B., *nāri latā*; C., *div-nāri-ratha*; D., *nāga daṉgaya*; E., ? a form of *swastika*; lions rampant as 'supporters'; F., *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*.

* *See Journal of Indian Art, Vol. X., 'The Elephant in Industry and Art,' p. 64, where a representation of a 9-women elephant is reproduced, and described as 'Krishna riding on an elephant improvised by the milkmaids of Gokula.'*

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for example, an Indian drawing of a rider and horse, the latter composed of several different animals, including one man. All of the forms are very ingenious; that is all that can be said for most of them; but the 5-women-knot is sometimes beautiful. They are certainly not very suitable for use as drawing copies, and I regard this as a late and accidental development in Ceylon.

The figures of deities are hardly ever used in mere ornament, but have some auspicious or protective idea associated. The conventional representation of the goddess *Śrī* (*Lakshmī*) bathing, seated upon a lotus, and with two elephants pouring water over her is occasionally met with (Pl. IX., 1); it is a thoroughly Hindu form.

Nāri-latā-veḷa

NĀRI-LATĀ-VEḶA: Of strictly mythical vegetable ornament, the *nāri-latā-veḷa* is the most remarkable and most often used. It is a mythical climbing vine of which the flower

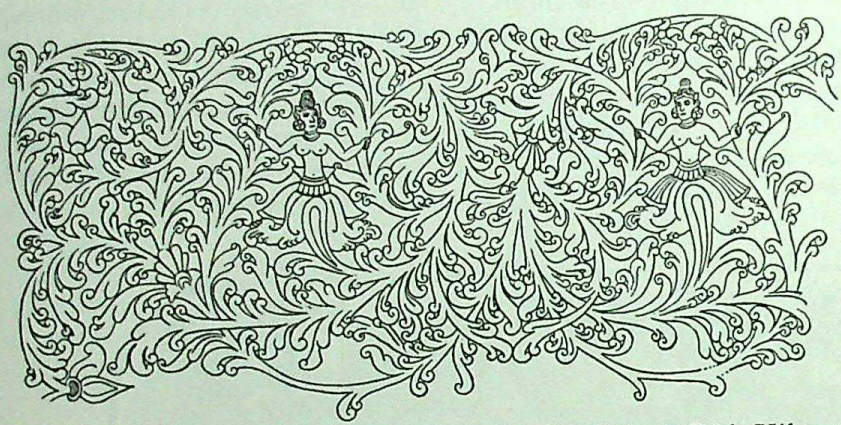

Fig. 29. *Nāri-latā-veḷa* decoration of painted box, Ridī Vihāra.

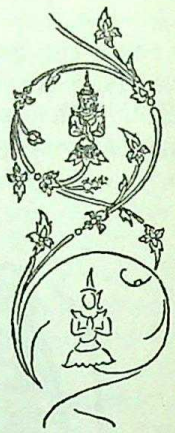

Fig. 30. *Nāri latā*, Siamese form, drawn by P. C. Jinavaravaṃsa Unnānse, formerly Prince Prisdang.

has the appearance of a woman, 'in all wise of perfect beauty, glorious in grace'; like other mythical things, it grows in the Himālayas; and has been known to shake the resolution of hermits dwelling there. It is a very common element in Kandyan design (Figs. 29 and 31; Pl. XXXIX., 3; Pl. XL., 13, etc.); occasionally parts of the plant are made to bear single faces also, reminding one of some designs by Walter Crane.

The *nāri latā* must not be confused with representations of other female figures (Pl. XL., 1, etc.) or divinities, such as the goddess Śrī or Lakshmī, Pl. IX., 1, seated, and holding sprays of foliage; in the true *nāri-latā* the lower part of the figure is replaced by conventional foliage (Pl. XXXIX., 3, and Pl. XL., 13, are typical), in the other cases limbs and garments are complete, and the figure is often seated on a throne.

I give a Siamese form (Fig. 30) for comparison with the many Sinhalese examples illustrated.

The following story is a translation of an extract from the *Kathāvastu Prakaraṇa* kindly forwarded by Mr. T. B. Paraṇātella. It is here given in order to further illustrate the nature of the mythical *nāri latā veḷa*.

"Long ago when a Rāja named Bambadat ruled according to the four good rules in *Baranas Nuvara* (Benāres) in *Kasiraṭa* on the plain of *Dambadiva*, enjoying regal luxuries, there dwelt a young Brahman in Pasalgama. At the death of his parents becoming master of all their property, as he was living in enjoyment of the comforts of a layman, many hermits

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during the rainy season came from the Himālaya forest to Benāres to the abodes of men and dwelt in ease in places such as the royal gardens and went to and fro in the city streets. Thereupon when the townspeople saw the hermits they prepared eatables and drinkables and gave to them and made arrangements for them to remain there till the end of the wet season, the hermits yeasaying them, dwelt in the royal gardens and such places. The townspeople began to treat them with food consisting of delicious dishes of every kind. At that time the aforesaid Brahmaṇa Kumāra one day entering the city observing the people very eagerly treating the hermits and himself also going near the hermits remained

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Fig. 31. *Nāri latā*, from a painted earthen pot.

a few days, thinking "I also follow the calling of a hermit and adopt the holy life, I too shall be similarly treated." Accordingly resolving that it was well to don the hermit's robes, returning home, he gave over to his relatives and friends all his moveables and immovables, and adopted the life of a hermit, eating jungle roots and fruits and the like food, he dwelt in a certain rock cave. Having attained *dhyāna* in a short time, and able to travel in the sky,one day when near his cave, he saw in a creeper called *Nāri Latā*, a full blown flower having the appearance of a woman, in all wise of perfect beauty, glorious in grace. At that very moment he lost the power of *dhyāna* which he had so long successfully practised by great self control; his *dhyāna* disappeared at the thought of indulgence, his passions were let loose. Feeling very sorrowful thereat (he thought) 'Now what shall I do? What is the use of taking all this trouble and living in the jungle', and returning to the abodes of men, taking a wife and thinking to live in comfort, he went to his village, cast off his hermit's robes and became a layman and begot children; following industrial and commercial pursuits he with difficulty supported his wife and children, and at the end of his life died in accordance with *karma*, having forfeited the privilege of birth in Brahma Loka. Thus even for those who have successfully attained *dhyāna* the power of levitation is destroyed by the strength of lust and they are subject to *saṃsāra's* woe. To those that heed this fact, that desire is as a thorn in the flesh, like a thief stealing away the holy life, like a great fire to burn the holy forest (of hermits) and reduce to ashes; the holy life, like a great fire to burn the holy forest (of hermits) and reduce to ashes; considering those most evil consequences, drive away evil lusts and adopt a holy life." This story of the consequences of lust is taken from the *Kathāvastu Prakaraṇa*.

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A close parallel exists in the mediæval story of Alexander and the flower maidens (Mannhardt, II., p. 1) "presumably founded on a legend current in ancient Greece" and doubtless originally of Oriental origin (Philpot 'The Sacred Tree', p. 60).

"The story goes that in a certain wood, when spring came, numbers of enormous flower buds appeared out of the ground, from each of which, as it opened, there leapt forth a beautiful maiden. Their robes were a part of their growth, and in colour they were just like their flowers, red and white (in the Indian story they *are* the flowers). . . . When . . . the flowers withered . . . the beautiful creatures died. . . . Alexander and his knights, coming upon this magical wood, mated with the flower maidens and for more than three months lived in perfect happiness, till . . . one by one the nymphs died, and the king and his companions had sorrowfully to resume their travels" (Philpot, loc. cit.).

Kaḍu-pul, Parasatu

KADU-PUL; PARASATU. The *kaḍu-pul* (sword-fruit) belongs to the *nāga*-world, and is occasionally represented on vihāra walls. The figure (33, 1.) represents one drawn by D. S. Muhandiram, after one done by his father in the vihāra at Ḗmbḕkke dēvāle; I have seen at Kḗlaṇiya a form more sword-like. The *parasatu* belongs to the god-world (*divya-loka*) and is the tree beneath which Śakra (Indra) is seated on his throne. It is mentioned in the Gaḍalādeṇiya rock inscription (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 236). The representation of flowers which bloom on other planes, not on this earth, is of particular interest, as representing a metaphysical stage beyond even the idealization of forms here seen. The *parasatu* is described in verse 474 of Guttila kāvya, where it is said that "The brightness of the tree shone for 200 *gav* around it, the scent of its flower was perceived 400 *gav* away." It is also described as 400 *gav* in height and 1200 in circumference.

The *palol* is the tree of the Asuras; it is 100 yodun in height and breadth and has branches 15 yoduns in circumference. The *imbul* tree of the Guruḷas is of the same dimensions, so also the trees of the four great divisions of the earth, the *dam̲ba* (of Dam̲badiva) the *kolon* (of Aparagōyāna) the *kap-ruka* (of Uturukurudivayina) and the *mahari* tree (of Pūrvavideha). Of these I have seen representations only of the *kaḍu-pul* and *parasatu*. Perhaps the tree shown in Pl. XIV., 4 is the great *dam̲ba* of Dam̲badiva, that is, India.

Katuru mala

KATURU MALA. The *katuru* or *katiri mala* is doubtless so called from its crossing petals resembling scissors or crossed sticks; it is less often seen than the next; it is well seen on the lid of a painted book-box at *Ridī vihāra*, and in this book on the betel-bag of Pl. XXXI.: see also Fig. 33, VIII.

Picca mala

PICCA MALA. The 'jessamine' (*Jasminum sambac*) is a form used with great charm in vihāra decoration, especially as a background to paintings or bas-relief images of gods Pl. XIV., 5). Figure 32 shows a very graceful use of *picca mala* in the decoration of a wooden book cover (*pot-kambiya*). The pattern is always drawn with great freedom, in a style like that of 'brushwork' as taught in the West. Observe that in Fig. 32 the flowers are in bud (*ḳḗkulu mala*) but they are more often drawn in half open profile (*pipicca mala*) as shown on the right. The flower itself was much cultivated for floral offerings; it was the duty of certain tenants (*māla-kārayō*) to keep the king supplied. The King, says Knox, had these flowers "brought to him every morning, wrapt in a white cloth, hanging upon a staff, and carried by people, whose peculiar office it is. . . . These Officers hold land of the King

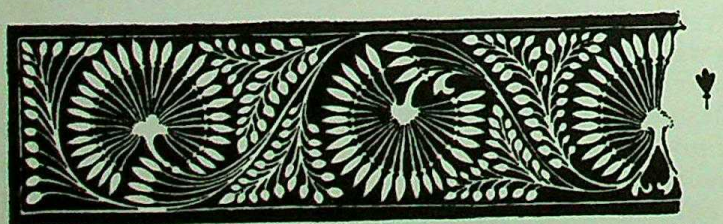

Fig. 32. *Picca mal* decoration of book cover. The flowers are in bud; opened flower in profile shown on right.

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for this service: their Office is, also to plant these Flowers, which they usually do near the Rivers where they most delight to grow."

Design and ornament

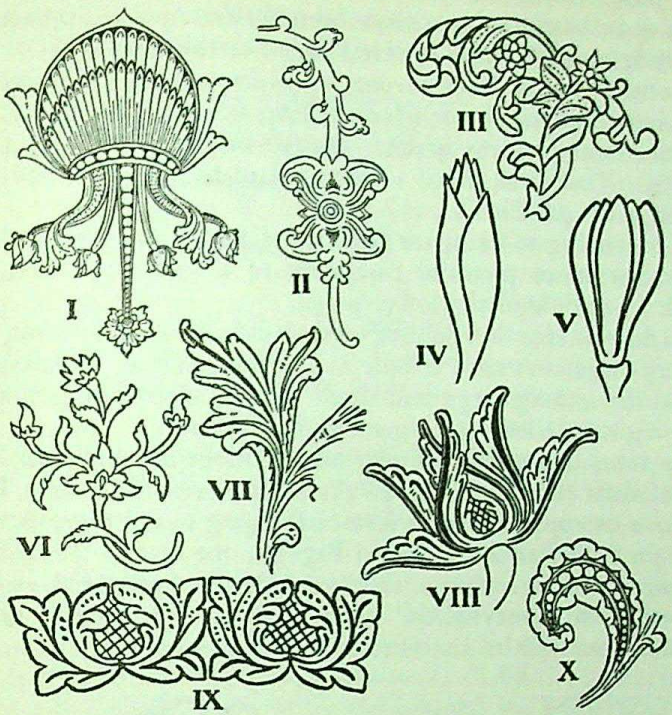

Fig. 33. Types of floral ornament: I. *Kaḍu-pul.* II. *Sīna mala.* IV. *Veṭakeyiyā.* V. *Sapu mala.* VIII. *Katiri mala*: the others without technical names, and spoken of merely as flower, *mala* or leaf, *kola*; No. IX. is spoken of in this work as 'pine-apple.' Various sources, 18th—20th century Kandyan.

Of other conventional flower and leaf ornament, some forms are obviously based on natural prototypes, and consciously used as representative of them; others have only fanciful names, and their natural prototypes, if any, can only be discovered by historical and comparative investigation. Such investigations are much to be desired, and when accomplished, will throw much light on the history of Indian art. There are many not known separately by name, of which examples will be found amongst the illustrations, in addition to those specially mentioned here.

Sīna-mala

SĪNA-MALA. This characteristic form is illustrated in Fig. 33, II., a detail from Ridī Vihāra. In Fig. 6 it is seen in association with the *vaka-deka*, to which it is soon added to form a more elaborate drawing 'copy.' The *sīna-mala* is much used; either as a flower-spray proceeding from the mouth of some beast, or attached to the stem of some *liya-veḷa*; also in jewellery, as on Pl. XLII., 5, pendants to cup; Pl. XXIII., 7.

Nelun-mala (Lotus)

NELUN-MALA. The *lotus* is to oriental art all that the rose was to mediæval English art. It underlies many forms not at first sight traceable to it. The most characteristic simple lotus forms in use are the 'rosettes,' used to fill space (Pl. XVIII.) or as independent ornament, as in the case of pottery stamps (Pl. XXV., 3), or in series, especially on the beams of painted ceilings, as in Pl. XV.; also typically at Kelaṇiya). All circular objects, such as round boxes, lend themselves to simple lotus ornament. We never observe that tendency to naturalism sometimes noticeable at Anurādhapura, Ajanta, etc., but the simple rosette is capable of almost infinite variation; some of the forms are shown in Fig. 34, others on Pl. XX., 2; Pl. XXIII., 2; Pl. XXV., 3; Pl. XXXIX., 10, etc. It should be noted that the lotus-circle is always divided into 4, 8, 16 or more petals, never into multiples of 3 or 5 (Pl. XXXII., 4 is an exception). The Sinhalese artists had a good knowledge of practical geometry, enabling them to divide the circle as they wished, as is seen in the arrangement of three *haṃsayō* within a circle. The carved bed of Pl. X., 6, is a remarkable example of lotus ornament; there is a great variety of circular lotus-flowers, of which that in the centre has a kind of stem. The greater

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Design and ornament

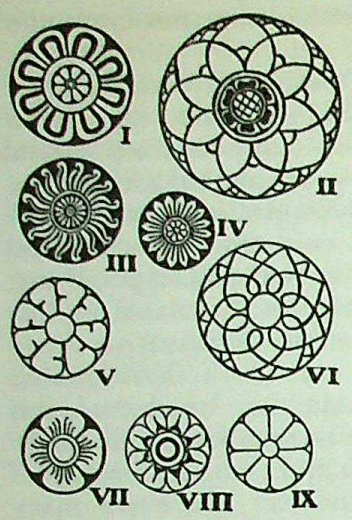

Fig. 34. Lotus flowers, various sources, 18th—20th century Kandyan.

part of the border consists of alternating half-lotus flowers in full view, and lotus flowers in profile, the only example of the latter position which I know of in mediæval Sinhalese art; it is a most archaic arrangement, as seen, for example at Barāhat (Cunningham, Pl. XXI., central figure at the top).

The characteristic lotus throne, or *padmāsana* of divinities and kings must not be overlooked (Pls. XVIII. and XIX.); also the lotus pendent bracket capitals or *pēkaḍa* (Pl. X., 4 and 5). The same motif is repeated in the pendent bell-shaped earrings (Pl. LI., 17).

It is interesting to compare with the different conventional forms, the more pictorial treatment of a lotus in a tank, on Pl. I., middle of the lower panel.

Lotus flowers are often painted on rock cave ceilings, and may be very large. A cave temple at Heḷamaḍa (Four Kōrales) has on the ceiling large and small lotuses, surrounding one large eight-petalled lotus, four feet in diameter.

Many lotus derivatives are also used without any consciousness of their origin. In Fig. 35, from a large door key, I give one example of such a form, belonging to the Egyptian strain in Sinhalese Art; and in Fig. 37, one from a painted book cover, more suggestive of Assyrian. Fig. 36 is of the '*gegenständige Lotus-blüth und Palmette*' type.* Of 'lotus-palmette' or 'honeysuckle' origin, too, is the *veḷ-pota* of Fig. 67. The significance of these forms will be discussed in a later chapter.

Figs. 35, 36 and 37. Decorative forms of lotus origin: 35, from a key; 36, from an eaves-tile; 37, from a painted book cover, the elements are of the cobra-head type.

In certain cases, e.g., Fig. 34, III. and V., the lotus petals are replaced by forms which are historically cobra heads, as can be proved by comparison with medallions at Barāhat.†

Pala-peti

PALĀ-PĒTI. *Pala-peti* is a form of ornament derived directly from the lotus; it is much employed in Sinhalese art, and in all Indian art; it is a border or moulding (Fig. 37), consisting of lotus petals, the petals fully seen, alternating with petals three-parts hidden by those on either side of them, precisely as in the ordinary representations of the whole flower. In the case of circular objects, such as metal dishes and vessels, sandal-wood grinding stones, etc., the form at once suggests the lotus flower, and the petal ornament follows; thence it has been adapted as a border applicable to straight work of every description, particularly architectural mouldings. Innumerable examples of its use are illustrated in the present book (Pl. XLII., 1 and 3, etc., etc.) It is sometimes greatly elaborated with *liya-pata* ornament (Fig. 39, M), but the simple forms are the most beautiful.

* *Riegl*, '*Stilfragen*,' 1893, *p.* 181.

† *See A. K. Coomaraswamy*, *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1906, *pp.* 75, 76.

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It is interesting to follow some developments of the *pala-peti*; in extreme forms the half-seen petal is omitted (Pl. XXXVII., 5, and Fig. 39, c), and finally we have only a series of spathulate forms as in Fig. 39, B. There are, on the other hand, forms in which the half-seen petal is terminated by a little cross (Pls. XXXI; XXXII., 7), or even developed so as to be equally or more important than the fully-seen petal, resulting in a more conspicuous alternation (Pl. XXXII., 8; XL., 17); this might result in a 'knop and flower' type of ornament, but never seems quite to do so. Pl. XL., 17, shows the most extreme development, where the 'dart' has become a regular tree.

Design and ornament

Pala-peti

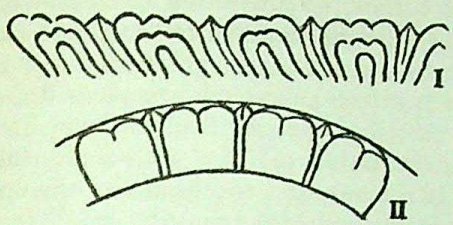

Fig. 38. *Palā-peti*: I., common Kandyan form; II., actual lotus petals from 'moonstone' at Anurādhapura.

The truncated or rounded tips of the lotus petals in most types may be remarked. The form in Fig. 38, II., from Anurādhapura will explain the origin of this truncation or flattening, the really pointed tip of the petal being represented first as curled inwards and so not affecting the outline, and then omitted altogether; it is retained in Fig. 39, c. But the half-seen alternating petal always retains the pointed tip. It is the 'dart' in all patterns of the 'egg and dart' type, of which the classical and Indian forms must have a common origin.

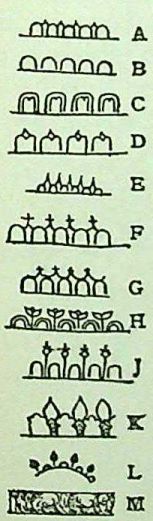

Fig. 39. Forms of *pala-peti* border showing development and changes.

MALA. Many small four or eight-petalled forms stand simply for *mal*, flowers in general, without reference to special kinds (Pls. XVII.; XLIV., 7); but probably such forms are arrived at by a reduction of lotus rosettes. In extreme cases they appear only as small equal armed crosses (Pl. XXXII., 7, second border; XLV., 9, border).

Mala mal

SAPU-MALA, and VEṬAKEYIYĀ: these flowers, conventionalised forms of those of the *sapu*-tree (Fig. 33, v.), and common *Pandanus* (Fig. 33, iv.), are used in vihāra decoration, like lotus rosettes, to fill space, as on Pl. XVIII.

Sapu-mala, Veṭakeyiya

MAL-GAHA: the 'flower-tree' is the name given to the little jewelled tree on a Kandyan king's hat, now worn by chiefs indiscriminately; and also to tree patterns, which would be called by comparative patternists 'trees of life,' such as the forms shown in Fig. 40 and Pl. XXXII., 1 and 2). The *mal-gaha* usually springs from a low triangular mound, representing earth or rock, as in Fig. 40 and Pl. XIV., 4.

Mal-gaha

A beautiful form of the tree of life is treated almost pictorially on the Kelaṇiya vihāra ceiling (Pl. XIV., 4); the life symbolism is emphasized by the many forms of life—birds, animals and man—associated with the tree and living under it; but the special interest of this type is its identity with the tree forms characteristic of the South Indian printed palampores; it is perhaps found in Ceylon as the result of Tamil influence, or may belong to an older stratum common to both races, the likelihood of which must always be remembered when considering the origin of particular decorative forms.

The tree motif is in constant use; in embroidery it is illustrated in Fig. 4, on Pl. XXVIII. and Pl. XXXIII., 4; with birds in Pl. XXXII., 1. It appears frequently between two animals, in the symmetrical arrangement called 'affrontment.'

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Design and ornament

Mal-gaha

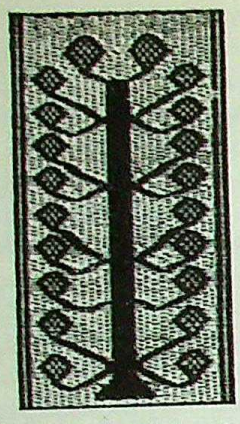

Fig. 40. *Mal-gaha*, 'flower-tree,' from a Dumbara mat (*kalālaya*).

Artificial trees of silver, with silver leaves, or of cheaper materials (Pl. VIIA., in front of left knee of seated image) are often placed before an image as auspicious symbols of the famous wish-conferring tree of plenty, the *kalpa druma* of Indra's sphere. So also we read in the Mahāvaṃsa, of jewelled, ornamented trees. Parākrama Bāhu I., for instance "caused a theatre to be built, the Sarassati Maṇḍapa, hard by his palace, so that he might listen to the sweet and melodious singing of divers singers, and witness the delightful dance. It glittered with golden pillars all around, and pleased the mind with the paintings that described the events of his own life. And it was adorned with an imitation of the 'wish-conferring tree of heaven' (*kap-ruka*). The trunk and the branches thereof glittered with gold, and were ornamented with a multitude of divers kinds of birds of beautiful workmanship. It shone also with divers kinds of ornaments, such as ear-rings and bracelets and garlands of pearls and the like, and with beautiful garments made of linen and China silk, silk, and such like"(Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXIII.) Jewelled representations of *bō*-trees were also made; for an early record of such, see p. 5 above.

The *bō*-tree is of course constantly represented in Buddhist paintings (Pl. XIX., etc). To each Buddha belonged a tree, beneath the shade of which he sat at the critical period of his life, the coming of enlightenment. The *bō*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) of Gotama Buddha has thus come to occupy, as a symbol, much the same position amongst Buddhists as the cross amongst Christians. A branch of the actual tree beneath which the Buddha sat, was brought to Anurādhapura in the third century, B.C.; and there it still grows—the oldest historical tree in the world. But a *bō*-tree of some sort, large or small, is to be found near every vihāra, and offerings of flowers are laid on a stone altar before it. Sometimes white cotton banners or garlands are attached to the branches. The leaves are separately used as decorative motifs as described below. Trees of various kinds are often represented in decorative paintings, severely but beautifully conventionalised as in Pl. XIV., 8 and Fig. 41. In these pictures, grace and symmetry are wonderfully combined.

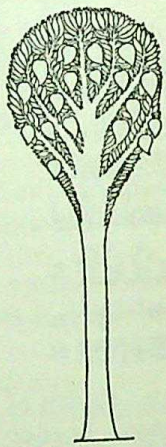

Fig. 41. Decorative picture of mango tree: Danagirigala vihāra.

Flower-in-pot

'FLOWER-IN-POT.' Closely allied to the flower-tree, is the tree or flower in a pot; filled pots and flowers in pots are auspicious objects used at weddings and festivals and are constantly seen in all Eastern art (Pl. VIIA., between the doors in the lower figure; and Pl. XXXIII., 2). The 'flower in pot' is a very ancient auspicious decorative symbol, and many examples in carved stone may be seen at Anurādhapura. The symbolism goes back to the beginnings of Asiatic art.

Liya-veḷa

LIYA-VEḶA. The ordinary meaning of '*veḷa*' is a climbing plant, a jungle rope; *liya* has the same meaning, as well as the secondary meaning of woman, gracefulness, etc., as in *liya kiṇdurā*. In Sinhalese ornament *veḷa* or *liya veḷa* has the technical meaning of vegetable ornament, consisting not of single flowers or leaves, but of a continuous stem with rhythmically disposed floral or foliar elements, such as German writers name *fortplanzende Wellenranke*. The word 'branch'

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I have selected as the best equivalent for these Sinhalese and German terms.* The words 'vine' and 'spray' are also suitable equivalents, with the reservation, of course, that the *grape* vine, is not met with in Sinhalese art, even as a foreign element. In using the word 'branch,' I have had in mind the Keltic stories† of Faery branches that stilled all sorrow by the sound of their shaking; for as they through the ears lightened the burden of sorrow, so has the burden of labour been lightened by the painted or carved branches of the craftsman. *Design and ornament* *Liya-vela*

Branches and vines are most various in form and treatment, and everywhere in continual use; they are especially characteristic of painted wood, carved door-jambs and embroidery. Of these forms Mr. Bell remarks: "The main ornament, repeated in endless variety . . . is the continuous scroll of foliage. . . . Single or double, large or small, plain or complex, its convolutions throwing off leaves . . . or . . . sometimes a repeated flower, or even enclosing partially or throughout, figures of dancers,—the one leading idea is kept steadily in view, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to substitute other ornamentation more elegant, refined and better suited to its purpose." *Liya vela* ornament frequently springs from the mouths of animals, as in Early Indian art (Pl. XI., 5 and 3). The feeling for growth is very strong and logical in all the forms, though none approach nature closely in detail; such a monstrosity as leaves growing in opposite directions from one stem, or stems without a logical beginning and end would be almost impossible to the Kandyan designer. A careful study of Pl. XV., and Fig. 52, will show how exceedingly logical and full of feeling for growth is the Sinhalese treatment of vines. The *liya-vela* may either be used to cover space as in Pl. XXXVI., 6, 7 and 9, and in Pl. XV.; or may form a border, in which case the floral or foliaceous elements alternate very regularly on opposite sides of the waved stem (Pls. XXXI., border; XXXII., 9; XXXVIII., 4; XXXIX., 9, etc). Fig. 12 on Pl. XXVI. shows an especially handsome form.

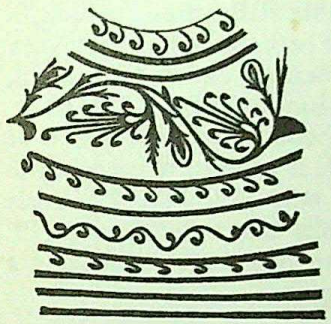

Fig. 42. *Liya vela* and other ornament of earthenware, Kelaniya.

The alternating spirals characteristic of a certain type of metal work (Fig. 53, c) are strictly ornament of the same type, and historically, its basis, but they would hardly be called *liya-vela* by Sinhalese painters. A noteworthy form on Kelaniya pottery is shown in Fig. 42 and will be discussed with correlated examples in the Chapter on the History of Sinhalese Art; it will here suffice to note the archaic aspect of these types, suggestive at first sight of Greek and other Mediterranean forms.

* *The term 'branch' is however, hardly a full equivalent of the German 'Wellenranke,' as the latter includes rhythmic forms of ornament* (*e.g.*, *Fig.* 53, c) *whose origin is geometrical, and where the 'vine' idea is still undeveloped.*

† "*Cormac . . . was by himself in Teamhair one time, and he saw an armed man coming towards him, quiet, with high looks, and having grey hair; a shirt ribbed with gold thread next his skin, broad shoes of white bronze between his feet and the ground, a shining branch, having nine apples of red gold on his shoulder. And it is delightful the sound of that branch was, and no one on earth would keep in mind any want, or trouble, or tiredness, when that branch was shaken for him; and whatever trouble there might be on him, he would forget it at the sound.*" (*Gods and Fighting Men, Lady Gregory, p.* 115, '*Manannan's Call to Cormac,' after Whitley Stokes, Irische Texte*). *And if there is, perhaps, in this Faery branch that stills all sorrow, a non-moral element which is lacking in the craftsman's branch, yet the idea of consolation in distress is in both.*

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Design and ornament

Liya-pata

LIYA PATA or POTA.* This exceedingly conventional foliar ornament deserves particular study. It is more characteristic of Sinhalese design than any other form; instruction in the use of it is almost the first thing taught to young craftsmen. The elements of it will be best understood from Fig. 44, wherein the manner of drawing is also displayed; it is not easy to draw the form well unless the parts are taken in the right order.†

Fig. 43. *Liya veḷa*, Ivory, South Kensington.

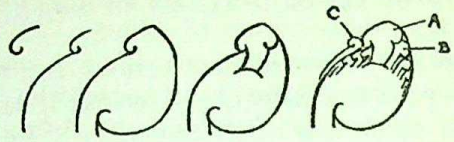

Fig. 44. *Liya pata* ornament, showing manner of drawing.

Work filled with it is called *liya-pata-veḍa*; a single element like the last in Fig. 44 would be called *geṭa-liya-pota*; such are often used much like Gothic crockets (Pl. XXXV., 5 and 6). The pattern lends itself on the other hand to the greatest possible elaboration, as seen in elaborate examples of *tiriṅgi tale* (Pl. XVII., and Figs. 4 and 8), or perhaps best, in fine ivory carving (Pl. XXXV., 4, also a beautiful piece, No. $\frac{404}{1897}$ in the Science and Art Museum, Indian Section, South Kensington); it occurs especially in knife handles (Pl. XXXVII., 2). It is very characteristic of metal and woodwork. It is often found on wooden pillars at the transition from square to octagonal section (Fig. 74, c). It is constantly used in the tails and crests of conventional birds (Fig. 19) and bird-like tails of mythical animals (Figs. 16, 17, etc.) in lions' manes and the handles of door-bolts and water-dippers (Pl. XI., 2, XIII. and XLI.), and, in fact, everywhere. It is sometimes used to elaborate a *palā-peti* border as in the ivory door jambs of the Daḷadā Māligāva.

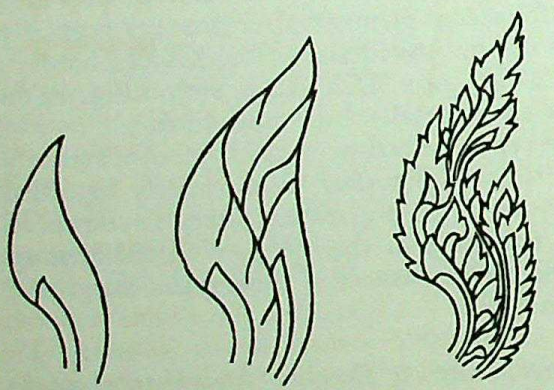

Fig. 45. Siamese single '*kanaka*,' or flame ornament, equivalent of Sin. *liya pata*.

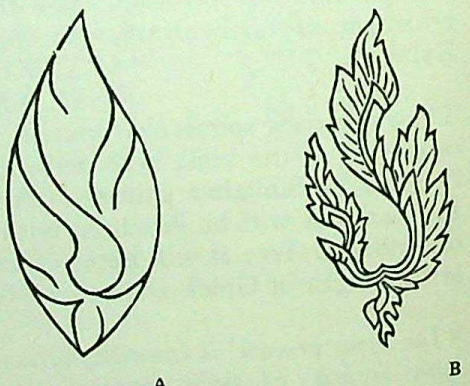

Fig. 46. Siamese double '*kanaka*' or flame ornament. Figs. 45—47 drawn by P. C. Jinavaravaṃsa Unnānse.

** Pota. Pata=leaf: paṭa=stripe: pota=a book: but craftsmen use the word 'pota' in pattern names in various senses, as strand, knop, item, element, 'affair,' 'thingumi-bob.' So used it is apparently a corruption of 'pata' or 'paṭa,' according to circumstances; thus, de-pota-lanuva is evidently de-paṭa-lanuva, two-ply-plait; and liya pota is liya pata, 'vine leaf,' both forms being current in the last case.*

† It is often badly drawn by illustrators, as in several places in Bell's Kēgalla Report.

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A *liya-pata* scroll completely turned in upon itself as in Fig. 22, is called *peralum pata*. The *liya-pata* ornament is one that meets us in the Dravidian temples of South India, at Anurādhapura, and in other ancient buildings all over India (Sarnath; near Kutab Minar; Orissa, etc., but not Barāhat), but in elusive forms (e.g., Cunningham, Mahābodhi, Pl. XV), now approaching, now unlike, the modern Sinhalese, which seems the most conventional of all, many of the others being more foliar or leaf-like. *Design and ornament*

There are close parallels in Chinese, Burmese and Siamese art. The Siamese *kanaka* is shown in simple and elaborate forms, in Fig. 45 for comparison with Fig. 44, and in actual use in Fig. 47. It will be seen that the Siamese forms are more pointed and severe than the Sinhalese, which are sometimes too soft and rounded, almost rococo. The vital distinction between 'temperate' and 'intemperate' curvature must never be forgotten.* The history of this form alone would afford valuable clues for the unravelling of the history of Indian art. It is probably based on leaf and stem form, from which it has been derived in a long process of idealisation.

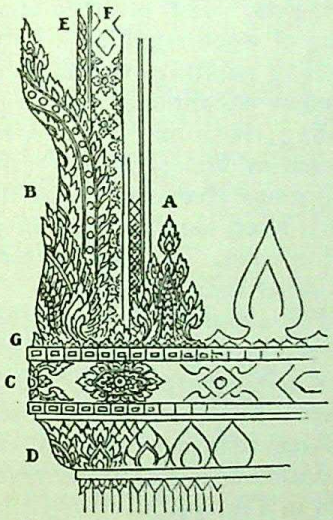

Fig. 47. Sketch of Siamese architectural ornament, by P.C. Jinavaravaṃsa Unnānse, showing use of 'temperate' curves similar to those of Figs. 45 and 46.

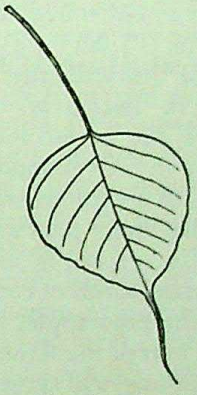

Fig. 48. Leaf of *bō*-tree, *Ficus religiosa*, $\times \frac{1}{3}$, showing stalk, and 'drip-tip.'

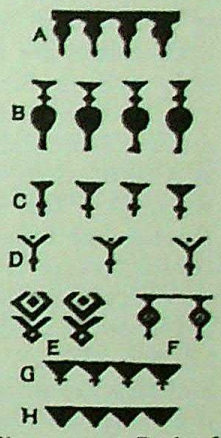

Fig. 49. *Bō*-leaf borders. A., from bronze bell. B.-F., from woven cloths. G. and H., from embroidery.

BŌ-KOLA or BŌ-PATA. One of the most persistent forms in Sinhalese decoration is the *bō*-leaf. The *bō*-tree is held sacred to Buddha (see *mal-gaha* above); but the separate *bō*-leaf does not seem to have come into use so early as the *bō*-tree iself; but yet before the decline of Buddhism in India, as we find traces of it still in South Indian decorative art. *Bō-kola or bō-pata*

Typical forms are shown in Fig. 49; innumerable other instances of it will be met with in the illustrations in this book (Pl. XX., 3; XXIV., 2, H; XXIX., 6 and 8; XLIV., 3, etc.) The *bō*-leaf motif sometimes influences other forms, as the lotus flower of Pl. X., 5. It may be remarked that the *bō*-leaf, representing the 'fig-leaf' worn by early man, has given its form to the silver or glass ornament worn by little girls before other garments are considered necessary.

* *Ruskin, 'Stones of Venice, Vol. III., Ch. I.*

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Design and ornament The *bō*-leaf is still a common element in South Indian decoration, as well as in Ceylon. It is there, no doubt, a survival from Buddhist times, now used without any remembrance of its former religious significance.

Bō-pat-kaṇgul BŌ-PAT-KĀṆGUL. This arrangement of alternating *bō*-leaf and 'dart,' as seen in Pl. VIIa., fringing the altar, and Pl. XXVIII., 2 (border of napkin), would seem to have been suggested as a modification of *palā-peti*, the fully-seen petal being replaced by a *bō*-leaf.

Suliya SULIYA. This is the name given to the small scrolls which first appear in the *liya-pata* at the last stage in Fig. 44; if external to the main outline they are called *piṭa-suli* (Fig. 44, c). The *suliya* appears elsewhere also, as on Pl. XX., 3, arranged like crockets around the bō-leaf; and combined to form varieties of *liya-vęl* (Pl. XXIV., 5, *suli-vęla*). The influence of the form on woodwork is seen in Pl. X., 1.

Malaya MĀLAYA. The 'garland' plays an important part in all Indian decoration. Its use in ornament is derived from the actual use of garlands of flowers used to decorate the person or offered to an image, or hung round a building. In jewellery this idea is very evident; neck chains are called garlands, and named after particular flowers. The motif is seen only rarely in Sinhalese architecture, and chiefly in the carving of wooden pillars, where a garland of pearls is often represented round the top. In ceiling paintings the garland motif is sometimes used as a frame (Pl. XIV., 4) as in South Indian palampores, or hung, as it were, along the very top of the wall, just under the ceiling; both may be seen at Kęlaṇiya. The garland motif in Indian art is one that often at first sight suggests Renaissance influence, but there can be no doubt of its indigenous character, from its constant occurrence on the most ancient monuments. But it is often used in India in a very rococo and insincere way, even combined with ribands tied in bows. In such matters Sinhalese art tends to be somewhat more pure and severe than other Indian art.

'Pine-apple' 'PINE-APPLE': this form (Fig. 33, ix.) is not distinguished by a separate name by the Sinhalese, to whom it is one of many kinds of conventional flower; neither do I think that it has any real connection with the pine-apple, the resemblance being quite illusory; but the cross-hatching of the middle part of the flower deserves notice; it represents, I suppose, rather the central florets of such flowers of those of the Compositæ, than any real fruit: it is of further interest as recalling Assyrian forms. The cross-hatching is associated with several different flower forms; some common types are shown in Fig. 59.

'Palmette' 'PALMETTE': it is here only necessary to indicate the forms which may be classed under this heading, as their historical significance is discussed in another Chapter. The most typical forms are seen Pl. XXXIV., 3; XXIX., 7, top right hand; Pl. XXXIII., 6.

'Honey-suckle' 'HONEYSUCKLE': there are certain forms which may be called honeysuckle types; of these, Fig. 42 is a good example. It is probable that these, like the other forms of a Mediterranean character, are evidence rather of a stock of art motifs common to East and West, rather than of a borrowing of East from West. In using this term for either Eastern or Western forms, I only make use of an existing technical term, and do not, of course, mean to suggest that they represent the honeysuckle plant.

'Knop and flower' 'KNOP AND FLOWER': this ancient form, so characteristic of Indian art, is rarely met with in Ceylon. Fig. 50, from a damascened lock, is modern but traditional. It is suggested by several forms on Pl. XLVI., but these on examination are found to show rather a serial arrangement of like elements than the alternation characteristic of the 'knop and flower.' We find a typical example, however, on Pl. XXIX., 7, top right hand, and this has a very archaic aspect.

Fig. 50. 'Knop and Flower,' from modern damascened steel.

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'CONE.' The 'cone' or 'shawl' pattern is really a North Indian form, which has filtered down to the South of India thence, especially on textiles. In Ceylon it appears on printed cloths made by Tamils at Batticaloa and Jaffna. In Sinhalese art I have only once seen it, on a piece of modern but quite traditional damascened iron; in this form it is known to the Tamil cloth-printers as 'mango pattern.' The absence of the form elsewhere is an illustration of the extreme freedom of Sinhalese art from Mohammedan influence. *Design and ornament* *'Cone'*

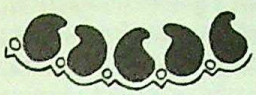

Fig. 51. 'Cone' or 'shawl' pattern. From modern damascened handle rose.

'CALYX VOLUTE.' The symmetrical scrolls so conspicuous in vegetable ornament of lotus origin, and historically derivable from the representation of calyx sepals in side view, are clearly shown in Figs. 35 and 36 and Pl. XXIX., 7, and recognizable in many other forms. *'Calyx volute'*

We come now to the geometrical patterns, of which the majority are borders.

BINDUVA. The 'dot' is used singly, or in groups or series (Pl. XXIV., various instances; Pl. XXXVI., 8; Pl. XL., 12, etc). It is characteristically seen in the 'wire and pip' filigree jewellery (XLVIII., 14, 16, etc.) *Binduva*

IRI, line. There is not much to tell of the use of the simple line, except to note that the teaching of drawing does not begin with straight lines, but with curves. The use of firm black outline, drawn with the fine stiff *teli taṇa* brush, is very characteristic. Clearness and definition belong to all Eastern decorative art, and this is emphasized by the defined outlining. The line as such is often used in the ornament of pottery. *Straight line*

VAKA, curve. Perhaps the most marked feature of Indian decorative art, and the arts derived from it, in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, and China lies in the character of its abstract curved forms. I shall digress for a moment to discuss the general treatment of curved forms in Sinhalese and other Eastern ornament. *Curve*

The curved boundary of leaf or stem or scroll has always a peculiar character of life and crispness, not often sinking into mere roundness or softness. Curves of this character are well illustrated in Fig. 69, VI. and XIII. (Sinhalese), and in Fig. 47 (Siamese). This type of abstract curve is not confined to recognizedly vegetable ornament; it appears as much in the Siamese 'flame ornament' and the outline of a Siamese gable, as every stem and leaf of *liya veḷa* ornament in Ceylon, and in the details of South Indian architectural decoration. The reason for this universality is that Indian art at its best is never realistic, but is based on abstractions or ideal forms; hence the ideal curved form which exists as the prototype of all curved forms, if rightly apprehended, must inevitably reappear in all idealized forms of ornament. This is what we find to be the case. The type of curve I speak of is best described as temperate, or disciplined, but is capable of degeneration into rococo forms. By such standards must the quality of Indian craftsmanship at various periods be criticised.

The point is well illustrated by a quotation from Ruskin: "Our first constituents of ornament will therefore be abstract lines, that is to say, the most frequent contours of natural objects, transferred to architectural forms when it is not right or possible to render such forms distinctly imitative. For instance, the line or curve of the edge of a leaf may be accurately given to the edge of a stone, without rendering the stone in the least *like* a leaf, or suggestive of a leaf; and this the more fully, because the lines of nature are alike in all her works; simpler or richer in combination, but the same in character; and when they are taken out of their combinations it is impossible to say from which of her works they have been borrowed, their universal property being that of ever-varying curvature in the most subtle and subdued transitions, with peculiar expresssons of motion, elasticity,

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Design and ornament

Ideal curves

or dependence."* As also remarked by him, curves of this type not only mark the force and vigour of vegetable growth, "but some among the most beautiful of them are described by bodies variously in motion, or subjected to force; as by projectiles in the air, by the particles of water in a gentle current, by planets in motion in an orbit, by their satellites, if the actual path of the satellite in space be considered instead of its relation to the planet; by boats, or birds, turning in the water or air, by clouds in various action upon the wind, by sails in the curvatures they assume under its force, and by thousands of other objects moving or bearing force." They appear also in the forms of flame. Disciplined spiral forms suggest the curling of a tendril or the involution of a shell. Spiral and continuous curve together give the simplest form of 'branch' or vine.

Observe that these ideal and disciplined curves are as characteristic of Indian as of Gothic art. The fact is, that the quality which had been looked upon as Gothicness, and which Ruskin called Christian, is not a thing peculiar to Gothic art, but is found in all great and ideal art. Hindu or Buddhist, ornament is often intensely and surprisingly Gothic in feeling; and cannot fail to be so, since both agree in the recognition of abstract natural form, or ideal form, as the true basis of all noble ornament, and the purpose of art to be the revelation of a deeper reality than that of phenomenal appearance. And this applies only to Gothic art of the thirteenth century; it is the essential character of all Indian art from the beginning. Sinhalese art sometimes falls away from this ideal and becomes rococo.

It is not by chance that the Sinhalese craftsman comes to have these disciplined or temperate curves at his command; for the most essential part of his artistic apprenticeship and training consists of instruction calculated to impress their character indelibly upon his mind, so that his hand cannot fail to trace them, whether he will or no. Hence the great ease with which he repeats ornamental forms based on the fundamental curves, and the certainty and freedom of his touch. The whole character of his later work depends on the education in the use of flattened curves with which his training begins.

The first and most thorough part of the Sinhalese craftsman's education in design consists in the close study of the ideal curved form of the *vaka deka*, or double curve, and from this point—the spiral being evolved by the reflexion of the simple curve upon itself—he is carried on until he has such command of curved form as to design easily such forms as the most elaborate *tiringi tale*; and the subtle sense of curvature thus ingrained in him expresses itself ever after in whatso form of leaf or stem or feather that he may devise. Anyone who has spent time copying much Sinhalese or similar Eastern ornament, or has critically examined reproductions of original work drawn by untrained men will know how extremely difficult it is to preserve the sensitive types of curvature consistently; especially in repeating patterns, it is fatally easy to allow the forms to degenerate and weaken. But the trained craftsman never falters, because the curve is second nature to him; he could not draw it wrong without deliberate effort. Such is the curve of energy and growth; rhythmic and disciplined, but unsatisfied, ever striving towards an end not yet attained; as of a vine climbing upwards vigorously, or restless flames of fire. Contrasted with it is the rounded curve, or circle; as of the lotus, expressing peace and balance. The circular form is complete, without beginning or end; it is a form at perfect rest. Not without reason has the circular been chosen to typify the Law (*Dharma*). These facts seem to have been unconsciously realised by the best designers.

Study the vihāra ceiling reproduced on Pl. XV., and analysed in Fig 52. The floral ornament of the painted boards is overflowing with life and energy, almost restless in its vigour, though the vigour is always a disciplined vigour of growth. But turn to the great

*'*Stones of Venice,' ed. 2, p. 215.*

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beams on either hand, whereon the boards are set, and which are the constructional elements of the roof and ceiling; we find that they are treated very differently. The repeated circular forms are expressive of stability and repose, in marked contrast to the changefulness and vigour of the painted vine within. Here is a remarkable example of the architectural quality in ornament; there could hardly be a better example of the appreciation of the meaning of curved forms or of their noble use in ornament. *Design and ornament*

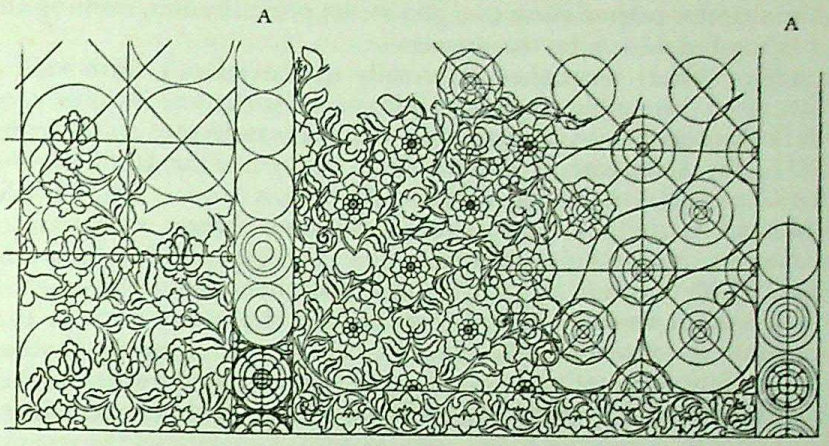

Fig. 52. Ceiling painting at Gaṇēgoḍa, near Pęlmaḍulla, Sab, showing construction of the design. AA, main beams. See also Pl. XV.

CIRCLE. Simple circles are seen especially on ivory, where it is scratched with a small two-pronged iron tool, used as compasses, the centre being a distinct dot (Pl. XL., 3); in Pl. XXXVI., 8, the circle is combined with a dot external to it, forming a sort of *bo*-leaf. In a few cases the circle is used as a sun symbol, especially on *sannas*; see above p. 81. *Circle*

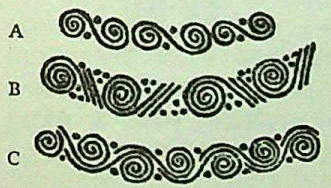

Fig. 53. Double spiral; single spiral; 'continuous branch' with alternating spirals. From brass castings.

SPIRAL. The use of this form is restricted. In painting I know only one example of a half-spiral within a circle, from vihāra, which I have seen in a photograph taken by Mr. Bell. But the typical occurence is on certain forms of cast brass work, particularly *sĕrak-kala* (Pl. XLIV., 1; XLV., 6, and Fig. 53); here we find both series of unconnected double scrolls and continuous series of alternating scrolls on either side of a continuous branch (*G. fortlaufende Wellenranke*); see also Pl. XI., 4, third band of ornament on seat. It is to be noted that this form is the prototype of all the more elaborate *liya-vęla* patterns, whether simple borders, or used to fill space. It is so both historically and logically; and it is noteworthy that the indigenous method of teaching drawing at Lucknow, now almost forgotten, consists, as I am informed by Mr. Rādhā Kṛishṇa, Drawing Master there, in teaching first the simple spiral, several times coiled, and then in applying the type of curve so learnt to the drawing of simple vine forms, in which the alternating curves resemble those of the spiral in character. *Spiral*

TRIANGLE. Triangles in Kandyan art are of three sorts. First, the chevron border (Fig. 56, A) is equivalent to a series of alternating upright and inverted triangles; if one series be shaded or coloured, the other left plain, this is at once apparent, as in Figs. 56, B and C, and in Pls. XXXIII., 1-3, and XLIX., 10. Borders thus originating are *Triangle*

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Design and ornament

distinguished by the presence of the two boundary lines, passing through the bases and apices of the triangles.

A second type of triangle is derived from the *bō*-leaf (q.v.) and is used as a border of the same general character (Pl. XLIV., 3), but recognised by the absence of the line passing through the apices of the triangle; there is further generally some small star or projection at the apex, corresponding to the drip-tip of the real leaf (Pl. XXX., 1, and Fig. 41, G). On some woven cloths, pairs of these triangles are set point to point, forming an hour-glass pattern, but still called *bō-kola* by the weavers.

The two triangles already mentioned are usually equilateral. A third kind is isosceles and much elongated. It appears typically on lacquered sticks, and is called *patura* (wedge or wing). It is also common on South Indian and Malayan printed cloths worn in Ceylon (see Pl. XXII., royal costume of 1603). It is considered by Rouffaer and Juynboll (Indische Batikunst, III., 163) to be of Malay-Polynesian origin. The '*bō*-leaf triangle,' on the other hand, is the one referred to by the same authors as similar to, but less pronounced than the Malay-Polynesian type, and as probably of Buddhist origin.

Diya-reḷa

DIYA-REḶA. The chevron, 'zig-zag' or wave is often met with; as on Pl. XI., 4, outer ring of ornament on seat: and often on woven cloths and mats, as Pl. XXVIII., 1, 15, also in paintings of textiles (Pl. XIV., 5). The use of a zig-zag line to symbolize water is of hoary antiquity, and now world wide. It is interesting to find the name *diya reḷa*, 'wave,' still employed by Sinhalese craftsmen to denote chevron or zig-zag pattern.

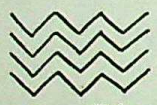

Fig. 54. *Diya-reḷa*, wave pattern or chevron.

Fig. 55. Border derived from chevron (cast-brass).

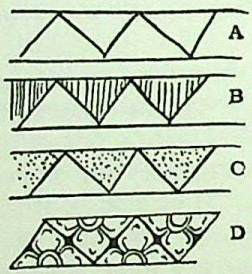

Fig. 56. Chevron borders and derived triangle pattern.

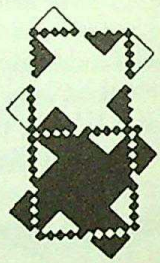

Fig. 57. Svastika, from pattern of plaited grass bag.

Toraṇa

TORAṆA, arch: this form appears in Pl. XXVII., ornamenting the central band in the lotus throne on which the Buddha is seated; representing feathers in Figs. 12, 58, B, etc. The special form called *makara toraṇa* is described above, under *makara*. A somewhat similar form of arch is called *liya-toraṇa*, and is formed entirely of *liya-pata* ornament.

Cross

CROSS. The manner in which small equal armed crosses are derived from four petalled flowerets, has been indicated above (*mala*).

Svastika

SVASTIKA; this well-known form is practically absent in Kandyan art; it is very rare at Anurādhapura, so also at Barāhat. It is one of the 108 *magul-lakuṇu*, having the form of Fig. 69, x.; it is approached in the fret or key patterns of Pl. XXIX., 7: and it also appears very exceptionally on the carved panels of wooden pillars: compare also the ornament of a paper MS., Pl. XX., 1; and Fig. 28, E, four women arranged svastika-wise; the form is also not uncommon in grass plaited mats and bags (Fig. 57). But the svastika is not used under this name in ornament, but only in the *magul-lakuṇu*.

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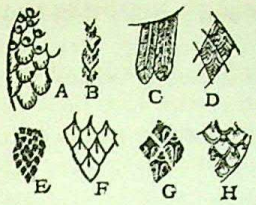

Fig. 58. Methods of representing feathers. A-C, from drawings; D, E, F, H, metal work; G, wood carving.

Design and ornament

Diapers

DIAPERS. These are beautiful and characteristic. The most typical examples are called *ḍela*, 'net' (Pl. XXIV., 4); other diapers are known as *tundan vēḍa* (Figs. 61 and 62). Typical diapers are seen on painted textiles, as Pl. XIV., 6; also in great variety on actual woven cloths (Pl. XXIX., etc.). Examples on a large scale are sometimes afforded by ceiling paintings (Fig. 60). The origin of these various forms is of interest; historically speaking, no doubt, they may be traced back to Egypt; but some may be derived from, or influenced by, representations of feathers (Fig. 58), some perhaps from the central cross-hatching in flowers of the 'pine-apple' and daisy type (Fig. 59). In other cases there may be the idea of representing flowers growing in defined spaces or plots, as in many Persian carpets. Probably these ideas were not consciously present in the minds of eighteenth century craftsmen. The name *tundan vēḍa* is given to such ornament composed of floral elements enclosed in geometrical framework; passing into 'parsemé' by omission of the framework. The name *kalas daṅgaya* is given to *tundan vēḍa* when the framework resembles the outline of a water pot, as in Fig. 62.

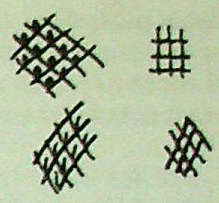

Fig. 59. Types of flower centre cross-hatching.

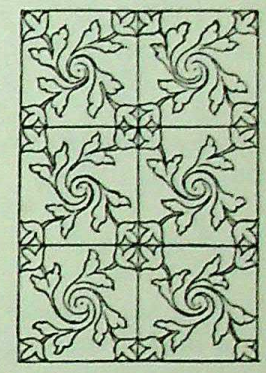

Fig. 60. Diagram of ceiling painting at Doḍantale.

Indian art especially excels in the beauty and variety of its diapers and semé patterns. Such patterns are not found in Greek art, nor in Early Indian; they appear to be a later and purely oriental development; a discovery almost as important in the history of decorative art, as the 'branch' (*Wellenranke*) itself. The various examples show that Kandyan painters, too, have still a great capacity for good design, and that forms which might be thought to be late, or of North Indian origin, belong to pure Buddhist and Hindu art, and have probably so belonged from the earliest periods. The simplest form of diaper is the plain chequer, composed of triangles or squares, often seen on the painted roofs of cave temples, sometimes, also, on textiles as Pl. XXVIII., 1, 17.

Kuṇḍi-rakkan

KUṆḌIRAKKAN or KUÑJIRAKKAN. This name is applied to certain characteristic borders used especially in ivory and wood carving; as seen in Pl. XXXIX., 1, 2, where it is combined with *arimbuva* in the borders of the combs; Pl. XI., 2, upright strip of carving, with *arimbuva* on either side; and elsewhere, (Pl. XXIV., 1, c, etc.

Lanu-geṭa

LANU-GEṬA, plait: these forms are very characteristic and logical, and include 'broken plaitwork' and 'knotwork' but are not quite so far developed as in Christian Irish art; good examples of the treatment are shown on Pls. XII., 2; XXVIII., 3; and XXIX., 4. The types in Fig. 63, v. and vi., called respectively, *eka-pota lanuva* (one-ply plait,—a world-wide form), and *de-pota lanuva* (chequer-work or grass-matting shading) seem to be of a different character.

The plait is often ornamented with two internal lines, or even with *arimbuva* (Pl. XII., 2). Elaborate plaits were constructed as described by Romilly Allen (Celtic Art, p. 259), of which I have seen an example in a *padimākada pota*. 'Broken plaitwork' was unknown in the West before the sixth century, A.D. It is regarded by him as an independent

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Design and ornament

Irish invention. It is not likely to have gone Eastwards from Ireland; more likely it was independently arrived at in the East also; if so, we have an interesting case of a form of decoration originating independently in two widely separated areas, of which few undoubted instances are known.

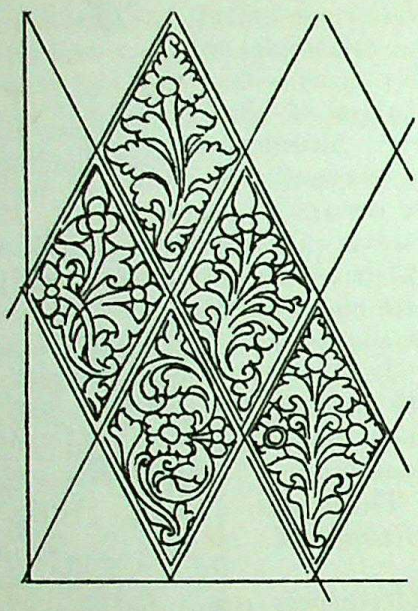

Fig. 61. *Tundan vēḍa.* From a modern drawing.

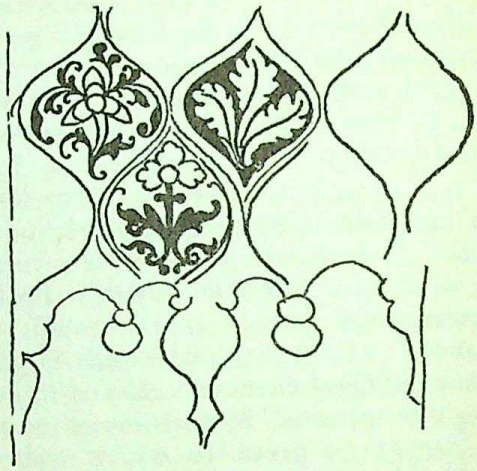

Fig. 62. *Tundan-vēḍa*, variety *kalas-daṅgaya*; modern drawing (sketch for a *bō-heṭṭaya*).

Gal-biṇduva

GAL-BIṆDUVA, 'set gem': this characteristic border is shown in Fig. 63. The real 'set gem' border which is the prototype of the decorative form is seen on Pl. XLII., 2 and 5; and Pl. XLIIIA., 1, where it decorates the rims of gold and copper vessels. In the typical painted *gal-biṇduva* border of Fig. 63, 1., the gold setting is clearly indicated. 'Diamond' borders like those of the *sērak-kale*, Pl. XLV., 6, on the rim, and Pl. XXX., 1, border, are probably forms of *gal-biṇduva*, though they might conceivably have arisen from the opposition of two chevron borders.

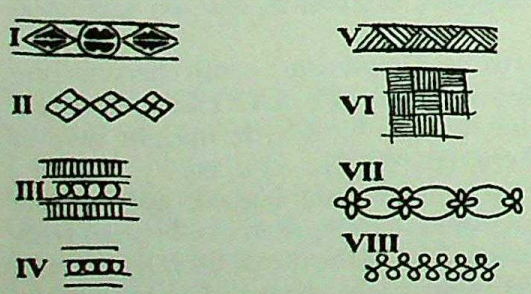

Fig. 63. Borders: I., *Gal-biṇduva*. II., *Kuṇḍi rakkan*. III., *Panava* (with *ariṁbuva*. IV., *Ariṁbuva*. V., *Eka-pota-lanuva*. VI., *Depota lanuva* (not a border). VII., VIII., *Havaḍiya* (sometimes so-called).

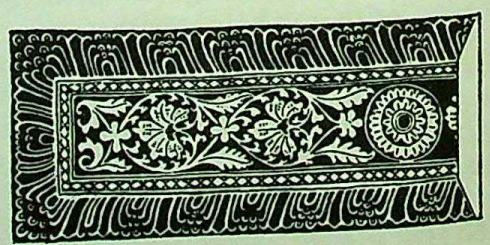

Fig. 64. Painted wooden book cover with elaborated *havaḍiya* or chain pattern, *pala peti* border.

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ARIṂBUVA: a series of circles, or rather discs, between two bounding lines, is a very common border (Fig. 63, IV; Pl. XXXIX., 7; XLIII., 3, etc.) The frame of ivory or wood carved panels is usually *ariṁbuva*. *Design and ornament*

PANĀVA, the comb: close set parallel lines, as in Fig. 63, III., where the *ariṁbuva* and *panāva* are combined. *Panāva*

HAVAḌIYA. Two patterns, known by this name are shown in Fig. 63, VII. and VIII. Other examples of the first, which is distinguished as *havaḍi pota* will be found on Pls. XXXI., and XXXII., 8; and of the second, which is sometimes distinguished as *havaḍi daṅgaya*, on Pl. XXXII., 4. An elaborate example of the first, is shown in Fig. 64, from a painted book cover at Kęlaṇiya. *Havaḍiya*

FRET. The form, well known in Greek and Chinese art, and to which the name 'fret' is given, I have seen once only in Kandyan decorative art, viz., in that storehouse of old patterns, the woven belt figured on Pl. XXIX., 7. *Fret*

I give, further, some notes on the methods of combining the motifs already described.

SERIAL REPETITION. This is the oldest and simplest expression of symmetry or rhythm in ornament, called in German, '*Ranken-bordure*,' and it is frequently seen in Sinhalese decoration; Pls. XV., XVII., XXIV., XXV., etc., afford numerous examples. Of archaic aspect are animal processions, such as those of Pls. XXIX., 7, and XXXVIII., 5. *Serial repetition*

ALTERNATE REPETITION. Of this arrangement of the elements of decoration, the now world-wide form called the 'knop and flower' is the best known example; but typical instances of it are comparatively rare in Sinhalese art. Fig. 50 shows one such form from a damascened lock; and other examples are seen in Pl. XXIX., 7. *Alternate repetition*

INTERRUPTED BRANCH (G. *intermittirende Wellenranke*). By this name I indicate borders, such as that shown in Fig. 65, in which floral elements are disposed on an undulating line, which does not represent a single continuous stem, but merely a foundation to which upwards and downward shoots are alternately attached. Further instances are shown in Pls. XXIX., 7, and XXX., 2. *Interrupted branch*

Fig 65. Border of shawl (Pl. XXVIII., 4).

CONTINUOUS BRANCH. (G. *fortplanzende Wellenranke*). This is the universal *liya vęla* or 'vine' pattern, representing a branch, with rhythmically disposed leaves and flowers on either side, as in Figs. 32, and innumerable other examples. For the simplest, and historically fundamental forms of a purely geometrical character see Fig. 53. *Continuous branch*

Fig. 66. 'Affrontment': two bulls, and sacred tree. From brass tray (modern).

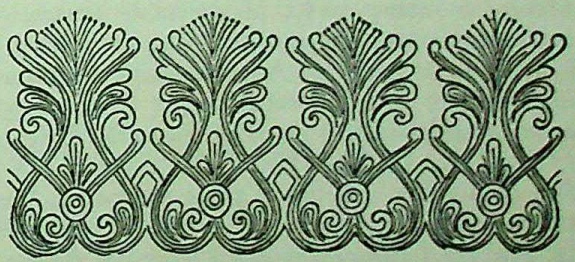

Fig. 67. '*Vęl-pota*' ornament, from lacquered stick. This might be described as a 'linked honeysuckle' form.

KNOPS and KNOTS. The terms *gęṭa*, *pota*, and *bandha* are used in this sense. Fig. 67 shows, for example, a form known as *vęl-pota*. In the terminology of patterns, this might be called an example of 'linked honeysuckle.' Other forms are the *nāga bandha* referred to on p. 88 and the *gęṭa-liya-pota* described on p. 100. *Knops and Knots*

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Design and ornament INTERLACEMENTS. The terms *paṭṭuva* and *daṅgaya* are applied to devices of linked animal forms, such as the *haṃsa paṭṭuva* and *nāga daṅgaya*, described on pp. 85 and 88.

WHORL. An arrangement of several linked cobras, forming together a single whorl, is often seen on brass trays, and is called *nāga pōruva*.

Affrontment AFFRONTMENT. This arrangement, called in German '*Wappenstil*,' of two animals about a central form, as in 'tree of life' designs, or the 'supporters' of a shield, is a special case of symmetry,* very frequently seen, and of hoary antiquity in art. Examples are shown in Figs. 28 E, 66, 68, etc., and elsewhere, in Pls. VII., 9, and XXXIX., 2.

Parsemé PARSEMÉ. This arrangement of floral elements over an invisible framework to cover space, is occasionally seen in wall decoration, but more especially in representations of brocade or similar material in figure subjects; it is closely allied to typical *tundan-veḍa*, from which it differs in the omission of the framework, and in that the floral elements are more freely treated, not having to occupy such defined spaces. Fig. 33, VI., is an example of a parsemé floral form. The use of detached lotus rosettes or *Pandanus* or *sapu* flowers is analogous.

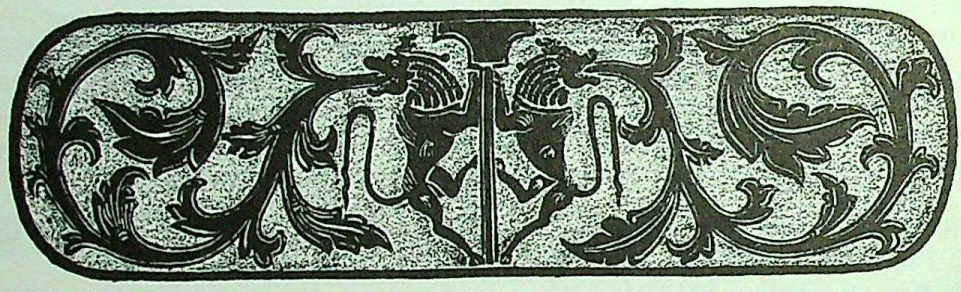

Fig. 68. Branches springing from mouths of lions. '*Wappen-stil*' arrangement. Chased brass tobacco box (upper side of same box is shown in Fig. 11).

'Flower-in-mouth' 'FLOWER-IN-MOUTH.' "Lo, in her mouth was an olive branch newly plucked off." A very characteristic and fanciful motif is the setting of a branch or spray from the mouth of an animal [Figs. 12, (15) and 68] or bird (Pl. XXIII., 2). A common example is the starting of many sprays of vegetable ornament from a *kibihi māna*. These forms are evidently derived from earlier types in which a branch is clearly *carried* in the mouth, as in the case of geese on Anurādhapura moonstones, carrying lotus sprays. The original idea in such cases is probably that of flower *offering*, as in many Barāhat sculptures. I have myself used this motif in the cover design of the 'Ceylon National Review.'

Maṅgul lakuṇu MAṄGUL-LAKUṆU. These are the 108 auspicious symbols associated with each foot of Buddha. A list of these symbols is learnt by every child in *pansala* schools, as explained above (p. 50). A partial list is given by Hardy (Manual of Buddhism, p. 367). In Fig. 69 I have reproduced from old drawings lent to me by Mr. T. B. Keppiṭipola, a selection of the symbols as examples. It will be seen that the representations are of an almost hieroglyphic character.

* *Symmetry, it may be remarked, is one of the most characteristic features of oriental art. It is an expression of the fundamental law and rhythm which underlies nature's manifestations. It is natural and right that the representation of nature 'seen through the alembic of the human mind' should be more formal and rhythmic than nature herself. The formality and obedience of the true craftsman is more restful and more satisfying than any conscious effort after strangeness or variety.*

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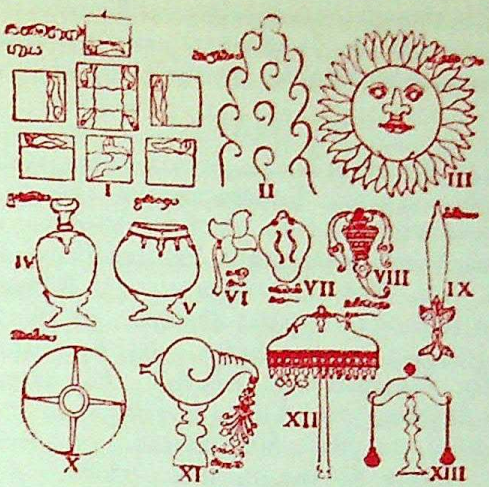

Fig. 69*. Selection of *maṅgul-lakuṇu*: I. 'Seven great rivers' (of India); II. 'Himālaya forest'; III. 'Mansion of the Sun'; IV. 'Filled water pot'; V. 'Filled bowl'; VI. 'Flowers'; VII. 'Cobra's hood'; VIII. 'Ear-ring'; IX. 'Sword' of State; X. 'Svastika'; XI. 'Chank'; XII. 'Umbrella'; XIII. 'Balance.' From drawings lent by T. B. Kęppiṭipola, Basnāyaka Ṅilame of Ḍmbękke Dēvāle.

** I have printed this Figure in red as a reminder that almost all drawings and diagrams of the Kandyan craftsmen are drawn in red, this colour being the most easily prepared of those in use amongst them. This appears to have been the case from the earliest times, to judge from Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XVIII.: "Using vermilion in a golden pencil and therewith making a streak."*

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.: THE RŪPĀVALIYA.

A part of the artistic canon of Sinhalese painters is found in a Sanskrit work called the Rūpāvaliya, which is much relied on in Kandyan painters of the best sort. The versions procurable are usually very corrupt and imperfect. Nothing is known of the date of the work, which is clearly of Hindu origin. The learned Mudaliyar, E. R. Gooneratne, to whom I am indebted for a revised text and a translation based on my own and other copies of the work collated by Sīlakkhandha Thēra of Simbali Āvāsa, thinks that from the language the work may have been written in the eleventh century. I proceed to give an analysis of the contents, with translations of verses of interest in connection witn Sinhalese art; which reservation it is necessary to make, because the figures of many of the gods

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are never or hardly met with, though the best painters still possess the traditional knowledge necessary to represent them, and can do so when required. The verses are in the form of an invocation to, or meditation (*dhyāna*) on, the beings described.

SUMMARY.*

1. Of Nātha deviyō. 2-14. The eight Nāthas, Śiva, Brahma, Vishṇu, Gauri, Matsyēndra, Bhaddra, Bauddha, Gaṇesha. 15, 18. Brahma dhyāna. 16, 19. Vishṇu dhyāna. 18. Īsvara dhyāna. 20. Gopala nātha. 21-29. Śrī Rāma Candra. 39-41. The ten avatārs of Vishṇu: Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Parasu Rāma, Daśaratha Rāma, Bauddha, Kṛishṇa, Kalki. 42. Narasiṃha dhyāna. 43. Rāma. 44. Garuḍa dhyāna. 45-54. Gaṛuḍa dhyāna in full. 55. Śarabhā dhyāna. 56-58. Śarabhā dhyāna in full. 59-62. Lakshmī dhyāna. 63. Sarasvatī dhyāna. 64, 65. Sarasvatī dhyāna at length. 66. Gaṇapati dhyāna. 67. Gaṇapati dhyāna in full. 68. Heramba Gaṇapati dhyāna. 69. Three-eyed Gaṇapati dhyāna. 70. Ālinga devī dhyāna. 71, 72. Skandha dhyāna. 73. Skandha dhyāna in full. 74. Sadā Śiva dhyāna. 75. Sadā Śiva dhyāna in full. 76. Īsvara dhyāna. 77. Īsvara dhyāna in full. 78-80. Ardhanārēśvara. 81-83. Naṭa, the dancer. 84. Vīrabhadrá dhyāna. 85. Aghora dhyāna. 86-90. Aghora dhyāna in full. 91-96. Great Aghora dhyāna. 97. Vaṭuka-nātha dhyāna. 98. Vaṭuka-nātha dhyāna in full. 99. Śiva Vaṭuka dhyāna. 101-109. Kāma Śiva dhyāna. 110 Ambika svarūpa. 111. Bhuvanēsvara dhyāna. 112. Bhuvanādhi-pati. 113. Jagadeka-Mātā. 114. Śiva dēvī dhyāna. 116. Bhadrakāli dhyāna. 117. Kalyāna bālā dhyāna. 118. Mātaṅga dhyāna. 123-127. Paramēsvarī dhyāna. 128. Manmata svarūpa. 129-138. Of measurements. 139, 140. The sixteen kinds of 'lions.' 141-143. Another sixteen kinds of 'lions.' 144. Haṃsa rūpa. 145. Aśvaya. 146. Latā kinnara. 147. Nāsīt tālam. 148. Makara. 149. Viśvakarma. 150. Vaṭa rūpa. 152-156. Divinities from whose influence result humors and fever. 157. Result of making images incorrectly. 158. The symbolism of the fingers.

Translation of certain verses as examples.†

3, 4. Śiva Nātha. "A fair face with three eyes, a bow and an arrow, a garland of serpents, ear flowers, a rosary, four hands, a trisula, a rope, a spear having a deer impaled upon it, hands pointing upwards and downward, a garment of tiger skin, his vehicle a white bull, these are the marks of Śiva Nātha."

11. Bhadra Nātha (Kārtikēya). "Two handed, of purple hue, a long-handled axe, a flag with a cock upon it, a crown, an adze, a purple garment, his vehicle the peacock, these are the marks of Bhadra Nātha."

113. Jagadeka-Mātā. "I worship the one mother of the world, having four hands, and the moon as a brow gem, high-bosomed, shining like gold, hands holding a fair white lotus, a goad, and a garland of flowers."

129. "The height [of a man] is 992 *yava*, or 124 inches (*aṇgal*); 13½ 'inches' and one *yava* are equal to one *mukha* ('face'). Nine *mukha* and one *kalā* is the height of a man."

130, 131. "I describe the dimensions,‡ the height and the length and the measurements

* *The work, in the examples which I have been able to procure, is manifestly incomplete.*

† *By E. R. Gooneratne, with slight verbal modifications. Verses* 42, 56-8, 139, 149, *describing the kinnara, śarabhā, haṃsa, makara, lion, horse, and Viśvakarma deviyō have been already quoted, pp.* 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88 *and* 90, *above.*

‡ *The significance of these canons of measurement will appear later, in Chapter VIII., 'Figure Sculpture.'*

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given in the world, and the size of the body and diversity of the figure of Brahma and other chiefs of the world, of Sarvajña, of Dēvas, Asuras, of Danava Rākshasas, of Yakshas, of Nāgas, of Garuḍas, of Kinnaras, of Bhūtas, of Khumbaṇḍas, as well as of men, and of tigers, four-footed beasts and birds."

132, 133, 134. "The Bandhuka is one *tāla* (='face,' *mukha*), the height of birds is two *tāla*, of Kinnaras three, a Bhūtas four, of Gaṇesha five, of a tiger six, of a Yaksha seven, of a man or a woman eight, of Asuras nine, of Dēvas and Buddhas ten, of Asura Rākshasas eleven; there are no beings twelve *tala* in height."

135. "An *aṇgala* ('inch,' or unit) is one *mātra*, two *mātra* make one *kolaka*, two *kolaka* make one *bhāga*, three *bhāga* make one *tala*."

137. "The height of Gaṇesha is five *tala*; three, two, two, eleven, twelve, six, six, three, six *tala*, are the hair, face, neck, chest, belly, private part, thighs, teeth, and calf of the leg respectively."

138. Dimensions of Kinnara: "The two eyes are five *kolaka*, the hair and the crown of the head are twelve *kolaka*, the neck, the chest, the navel, the private part, the thigh, the knees, the calf of the leg, the feet, these are three *tala*."

157. In the making of an image, if aught be lacking to the head, it will result in the death of parents; if aught in the back, to the destruction of the clan; if in the neck or two feet, to the destruction of the wife; if all be lacking, to the destruction of all.

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CHAPTER V. ARCHITECTURE.

"*The Temples of their Gods are of rare and Exquisite Work*" (KNOX).

IT is not meant here to give any exhaustive account of late Mediæval Sinhalese architecture, but only such a general account of it as shall enable the reader to understand its relation to the fine and lesser arts, and to comprehend the arrangement of such temples as he may have the opportunity to visit. It must not be supposed that Mediæval Sinhalese architecture can compare either in extent or magnificence with that of Southern India or with that of earlier times in Ceylon, to which the well-known remains at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva testify. But it will be found that the typical Kandyan wooden architecture has a distinct character of its own, and that it responds directly to the needs of a small agricultural people, not luxurious, and rather prosperous than wealthy. In spite of the great remains at Anurādhapura it should be fully realised that the truly national and indigenous architecture has always been one of wooden building; the great stone buildings whose remains attract so many visitors to the 'buried cities,' were probably erected with Indian assistance and partly by Indian workmen; so were many later stone buildings (especially when for the worship of Hindu gods) such as the sixteenth century Beṛeṇḍi Kōvil and the unmistakeable Hindu temple at Ridī Vihāra. Other buildings such as Laṅkātilaka, the Daḷadā Māligāva and Gaṇēgoḍa vihāra (Sab.) having more or less stone work in their construction were probably made by native or long naturalised *gal-vaḍuvō*; but a majority of vihāras are without stone construction, or have only a stone doorstep or 'moonstone,' as at Degaldoruva; stone steps and plain balustrade are also met with.

It should be remembered that in India, stone building was not practised until a little before Aśōka's time (third century B.C.), and no doubt a knowledge of it came to Ceylon from Northern India along with the Buddhist missionaries; but a wooden style was already well established, and while serving as the model for the work in stone, has never been itself displaced. Buddhist wooden architecture of the same general type is still to be found in Nepal; in most other parts of India it has been replaced by stone.

At a later time, when a knowledge of stone building had spread to Southern India and the great Dravidian building tradition sprang up, it was easy for the Sinhalese kings to get such masons as they required thence; and it is probable that most of the *gal-vaḍuvo* actually living in Ceylon as subjects of the Sinhalese kings in later times, were of South Indian blood.

Domestic building

We have already seen that the dwelling house was a simple framed one-storied building of timber and wattle and daub, like an English half-timbered cottage, with thatched roof and small central courtyard. Each man built his own home, except a few noblemen whose manor-houses were better and more pretentious than the wood and daub cottages of the ordinary people. Nails were not used in ordinary building, but everything was fastened with rattans and other jungle ropes. The solid timbers of royal buildings were morticed and tenoned together in a very substantial manner. The use of stone was confined to royal and religious buildings.

The house itself was built on a stone and mud foundation raised above the ground level; this foundation, smoothly plastered and cowdunged, formed the floor and inner verandah, and projected outside the walls as a narrow ledge or outer verandah (*pila*), used to sleep or sit on. The houses of great persons only differed from those of lesser men by having more rooms and courtyards, better timber, the beam ends and verandah pillars and their brackets sometimes carved, and in a very few cases only, a tiled roof. Fig. 70 shows the

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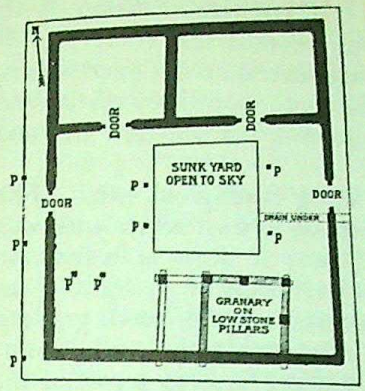

Fig. 70. Plan of small yeoman's house. P.P. wood pillars: thatched roof over all, except open yard. Scale $\frac{1}{15}$ inch = 1 foot.

house of a small cultivator or yeoman, having two rooms besides the inner verandah, and granary (*aṭuva*) on stone pillars; such a house may have been built in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century; few if any houses older than the eighteenth century survive. One of the most notable of old *valavvas* is that of Maḍuvanvela, a chieftain of ancient family and still powerful; the house has been somewhat altered and added to, but retains many old features including the massive doors showing the marks of Dutch bullets. Almost the only old house in Kandy itself is the Girihāgama *valavva*, but even that is much altered and spoilt.* *Architecture*

The doors, single or double, were exceedingly massive adze-hewn planks, turning on two dowels forming part of the door itself and fitting into the frame above and below. Windows were provided with similar but smaller shutters, or fitted with bars of wood or iron; glass windows and hinged doors were not in use. Doors and windows were fastened by a variety of ingenious and elegant bolts, the doors sometimes also by a lock and key.

Of the palace in Kandy, only a part now remains, consisting of several buildings, some of massive construction, adjoining the Māligāva. Of these buildings a part forms the Government Agent's residence;† part the Kandyan Museum; while the Audience Hall built for the last king is now a law-court. The *meda vahala* or middle palace is "perhaps the only real Kandyan building left intact in Kandy, and not spoiled by adaptation to material requirements of the British Government at the time of the occupation of Kandy or subsequently."‡ A good idea of a Sinhalese royal palace may be gathered from Knox's description of that of Rāja Siṃha II. (seventeenth century). "The *Palace* is walled about with a Clay Wall, and Thatched, to prevent the Clay's being melted by the Rains, which are great and violent: Within this wall it is all full of houses; most of which are low and thatched; but some are two Stories high, and tyled very handsomely, with open *Galleries* for Air, rayled about with turned banisters, one Ebony, and one painted, but not much prospect, standing between two Hills. And indeed the King lives there not so much for pleasure as security. The Palace itself hath many large and stately Gates two leaved; these Gates, with their posts, excellently carved; the Iron work thereunto belonging, as Bolts and Locks, all rarely engraven. The Windows inlaid with Silver plates and *Ebony*. On the top of the houses of his Palace and Treasury, stand *Earthen Pots* at each corner; which are for ornament; or which is a new fashion, something made of Earth resembling Flowers and Branches. And no House besides, except Temples, may have these placed *Palaces*

* *Somewhat later (nineteenth century) there came in a slightly modified type with wide outer verandah and more windows (Pl. VI., 6), the result of Dutch influence and of more security; later still a more pretentious stucco and plaster, semi-Italian style, costly and uncomfortable, has been favoured by the well-to-do. The old houses had some disadvantages, but afforded a good deal of plain comfort which is lacking in the modern freaks that often replace them.*

† *I understand that this part of the palace is also, very properly, to be set apart for Museum purposes in the near future.*

‡ *Address to Sir Henry Blake, Governor, on the opening of the Kandyan Art Museum in the Meda Vahala, November, 1905.*

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Architecture

upon them. The contrivance of his Palace is, as I may say, like *Woodstock Bower*, with many turnings and windings, and doors, he himself having ordered and contrived all these Buildings, and the manner of them." The King also had several houses overlooking the tank, built according to his own appointment "very handsom, born up with carved Pillars and Painted, and round about Rails and Banisters turned, one Painted and one Ebony, like Balconie."

Granaries (Aṭu)

Two other kinds of buildings may be mentioned before speaking of religious ones. The granary (*aṭuva*), always raised on low stone pillars as a protection against white ants, was if small, built over some part of the inner verandah of the house; if large, as in the case of a royal store (*mahā gabaḍāva*), a *pansala*, or the home of a well-to-do or powerful man, it formed a separate building. But in the Kęgalla district a special type of small granary is found, a cask-shaped wattle-and-daub erection on stone pillars, whitened with kaolin, and covered with a heavy thatch, standing near the house but not forming a part of it; this type (called *bissa*, pl. *bihi*) is noteworthy as being often ornamented with paintings of elephants, etc. (Pl. VII., 9). The outer walls of even quite small houses are sometimes similarly painted with conventional designs (Pl. VII., 6). The granaries were usually sealed in clay with a wooden seal, of which a specimen is figured on Pl. XIII., 5.

Rest Houses (Ambalam)

The second building to be mentioned is the *ambalama* or wayside shelter. Of these there were many at no great distance apart on frequented paths, and better ones in each village, erected by all the villagers, or by some one man (or even a woman), anxious to perform so meritorious an act.* A beautiful *ambalam* of moderate size at Maṅgalagama (Four Kōrales) is shown on Pl. VII. The pillars are of stone, supporting on carved wooden brackets an open timbered roof (Fig. 76) covered with tiles, and with two earthen finials at the end of the roof ridge. The smallest *ambalam* consisted of a foundation of four beams to sit upon, with four posts at the corners and a thatched roof; the better ones had more pillars and were sometimes divided into compartments for the convenience of those desirous of spending the night there. But a single-roomed *ambalama* could be sub-divided for the sake of privacy by means of a *pili-veḷa* ('clothes-line,' made by Roḍiyas,) consisting of two cords of *niyaṇḍa* fibre passed through a central block; the four ends of the cords being fastened in the four corners of the room, and cloths hung over the cords themselves, the room was conveniently divided into four separate compartments.

Ambalam were sometimes well carved, and even painted; but no provision was made for the entertainment of the strangers, who usually carried their own food and cooking utensils. But near to an *ambalama*, and elsewhere along the roads are to be seen 'drinking fountains,' that is, stone or earthen pots kept supplied by the neighbours with pure water, covered with a lid and provided with a dipper (*kinissa*).

There were, also, a few more pretentious rest-houses, called *maḍama* or *iḍama*, where food and firewood, etc., were provided freely to strangers, being kept by a *maḍama-rāla* or *iḍama-rāla*, who held lands for the performance of this duty. Such would appear to have been the Governor's house where Knox made a stay (on his escape) about six miles south of Anurādhapura; "having reached his house," says Knox, "according to the

** The practical Indian ideal of almsgiving, e.g., Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, VIII., 63: "The householder should dig tanks, plant trees, and erect rest-houses on the roads, and make bridges over rivers, by such great works he can conquer the three worlds." Cf. also p. 48 above. The rest-house is a very ancient institution in the East. There is a rest-house episode (meeting of two kings' sons on their travels) in the Sutasoma Jātaka, illustrated at Degaldoruva. For reference to decorated ambalams see Chapter IX. For some account of rest-houses, and of storehouses, both public and private in ancient India, see Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 523—525.*

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Country manner we went and sat down in the open house; which kind of Houses are built for the reception of Strangers."* *Architecture*

We have already seen (p. 37) that the *ambalama* served not only as a halting place for strangers, but was also generally resorted to for exchange of news and a quiet chew; it served also as a meeting place for the village tribunal or *gam-sabhāva*, and was thus intimately associated with the life of the village community. *Rest Houses*

One of the principal routes was from Hambantoṭa to Kandy, passing through Vellavāya and up on to the Uva patanas; through Ṭṭalapiṭiya, Dambevinne (Veḷimaḍa), Paraṇagama (Fort MacDonald) to Maturaṭa and thence through Haṇgurańketa, Mīrūpe, Talātuoya and Aṁpiṭiya to Kandy. The longest stage between two *iḍam* was not more than fifteen miles. From Kandy, a main track proceeded to Anurādhapura. There was also a track which passed down through the Three and Four Kōrales to Sītāvaka and Colombo.†

The present-day Government Rest House, or Dāk bungalow as it would be called in India, may be regarded as the descendant of the old *iḍam*, but accommodates a very different type of traveller. Rest-houses of the old type, in a debased Kandyan style, have in recent times been built at Ratnapura, Ruvanveḷi, and Kēgalla.

Wayfarers were of the following sorts, viz.: persons going to Kandy to perform their services or take in their produce-rent; officials on tour, who travelled with a great retinue and were sometimes a grievous burden; king's messengers; traders, not many; and parties of pilgrims, especially on the way to Adam's Peak or other shrines. Neither men nor women thought much of walking long distances. Women of rank, and sometimes men, were borne in palanquins. Carts were known, but few roads were practicable for wheeled traffic.

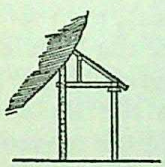

Fig. 71. Diagram of verandah of cave temple.

We may now proceed to an account of vihāras and dēvāles; and first of vihāras and buildings belonging to them. Vihāras are of two chief sorts, (1) cave temples (*gal-vihāra*) and (2) temples entirely structural. *Viharas (Buddhist temples)*

Cave temples consist usually of a natural cave somewhat enlarged and smoothed, with a drip line (*kaṭāraya*) cut round the rock outside, beneath which is a lean-to roof supported on carved wooden pillars, or stone pillars with wooden brackets (*pēkaḍa*) forming a verandah. A solid wall with one or more doors and windows separates this more or less open verandah from the actual cave in which the image or images are placed. This wall is of mud (wattle and daub), stone, burnt clay, or brick, and being carefully smoothed and plastered is then covered with paintings of jātakas and other edifying subjects. Some cave temples, such as that at Dambulla and Ridī vihāras have been occupied continuously from a time not much later than the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, but at first rather as retreats for the priests than as temples; and many have early inscriptions in the Aśōka character. Amongst the most notable cave temples in the eighteenth century were Ridī Vihāra, Danagirigala, Degaldoruva, Dambulla and Aluvihāra.‡

Of structural vihāras, those on an earthen foundation are raised, like granaries, on short

* *We are strongly reminded of the old Irish 'brugaid,' an official who "was a public hospitaller as well as a magistrate . . . and was held in high honour. He was bound to keep an open house for the reception of certain functionaries . . . and also for the reception of strangers. He had a tract of land and other large allowances to defray the expenses of his house"* (*Joyce, 'Social History of Ancient Ireland'*).

† *Described in detail in Bell's Kēgalla Report, pp.* 59, 60.

‡ *Where according to tradition the Buddhist scriptures were first committed to writing in the first century* B.C.; *but see Wickramesinghe, 'Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum,' pp. x., xi.*

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Architecture

Viharas

stone pillars as a protection against white ants. They typically consist of a single rectangular image house beneath a tiled roof having a double slope, the outer part of which shelters the open verandah surrounding the image house itself. Fig. 7, on Pl. VII., shows a small vihāra of this sort, attached to the dēvāle at Alutnuvera near Balaṅgoḍa; private vihāras of chiefs ('chapels of ease') are often of this type (*e.g.*, at Maḍuvanvela). But vihāras are often built on bare rock, especially when such is found on the top of some low hill overlooking the surrounding hills and villages. The need for raising the buildings on stone pillars is then avoided. The situation of such vihāras is often most romantic, as at Laṅkātilaka, where the beautiful temple buildings are visible from many points across wide stretches of rice-field. But vihāras are also sometimes built on an artificial stone, or stone and mud, foundation, as the Daḷadā Māligāva itself.

Vihāras are rarely of two stories, as at Doḍantale, where the ground floor serves as a preaching hall (*baṇa maḍuva*) and the upper floor for the image house (*piḷima-gē*) and its verandah; or at the Daḷadā Māligāva, where the tooth-relic is enshrined in an upper room, Sometimes the roof over the image house is raised high above the verandah roof, the image room being proportionately high within (as at Gaṅgārāma, Pl. VII., 5) and if, as at Gaṇēgoḍa (Sab.) there is a small window in the wall high up, the effect of a clerestory is produced. The ceiling is usually boarded, and the boards painted passing finely (Pl. XV., Gaṇēgoḍa vihāra ceiling); the verandah roof may be similarly treated (Pl. XVI., Daḷadā Māligāva verandah ceiling,—now altered, and for the worse). Where the ceiling of the verandah or inner room is left open, the handsome timbering is ample compensation, as in the upper verandah, Pl. VIII., Daḷadā Māligāva. Observe here also the 'rayled banister,' as Knox would have called it.

There is almost invariably a verandah (in the tiniest vihāras merely a portico), the roof of which is pitched at a lower angle than that of the roof of the main part of the building. The verandah and main roof are structurally distinct, as indicated in the diagram (Fig. 72). To this fact is due the pagoda-like appearance of many vihāras (as in the Buddhist architecture of Nepal and Burma, where Chinese influence may have carried the tendency further); for the roof seems occasionally almost to turn up at the edge, as contrasted in the slope of the inner and outer parts of it. The constructive distinction between verandah and main roof is probably due to the influence of the cave temple, which forms the actual image house (*piḷima-gē*) and corresponds to the interior of the constructional vihāra and against which a lean-to verandah is built, as at Ridī Vihāra.

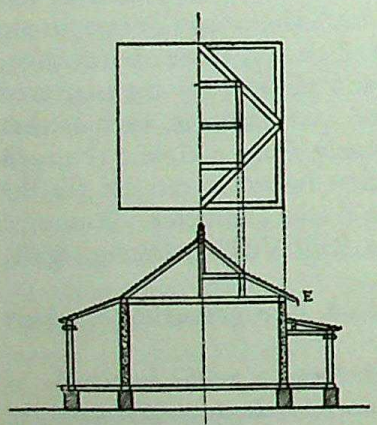

Fig. 72. Diagram of vihāra types, showing transition from lean-to verandah, to tipped roof.

Dāgabas in particular were covered with pure white lime plaster, and were almost too dazzling to look at in the bright sun. The effect of a white dāgaba shining far away amongst the green rice-fields is often most beautiful. But it is now usual to mix a large proportion of Ricketts' blue with the white, which thus loses all its purity and beauty. There were various methods of preparing the fine plaster. The best method of preparing lime plaster, was to mix lime and sand with a solution of astringent barks. Mr. S. D. Mahavalaṭenna has given me the following details: Take equal quantities of husks of very tender cocoanuts, bark of *Araḷu* or *Haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*), *Nuag*

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(*Ficus bengalensis*), *Kahata*, *Bo-asvatta* (*Ficus religiosa*), and *Goḍapara* fruit (*Dillenia retusa*). Cut these up and pound them well in a wooden mortar; pour in about four gallons of water to ten lbs. of this mixture and keep it all in a vessel for about a month to ferment. Add some *Araḷu* nuts, say a hundred to the gallon of water. Strain the liquor and use that instead of water in preparing the mortar—three of fine sand to two of shell-lime, or two of sand to two of rock lime, is the proportion said to have been in use in the ancient time. Mortar thus prepared should be kept moist for about twenty days before using; and when using, *kitul-peṇi* or treacle, *kaippu kaduru* or catechu, and gingelly oil are mixed up with the liquor and used to moisten the mortar. If a superior gloss is required as in ornamental work, the white of eggs is added. But the use of eggs is of quite modern origin. Cinnabar, orpiment, etc., can be used to give different colours to the mortar.

Architecture

Plaster

The Buddhist temple is not complete without a *bōdhi maḷuva* or platform, with or without altars, surrounding a *bō*-tree; a *pansala*, or priests' residence; and a *dāgaba* or dome-shaped monument enshrining sacred relics, in addition to the actual vihāra or image house. *Pansal* are not now the comfortless caves at one time exclusively inhabited by the priesthood; though cave *pansal* are still found, having a general resemblance to a cave temple in plan. The typical mediæval *pansala* resembles a substantial dwelling-house of the same period—a rectangular building with the rooms opening into an inner verandah, and courtyard open to the sky. Kuṇḍasāle and Laṅkātilaka are typical examples; or the monks' cells may be arranged in a row under one roof, or forming a square surrounding the *pohoya-gē*; all these arrangements may be observed at the great monasteries at Asgiriya and Malvatte in Kandy; in the latter there are also separate suites of rooms for the Saṅgha Rāja, besides a refectory, kitchens, and other offices. The Malvatte *pansala* is a storehouse of eighteenth century wood and metal work, mostly constructed by Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha. It was partly constructed from the remains of a palace built at Māpanāvatura; but two doors and frames of the royal bedchamber were used in building the relic room at the Daḷadā Māligāva (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 532).

Monasteries

The *pohoya-gē* just referred to is a rectangular building, erected on a solid foundation within the consecrated limits of twelve boundary stones (*sīmā gal*) embedded in the ground; it is the priests' meeting and confession hall; bare of furniture within, except for some big wood chests with iron locks and handles, it has a boarded and painted ceiling, massive doors with inlaid iron locks, and several windows; such buildings are of course only found where a considerable number of monks reside, not being required otherwise.

Another building that has been referred to is the *baṇa maḍuva* or preaching hall; these are open pillared buildings, sometimes temporary booths, where large crowds assemble on *pohoya* days to hear the sacred books read, which is done by the priest who sits on an elevated stool or rather cage, concealed from view by white cloths. The *baṇa maḍuva* is usually separate from the vihāra itself; at Doḍantale, however, the ground floor of the vihāra building itself is the *baṇa maḍuva*.

The *dāgaba* or *stūpa* is a dome-shaped monument, surmounted by a tee or finial, built on a platform, usually square, but occasionally round or octagonal; the largest modern *dāgabas* rarely exceed sixty or seventy feet in circumference at the base, and most are smaller; when placed under the overhanging ledge of cave temple they are often quite small (Pl. VIII., in the lower picture).

The *bōdhi maḷuva* is the platform surrounding the *bō*-tree, usually held up by a retaining wall of stone, of which that in Kandy, beautifully described in the Mahāvaṃsa as 'a wall of stone, thick, high, and shining with plaster work, like unto a beautiful string of pearls adorning the neck of the city that was like a fair woman,' is the finest example.

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Architecture "Retaining walls of *dāgabas* and *maḷuvas* and platforms are generally built of rubble, roughly adjusted, but revetments of ashlar quite plain, or in roundels and ogee mouldings at base and cornice, are not unfrequent."—(Bell).

Dēvāles Dēvāles are usually lacking in carved or painted ornament. The main building consists of an ante-room, having sometimes a *dig-gē* or pillared porch before it; and the *māligāva* or sanctum containing an image or the insignia of the deity; entrance to which is generally forbidden to all but the *kapurāla* himself, and he only enters it if free from defilement; very often there is a room over the *māligāva*, called *uḍu-mahal-gē* (at Saman dēvāle near Ratnapura, the building is of three stories); there may also be a *gabaḍā-gē* or store-room; and a small vihāre connected with the dēvālē, under one roof as at Ḗmbękke, or detached as at Alutnuvara (Balaṅgoḍa, Pl. VII.); but smaller dēvāles were subordinate to the vihāras, as at Gaḍalādeṇiya. Other dēvāle buildings are the kitchen (*mulutęn-gē*) generally detached, and the *riṭṭa-gē* always so, being the halting place for the sacred insignia (*ābharaṇa*) during processions; for these, particularly the annual *perahęra*, there is a wide procession path around the dēvāle. There is always an ornamental palanquin (*ran-doliya*) for the use of the god in the procession; also ceremonial spears (*paṭisthana*) and fans (*sēsat*), besides drums (*davul* and *tammęṭṭam*) and oboes (*horanę*), a chank (*hakgeḍiya*), awning cloths (*viyan redi*), and of course the weapons or other insignia (*ābharaṇa*) of the god, usually of gold or silver, or at least gilt.

Fortifications Forts and fortifications were few or none, the Kandyans trusting rather to the woods and hills as their natural protection. But watches were kept. The guard-house (*mura-gē*) at the top of Malabar Street, in Kandy, a small house covered with flat tiles, still remains. There were also certain *kaḍavat* or guarded entrances to the inner circle of the Kandyan kingdom, as at Ambuluva, where part of a wall still remains. In the Jud. Com. Diary for 6th October, 1819, there is a notice that a man in the last king's reign was sent to Moragammana to teach the people there how to pound rice for the king, according to a new method, and on returning, found the gravets at Ambuluva shut (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 43).

A short sketch of eighteenth century Kandyan architecture is thus completed. Further details are to be found in the chapters on stone and woodwork. As an appendix to the present chapter, a summary account of the builders' handbook, *Māyāmataya*, is given, based, not on the Sanskrit original, but on the corrupt Sinhalese version in use. Astrological and ritual works are also much used, particularly *Geval-shadvargaya*, *Uluvahu pęnīma*, etc. A complete account of the ceremonies associated with building would be of greatest interest and value, it is to be hoped that someone will communicate to the Royal Asiatic Society a paper on this subject.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

MĀYĀMATAYA.

The *Mayamataya* is, according to the account which the unknown writer gives of his work, a translation into Sinhalese of an original work written in Sanskrit ślōkas, made in Śaka 1756 (A.D. 1837). The authorship of the original work is ascribed to the *ṛishis*; its date is quite uncertain, but it is probably not less than several centuries old, and contains matter that may be much older. The work is intended for architects, but it is rather

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an astrological handbook and guide to the reading of omens than a manual of craftsmanship like the *Sāriputra* or the *Vaijayantaya*. The work is badly arranged, and full of contradictions and redundancies, and even considered apart from these defects, appears to contain much that is puerile and superstitious. The chief subjects dealt with are the propitiation of nature spirits who may be injured or offended at various stages of the work, practical advice as to the planning of a house and laying out of a town, and information as to auspicious and inauspicious omens, and astrological information as to what are favourable times for beginning the different kinds of work. The Sinhalese builder is still careful to begin his work at an auspicious hour, and believes that the neglect of this precaution would be disastrous. But the elaborate ceremonies connected with the felling of the 'auspicious post' (*magul kapa*) are never now observed in the case of ordinary houses, and even in the eighteenth century they would only have been observed in the case of very important buildings, and when felling the *ḍhala gaha* for the *perahḍra*.* *Maya-mataya*

The injunction to avoid a hollow tree for the *magul kapa* reminds us of the beautiful story in the *jātaka* book, the Kusanāḷi Jātaka,† of which the gist is as follows:

The Bōdhisat was born once as a dēva that dwelt in a clump of *kusa* grass in the king's garden at Benāres. In the same garden there grew a beautiful Wishing-tree, with a straight stem and spreading branches, and the king loved it. In it dwelt one who had been a king of dēvas and was now reborn as a tree-dēvī; and the Bōdhisat was her great friend. Now the palace roof was a king-post roof, and the main pillar had grown shaky. The royal carpenters were ordered to replace it with another; but they could find no tree good enough, except the beautiful Wishing-tree. They came to the king and told him that they feared to fell this sacred tree. But he ordered them to set about it at once. So they went to the garden, and made offerings to the tree, meaning to fell it the next day. But the tree dēvī was plunged into the deepest sorrow when she heard their words and knew that her dear tree was to be destroyed. No one of the other forest dēvas could offer help, when at last the Bōdhisat came thither, and being told of the news, answered hopefully, 'Have no fear, I will see that the tree is not cut down.' *Kusanāḷi Jataka*

Next day, when the carpenters came, the Bōdhisat assumed the form of a chameleon and ran up and down the tree, in and out, so that it seemed to be a hollow tree, and full of holes. Then he rested on the branches and wagged his head to and fro. Seeing this, the master-craftsman, thinking it was a hollow tree, laid his hand on it and exclaimed, 'The tree is rotten, we were too hasty last night in making our offerings, let us be off to find another.' And so they went off full of scorn for the great tree which had been saved by the wisdom of the Bōdhisat.

An equally beautiful *jātaka*, is the Bhadda Śāla Jātaka which I quote in full:

"Long ago, when Brahmadatta, who observed the Ten Duties of a ruler, was reigning in Benāres, there came into his mind this thought, 'Everywhere in India are kings whose palaces have many columns; what if I build a palace supported by a single column only? Then shall I be the first and singular king among all other kings!' So he summoned his craftsmen, and ordered them to build him a magnificent palace supported by a single pillar. 'It shall be done,' they said, and away they went into the forest. *Bhadda Śala Jataka*

There they found a tree, tall and straight, worthy to be the single pillar of such a palace. 'Here are trees,' said they, 'but the road is rough, and we shall never be able to remove them; let us go ask the king what is to be done.' But when they did, the king said,

* *As described on p.* 38.

† '*The Jataka*,' *edited by E. B. Cowell*, 1895—1907. *The Kusanāḷi Jataka is No.* 121 *in Vol. I.*

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Māya-mataya

Bhadda Śala Jataka

'Somehow or other you must bring them, and that immediately.' But they replied, 'Neither somehow nor anyhow can it be done.' 'Then,' said the king, 'look for a tree in my own park.'

So they set out for the park, and there found a lordly śāl tree, straight and beautiful, worshipped by village and town and the royal family alike. They told the king, who answered, 'You have found me a tree in the park; it is well, go now and fell it.' 'So be it,' said they, and returned to the park, taking scented garlands and other offerings in their hands. When they were come back to the great tree, they hung upon it a garland of five branches, and girt it with a cord, fastened a knop of flowers against it and lit a lamp, and so honouring the tree, they spoke thus before it, 'On the seventh day from this we shall fell this tree, for this is the king's command. Let those dēvas who may be dwelling in the tree depart elsewhither, and not unto us be the blame.'

The dēva that dwelt in that tree heard their words, and thought to himself, 'These craftsmen are agreed to fell my tree, and to destroy my home. I myself shall perish when my place of habitation is destroyed. Also the young śāl trees that are all about me will be destroyed; and in them there dwell many dēvas of my kith and kin. My own death touches me not so near as the destruction of my children, let me then save their lives if I may avail thereto.' So at the hour of midnight, the tree-dēva, in the radiance of his divinity, entered the king's resplendent chamber, and stood beside the royal pillow sobbing, his glory lighting up the whole room. At which the king was overcome with fear and surprise, and stammered out, 'What god art thou, that dost appear floating in the air, wearing an angel's garb: what is thy grief, why dost thou weep so heavily?' To which the dēva-prince replied, 'I am called in thy realm, O king, the Lucky-tree; for sixty-thousand years all men have loved and worshipped me. Many a house and town, many a palace too they made, yet never did me wrong; honour thou me, even as they did, O king.' But the king answered, 'Never have I yet seen a trunk so fine, so tall and great of girth, so thick and strong. I shall raise a glorious palace, resting on a single column; there shalt thou long endure.' The dēva-prince answered, 'Since thou are set on my destruction, one thing I ask, to cut me small, cut me piecemeal and limb from limb, O king, if thou must cut at all. Cut first the top, the middle next, and then the root of me—and if so thou fellest me, O king, death will not give me grievous pain.' The king said then, 'This is a painful death—to sever from the living frame first the hands and feet, then nose and ears, and last of all the head. O Lucky-tree, O forest-lord, why will thou thus be cut piecemeal, what gain is thine thereby?' To which the Lucky-tree replied, 'Hearken now while I reveal the meaning of my wish to be felled in pieces—there is a sufficient and a worthy reason for it: my kith and kin have grown up around me, and beneath my shade, I should crush them if I fell entire upon them, and very great would be their sorrow.'

The king was greatly moved at these words and thought within himself, 'This is a noble-minded god that would save the dwellings of his fellows despite the destruction of his own; and he broke into these words, 'O Lucky-tree, O forest lord, thy thought is noble indeed; as thou wouldst save thy kindred, so I shall spare thee, have no more fear.'

Then the dēva-prince spake to the king, and counselled him and left him. And the king took to heart his words, and gave generous gifts and alms, until the time came for his departure to join the hosts of heaven."*

It must not be thought that the only idea in this so-called 'tree-worship' is one of propitiation of a feared unseen power; combined with and softening this feeling, is the old Hindu

*'*The Jataka,' ed. Cowell: No. 465, Vol. IV. I have endeavoured to put the unsympathetic prose and doggerel verse of the original translation into passable English.*

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feeling of sympathy for everything that has life, and desire to avoid injury to living things. It has everywhere been held that, apart from the little organized life of the tree itself, trees and forests are the abode of nature spirits (nymphs, dryads, dēvas, nats, etc.) approximating to, but scarcely reaching the human plane of evolution. Nowhere has this been more the case than in India, where, moreover, a logical perception of the unity of all life is expressed in a repugnance to the destruction of life in any form. *Māyā-mataya*

"A true Hindu would not heedlessly injure the slightest object that has life. A tree is as much a manifestation of the Divine Wisdom and Power as the man himself, and the Dēvas engaged in the building up of a flower, love their work with as much fond regard as the artist, who paints its picture, loves the semblance. The man, who, through thoughtlessness or ignorance, injures these divine works, incurs the anger and ill-will of these elemental workers. Therefore a Hindu in plucking a flower or cutting a twig prays to the Supreme, and asks permission of the industrious ones who have made it. By the very fact that he recognizes their labour and appreciates their actions he propitiates these Sylvan Dēvas and gets their good-will and blessing."*

There is thus a double strand in 'tree-worship'—a desire to avert revenge by due propitiation; and a shrinking from the infliction of injury. In its extremest form, and when the tree-dēva is conceived to be malignant, the first feeling has led even to human sacrifices offered to trees, and this, as it is clear from the literature,† must have been a custom at some long past stage of social development; the other feeling finds expression in the gentle consideration and beautiful ceremonial of the Māyāmataya, verses 20—27, and in the universal Hindu love of trees and forests.

The idea of the actual relation between the dēva and the tree is of a mystical character. The anti-realism of Indian philosophy makes it possible for the most intellectual minds to accept the possibility of other worlds and other beings than those we call material; for even to the material world a merely relative reality is granted,—the phenomenal world exists at all, only in so far as it exists in relation to a mind, and to none of us is it the same identically. Hence the impossibility of questioning the 'reality' of another man's subjective experience, or denying the possible existence of beings of many orders, having a reality as great, but no greater than that of this phenomenal world.

The relation between tree and dēva is symbolically represented in art and literature in various ways. Often a face is drawn amidst the branches‡ to suggest rather than to show the indwelling dēva, whose life is, in a strange way, the tree's life, or bound up with it, yet is not the tree itself. At other times the tree dēva is represented as dwelling in a mansion which is in, or perhaps rather 'at' or 'through,' the tree, and which is not ordinarily visible to human beings.§ This is a form of the well-known folk-lore conception of the 'invisible house.'

The tree-dēva is able to leave the tree, and has its own divine form, conceived as anthropomorphic, yet can assume other forms at will, and on returning, 'enters' the tree and becomes invisible; the dēva's life is ended with that of the tree. Tree dēvas may be either malignant or beneficent. In Ālavakadamanaya the tree-spirit is a man-eating devil; in the Sutasoma Jātaka, a gentle dryad, to whom the man-eating rājā endeavours to make human offerings, in complete misunderstanding of her true character. But otherwise, the tree-spirit is realised as gentle and beneficent, and honoured as such by

* *S. C. Vasu, 'Daily Practice of the Hindus,' pp.* 33, 34.
† *E. G. Sutasoma Jataka, and Alavakadamanaya.*
‡ *As in illustrations to the Sutasoma Jātaka, at Degaldoruva.*
§ *As in Ālavakadamanaya and in pictures made for me, to illustrate it.*

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Maya-mataya

offerings of flowers and sandal paste, and the love of the people; his or her home must be kept clean and pure. There is a wonderful delicacy and beauty in these pagan ideas. There is nothing more characteristic of paganism, than its ideal conception of the purity and delicacy of the personified powers of nature, and of the local habitations of the gods. Just as in Iceland Thorolf Mostbeard laid down that 'no man unwashed should turn his eyes to Holyfell, and that nought should he done to death there, either man or beast,'* so in Ceylon, even the Kapurāla may not enter the dēvāle sanctum unless free from ceremonial defilement, the threshing floor is a sacred and pure place, and the worshipper in a Hindu temple must bathe and put on a clean cloth washed by his own hands ere worshipping, and the inner precincts are closed to those of lower caste who are eaters of meat and otherwise follow the less spiritual modes of life.

Whatever views may be held as to the real meaning of these things, which some would call superstition, and some would call poetry, I am sure at least of this, that *no good will is ever wasted*, and that in the selfish or the loving attitude of men towards even a tree, there is some actual meaning, some real truth, some impulse, which has, in its own way, its own effect. It would be easy to say more, but this will perhaps suffice. Before turning, however, from this subject, to me of such great interest, I will throw a sop to the philistine, as follows: these feelings and ideas, whether they be regarded as 'superstitious' or not, have nevertheless a practical aspect; for the Indian objection to the unnecessary destruction of trees and forests, however sentimental, would have checked or prevented such a wholesale destruction of forest as has now, for example, turned whole districts in Ceylon into nightmare prospects of unending tea plantations, reduced the rainfall, and increased both the rate of soil erosion in the hills, and the liability of the lowlands to disastrous floods, at the same time necessitating so strict a preservation of the remaining timber that the husbandman is hard put to it to get the wood needed for fences, ploughs and the like, and the householder to get the timber needed for the massive construction of houses such as those of a century ago.

It is time to return from this digression to the Māyāmataya itself.

Of particular interest are the verses speaking of good and evil craftsmen, and their fate in this life and in lives to come. It must be understood that in the old days a man's trade was the heaven-ordained work of his caste or guild, and the resulting idea of *noblesse oblige*, together with the sanction for morality which the doctrine of *karma* carries with it, had something to do with the excellence of the old craftsmen's work.

Some of the verses devoted to practical advice are shrewd and even obvious, as the warning not to build on a site which is wet even in dry weather (v. 243); the recommendation to grow such fruits as jak, coconut, mango, and sugar-cane about the house (v. 266). The work, in fact, appears to contain a practical nucleus of sound advice, now much corrupted, misunderstood and overlaid by meaningless superstition. It is, nevertheless, of interest as revealing some of the ideas associated by the architect with his work, and giving details of methods of construction and social customs of which mention might not be readily found elsewhere. A summary now follows:

Summary of Māya-mataya,

Summary and partial translation of the Māyāmataya:

1—5. Invocation of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

5—9. Of those for whom the book is intended, viz., learned and skilful architects.

10—14. "They who know but the (bare) meaning of words sport not in forest of poesy. (But now) let one who is wise (even) in the speech of common folk abide in the forest of poetic sport. I sing in common speech, the meaning of what is written in the ślōkas,

* *Erbyggja Saga.*

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in Sinhalese that is meet for all. O master builders,* this is an incomparable book, written in the common tongue, which if any one regard with the eye of wisdom, 'twere for the bettering of work in this world. . . . How to build houses aright, what site and month are meet, how beams should be cut, to explain, I shall unfold the virtues of Māyāmataya." *Maya-mataya*

15—16. Of inauspicious months.

17—19. Of bad omens when setting about the work.

20—27. Directions for felling the 'auspicious post' (*magul kapa*).

(20) "Know this O builders, when the *magul kapa* is to be felled, that you should go to the tree's root and clear it round about, (21) draw the *aṭamagala* diagram, set filled pots in the four corners, sprinkle sandal-milk, (22) the next day go and speak as follows: 'Thou *Dēva* dwelling in this tree, be pleased to leave the tree, if thou dost wish well to my house,' (23) thus praying, break a branch from the tree, lay it on the ground, drag it away and throw it beneath another tree, (24) clean and order that tree trunk, scatter flowers, betel, sandal, and say 'I pray thee, *Dēva*, go to this tree and give thine own to me.'† (25) Having thus besought the *Dēva*, hearken how to fell and take away the tree thus won by prayer, and what manner of man should fell the tree. (26) Of moderate hue, without a blemish even so large as a gingelly seed, neither over tall nor over short, with long hair like a peacock's train, (27) with hairy chest and downy cheeks—nought amiss with his limbs—by such persons should this be done."

28—38. What sorts of trees are not suitable, sex of tree, &c.

(30) "A tree thin at the top is female, say the ṛishis; one thin in the middle is of neither sex; (31) a tree of one thickness throughout from root to end, should you see such an one, know without doubt it is a male; (32—35) if it be thin at the top, a fierce *yakiṇi* is dwelling in that tree, fell it not; (33) but if you see a tree with a trunk like a drum, cut that tree for the house, and take it for the *magul kapa*, no harm will follow. (34) If you fell a tree with a hollow trunk to build your house, fear and sorrow will result, bringing every kind of evil on the house. . . . (38) For dwellings of priests (*saṅghārāma*), and for *dēvāles*, for lion thrones (*siṃhāsana*) and for royal palaces (*rājamandira*) it is well to choose a *mī* tree (*Bassia longifolia*) for the *magul kapa*."

39—41. Omens drawn from the manner in which the tree falls.

(39) "When cutting down the *magul kapa*, cut a furrow round the tree, and thus felling the *magul kapa*, mark which way it falls, consider what advantage or disadvantage will result, learn from the direction of its fall whether the builder should build or not. (49) If it falls to the East from the place where it is felled, the utmost wisdom will be attained by the owner of the house; if to the South, that gives long life; if to the West, a shifty mind . . . . . ."

42—45. Of measurements.

(42) "Taking the *magul kapa* thus duly felled, note that a cubit (*riyana*) is measured thus—a right cubit, a span and four fingers, thus the *vaḍu-riyana* (craftsman's cubit) is measured by builders. (43—45) For five cubits in length, verily the breadth should be three; for six and a half cubits in length, take surely for the house three and a half in breadth. . . . If eleven cubits be taken for the length of the house, let it be just seven and half in

The word 'vaḍu' (vaḍuvō) I have translated 'builders,' as it means something much more than a mere carpenter, and yet not an 'architect' who only designs and does no work himself. The various uses of the word are explained in Chapter III.

†*The whole of this procedure is related in the very beautiful Bhadda Śāla Jātaka, quoted above; see also Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' 1821, p. 171, and 'Service Tenures Commission,' 1872, p. 461, and p. 38 of this book.*

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breadth. (46) If the length be overmuch, the housewife will die, if the breadth, death will result to the goodman, but if the house be duly meted, every blessing and joy will follow, therefore do not make the breadth or length overmuch or overlittle."

47—50. Omens connected with the erection of the *magul kapa*.

51—55. Offering to nature spirit dwelling on the chosen site.

(51) "When preparing the pit to set up the *magul kapa*, make offerings of sandal, rice, flowers and lamps, and virgin spikes of the king coconut; (52) prepare the *bali* thus and set it near the *magul kapa*, put offerings both of gold and silver in the pit; (53) if betimes you do not seek the *Vāsu Dēvī's** foot great misfortunes will befall the house, every person in it will be destroyed. . . . (55) For the weal of men of this world, rishis of old gave forth the word, no jest their speech, therefore build houses in such wise as to avert misfortune."

56—61. Of the *Bhūma Nāga*, etc.

(56) "In the three months of the Goat, Yama, and the Sun, dwells the *Bhūma Nāga* laying tail to West and head to East, back to the North and belly to the South; (57) in the three months of the Crab, the Lion and the Virgin he sleeps with tail to the North and head to the South, back to the East and belly to the West; (58) in the three months of the Scales, the Scorpion and the Bow he lies with tail to the East and head to the West, back to the South and belly to the North; (59) in the three months of the Makara, the Water-pot and Fish the *Bhūma Nāga Rāja* lies tail to the South and head to the North, back to the East and belly to the West; (60) set up the trunk, knowing the portent of the *Bhūma Nāga* dwelling thus, prepare the site for the house, marking the four corners, make *bali* offering in eight corners for the *yakshas* to enjoy. (61) Take *ghī*, milk-rice, sugarcane and jaggery, *idda* flowers (*Wrightia zeylanica*), take oil, and twist a wick, take sandal, *ratmal* (*Ixora coccinea*), betel, camphor, and let the *ęduru* (*kapurāla*) make offerings in the four corners of the house."

(The peculiarities of the *Bhūma Nāga* (Earth Serpent) and omens connected are not further explained, nor is it clear that any offerings are to be made to him).

62—72. Of various *yakshas*, not named, occupying the different quarters, facing which the house should not be built until they have been propitiated by various offerings.

73—81. Of *Nāga* chiefs, occupying the different quarters, and the appropriate offerings to be made to them.

82—87. Knowledge of sites suitable for men of the four castes.

88—89. Of setting up the four corner posts.

(89) "In the four corners set up the four posts of four colours thus, (viz.) at one time; if set up at two or three (different) times they will not endure, so sayeth Māyāmataya, be sure of it."

90. Of doors. "If the cubit (*riyana*) be divided by the builder into four parts, each of them is called a foot (*pādaya*): take eight feet for the height of the door and four and a half in width."

91—93. Of the auspicious quarter in which to cut earth for the house ('the first sod'), viz., the N.E.

94—96. On the auspicious quarter on which to sink the well, viz., the N.E.

97—98. Of auspicious months, days, asterisms (*nękat*) and aspects.

100. Of moving in: "Take my friend, rice from a virgin's hand, let a pregnant woman pound that grain, and after you have cooked it, invite Brahman priests to the house, thereafter choosing a lucky hour, move in the goods and chattels."

* *i.e., the tutelary deity of the site, the 'Genius Loci.'*

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101—109. Of the auspicious quarters on which to set cattle sheds, stables, dung heap, buffalo-shed, kitchen, *dēvāle*, copper workshop, a *Beṛeṇḍi kōvil*, a *Gaṇapati kōvil*, cooly 'lines,' smithies (*kammal*), and goldsmiths (*ranakura*) workshops, festal houses, houses for *kaṃbura* and *tarahala* smith's families, for *beravayō*, dhobies, potters (*kuṃbakarayō*), flower sellers (*mālākārayō*), vihāra and kōvil. The laying out of a small town with a royal residence in the midst of it, is what is here considered, as expressly stated in verse 115 below. *Māya-mataya*

110—118. Of fences, and omens drawn from the measuring.

(115) "This is the science of laying out a town, that fame, riches, and plenty may result; if you know not how to build a town thus, evil will befall both king and town."

119—130. Of good and evil craftsmen:

(119) "Builders that build houses thus (aright), after their death will be reborn in a royal family; painters, if they make images accordingly, will be born in noble families: (120) cunning and skilful builders, though they should die, are friends of mine, for an they do, they become rulers and nobles, such is the old saying of the ṛishis. (121) One who knows amiss his craft, taking hire wrongfully, the which wife and children eat and enjoy, bringing misfortune on the owner of the house, (122) that builder after his death will fall into hell and suffer: these sayings are in Māyāmataya, what then, O builders, is to be done? (123) There are men who make images of Buddha, though knowing nought of their craft; put no faith in what they say. (124) Builders and painters both who wot nought of their craft, when hire is given according to the work accomplished, take that money and rush home therewith; (125) though they get thousands, there is nothing even for a meal, they have not so much as a piece of cloth to wear; that is the reward of past births, you know; (126) dying, they fall into hell and suffer pain a hundred lacs of years; if they escape, they will possess a body deformed and live in great distress and want; (127) when born as a man it will be as a needy builder; the painters eyes will squint—look ye, what livelihood can be for him? (128) Builders who know their business well, will become rājās lacking nought, so also cunning painters are meet to become nobles. (129) Builders and painters taking money falsely from other men, thereby grow poor, so ancient sages have declared and shewn; (130) doubt not this saying was in the Māyāmataya book of ṛishis' lore; therefore let builders and painters study Māyāmataya; misfortunes ensuing both in this world and the next are told of in the ślōkas, behold in how excellent a manner."

130—141. What month and phases of the moon are auspicious for various buildings, e.g.:

(132) "Skilful and cunning builders make a *buddālaya* in Vesak month, or *dēvāles*, as for Vishṇu Deviyō; (133) even so, ye painters make images of gods and Buddha with zeal in Durutu month. . . ."

142. "If the birth house (*sutabāmiya*) be set four cubits distant from the house, on the North-east, it will be well: but if it be set twelve cubits from the house, wealth of cattle will perish, the ṛishis say."

143—145. Of various auspicious and inauspicious dimensions.

146—151. Of remedies for various misfortunes befalling the inmates, by removal of earth from particular places in the house, wherein the cause of the evil is thought to be buried.

152—163. Of the peculiarities of houses of various dimensions.

164—191. Of days good for building, and further astrological information as to auspicious months, *ṇekat* (asterisms) and dimensions.

192—214. Of the seven '*sira*' (*Girikulu*, *Valmika*, *Mahanduva*, *Maha*, *Kappa*, *Manda*, *Uva*), the evil effects of which are to be avoided, and of the different kinds of land by name, according to the shape, and their virtues (*Ayatana*, *Parnika*, *Ivat*, *Samanala*). Emphasis

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Māya-mataya

is laid on the importance of removing stones and potsherds, poisonous roots and creepers, otherwise disease and death will follow.

215—223. Of five divisions of a land (*Nanda*, *Bhaddra*, *Jayā*, *Rikta*, *Pūrṇa*), and the three parts of each, making fifteen in all, and of the results of building on one or the other of these parts.

224—227. Of the portent of various plants growing on the site. Iron in the soil will lead to death.

228—232. Classification of lands into seven kinds.

233—255. Of other sorts of land according to shape, colour of soil, etc., thus: (240) "What would befall a man who should build a house on land of the hue of gold and graphite? He will have gold, silver, iron and riches. (241) The man who chooses land free from stones to build a house will have cattle and no sickness, it has many virtues profitable to all. (243) Land that is wet at the time when there is no rain is bad. O sir! if a house be built then, it will be involved in sickness night and day."

256—260. Of various trees which should be removed before building. The holes made by their removal are to be filled with earth from another place, and the house may be built a year, or six months later.

261. Apparently an old proverb. "If any person build a house in the middle of a village he will become the chief of the clan (*kulaya*); many who have not seen the ślōkas of *Māyāmataya* do not believe it."

262—268. Further mention of lands of different colours or having certain plants growing on them. Of good fruit trees. Of other auspicious and inauspicious trees, thus:

(266) "All such fruits as jak and coconut, mango, *daṃba*, sugarcane and mandarins grown on the land about the house are of excellent flavour"; (but v. 268 mentions mangos amongst trees which should be removed).

68—271. Of white-ant hills. Contradictory views of different ṛishis are mentioned.

272—281. Of levelling the ground and the results. Further warning against ant hills. Do not build on a graveyard. Of auspicious plants.

283. Colophon. "In the year 1759 of Śaka era, when the sun was in the 'Scales,' on the fifteenth day of the month; in this year was the ślōka book taken by me, and this book of 281 verses finished."

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CHAPTER VI. WOODWORK.

'He taketh a crooked piece of wood, and full of knots, and carveth it with the diligence of his idleness, and shapeth it by the skill of his indolence.'—ECCLESIASTES.

WE have seen that Kandyan architecture is one typically of wooden, not of stone construction. It should be remembered that the general use of wood for building domestic utensils is a survival from very early times, and that while on the Indian continent wood was very largely superseded by stone as a building material, in Ceylon the indigenous style remained to the last one of wooden architecture. It is therefore natural that much of the best Kandyan woodwork should be architectural, and that it should derive a special charm from its architectural adaptation. The timbered hall and roof at their best are such as any people might be proud of, comparable with the lesser sort of Gothic timbered hall and roof; the carved doors and windows are at once decorative and constructional; and every detail is of artistic and historic interest. The constant richness and variety of carving, and its close relation to the nature of the material are always pleasing; and we never find it so disposed as to interfere with the utility of beam or frame; it appears almost always as if it were an essential and necessary part of the constructional work.

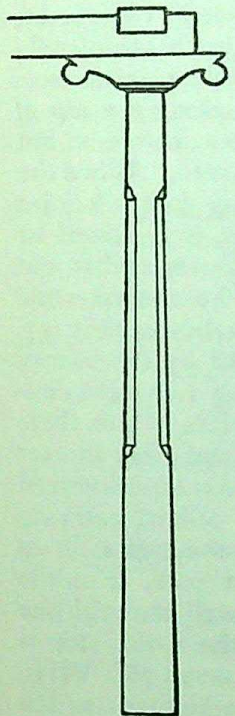

Fig. 73. Plain pillar, verandah of headman's house, Uva.

Fig. 74. Carved wooden pillar (Bell, Kēgalla Report).

The wooden pillar (*kapa*) is the constructional element most in evidence. In the simplest form the pillar is slightly chamfered, except at the two ends, which remain rectangular in section; it may taper slightly, or remain of one diameter throughout. In the majority of cases, however, the elementary form is more greatly modified, becoming an octagonal shaft with rectangular base and capital, the continuity of the octagonal part being broken by a brief return to the plain section, forming a central cube. The latter especially is carved with a great variety of design, lions, *gaja-siṃhayō*, *haṃsayō*, dancers, etc.; the octagonal facets may be also carved, with *bō*-leaf forms or their derivatives; the capital with garlands of pearls (*mutu-ḍęla*, pearl-net, A in Fig. 74); and the base with horizontal stepped incisions (*asana-kaḍaya*, D in Fig. 74) a most characteristic feature. The points of transition from rectangular or octagonal section are softened by knops in the form of a conventional cobra's hood (*nāga bandha*, B in Fig. 74) or scroll of *liya pata* ornament (*gęṭa-liya-pota*, C in Fig. 74).

A considerable variety of turned wood pillars is also met with, but less often than the thirmed; or very rarely a pillar is part turned, part square (Bell, Kęgalla Report, p. 22, Kumbukgama). Wooden pillars often rest on a stone base as a protection against white ants; where the whole building rests on low stone pillars, the wood pillars are morticed into huge beams forming the framework of the floor. A separate carved capital or bracket (*pē-kaḍaya*; not *goṇęs*,

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which is a carved *rafter*) almost invariably intervenes between the pillar and the beams (*daṇḍu*) which it is to carry (Pl. VII., 4, and Fig. 73). These may be comparatively plain (Pl. X. 3), but are more often carved in pendent lotus forms (Pl. X., 4, 5); occasionally this issues from the mouth of a *śerapeṇḍiya*; sometimes the downward face of the flower is occupied by a dancer, a *haṃsa-pāṭṭuva* or other design in place of petals, as in a small

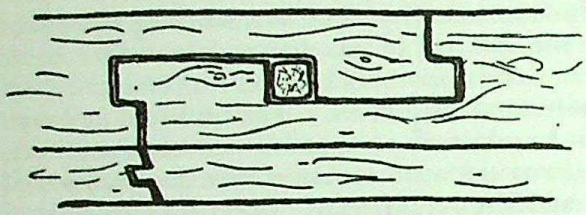

Fig. 75. Scarf joint in large beam, Gaṇēgoḍa, Sab. Beam 8½ in. thick.

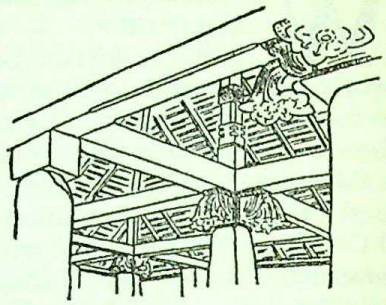

Fig. 76. Timbered roof of *ambalam* at Maṅgalagama.

ambalam by a *bō*-tree at Vēkoladeṇiya, Four Kōrales. The bracket is made in two pieces, fitting together, and when these are crossed together, the four-faced bracket is completed; the top of the pillar itself is morticed into the bracket through the centre of the parts crossed. The massive beams resting upon these brackets and the framing beams along the top of vihāra walls are often chamfered but otherwise rarely carved. When the size of the building makes a joint (Fig. 75) necessary, it is placed by choice immediately over a pillar, but not always so. The characteristic type of scarf joint is shown in Fig. 75. The roof is spanned by the beams, forming the basis of a boarded ceiling, generally painted. Upon these horizontal beams stand other shorter uprights (Fig. 76), sometimes carved in the fashion of pillars, carrying the ridge-beam of the roof as in an ordinary 'king-post' roof; from the ridge-piece to the wall plate run the rafters of which the under side is often elaborately carved (Pl. VIII., above); over these are nailed 'reepers' (laths) which carry the tiles. The carved rafters project to form overhanging eaves, as seen in Pl. VIII., above. In the same picture will be seen the curious wooden rod (*idda*) which passes through the rafters just beneath the eaves,

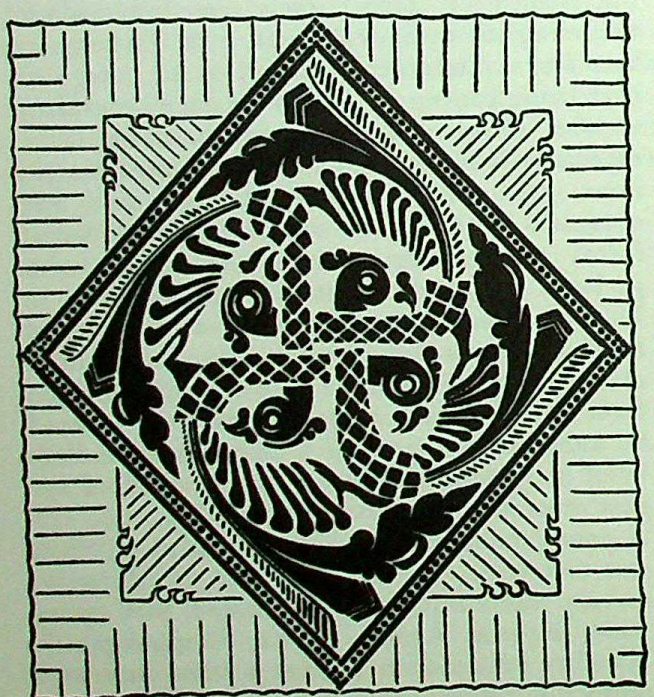

Fig. 77. Under side of *pē-kaḍaya*, carved with *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*, Vēkoladeṇiya, ×½.

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connecting them together. In some cases this rod is elaborately carved and twisted, as at Ridī Vihāra. Its accuracy and satisfactory construction are severe tests of good craftsmanship. *Woodwork*

There is usually a verandah to all important buildings, in which case a characteristic peculiarity of the roof appears, viz., the change of slope which gives a pagoda-like appearance to many Kandyan buildings. This results from the separate construction and different slope of the main roof and the verandah roof. In some cases the latter is a good deal lower than the main roof, so that the verandah is practically a lean-to against the wall of the main building (Pl. VII., 5) giving the false appearance of a two-storied building; if a window is pierced, the effect of a clerestory is produced. The change of slope is sometimes emphasized by different tiling of the two parts of the roof. *Roofs*

In the case of open buildings having a double series of pillars, but no walls, the change of slope of the roof takes place naturally and constructionally over the inner series of pillars. In this case, then, the 'verandah' becomes part of the main building related to the central space as aisle to nave in a church. The Kandy 'Audience Hall' illustrates this type of building well. It is described by Mr. Lewis* as follows:

"The audience hall of the kings, which is now used as a court-house, consists of a high-pitched roof supported by four rows of wooden pillars arranged so as to form a nave with its aisles, supported on a stone platform and without walls, the building being open on all sides. The pillars . . . support heavy beams and a king-post roof. The wall plates are elaborately carved and support carved terminals. The roof projects considerably over the pillars. The slope of the roof over the aisles is at a less acute angle than that of the roof over the main part of the building."

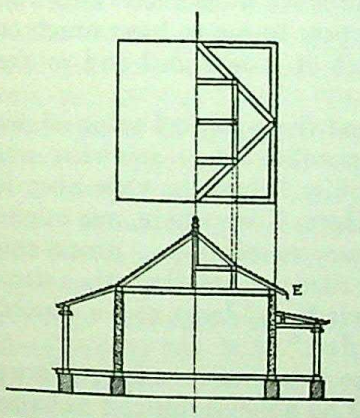

Fig. 78. Diagram of vihāra types, showing transition from lean-to verandah, to hipped roof.

The change of slope is also frequently seen in walled buildings lacking a verandah, and is then the result of special construction of the main roof; into which the verandah roof is, as it were, absorbed (Pl. VII., 1, 2). We seem to have the following pedigree;—lean-to verandah of a cave-temple; lean-to verandah of constructional vihāra; verandah raised to roof level (Pl. VII., 7) retaining difference of slope; adoption of same form in main roof even when verandah is absent (Pl. VII., 1, 2); and to that an historically speaking secondary lean-to verandah may be added (Pl. VII., 5). The principles are easily applied in the further elaborated case of buildings of two or more stories, such as dēvāles, and a few vihāras (Daḷadā Māligāva, etc.)

Roofed walls and gates must be referred to. Where a vihāra or dēvāle was of some importance, the garth about it was walled in with a mud and rubble wall, tiled as a protection against rain, or even covered with a timbered and tiled roof, as at the Saman Dēvāle, Ratnapura. Even

* '*The Book of Ceylon*,' *by H. W. Cave*, 1908, *p.* 326. *Mr. Lewis adds that the building was begun in* 1784 *by Rajādhi Raja Simha, but not completed until after the British occupation. The pillars were still being carved about* 1820. *They are made of halmilla* (*Berrya amonilla*), *brought from Nalanda, thirty miles distant. Excellent illustrations* (*Nos.* 444 *and* 445) *accompany Mr. Lewis' description. The architect was Dēvēndra Mulācariya, whose tragic end is related on p.* 59, *above.*

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Woodwork

Roofs

where the wall was not roofed, the entrances often were, as shown in Fig. 79, so that the whole effect was similar to that of the wall and lych gate of an English church and churchyard.

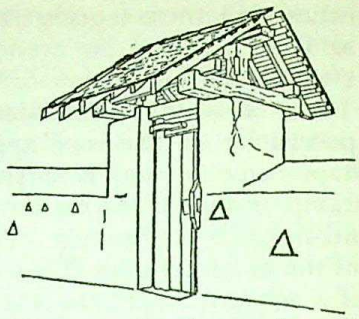

Fig. 79. Lych gate in wall of vihāra garth at Gaṇēgoḍa, Sab., showing timbering of roof. The tiles are missing on one side. The triangular niches in the wall are for lamps at the *kārti maṅgalya*.

The projection of the roofs of Kandyan buildings to a considerable distance beyond the pillars or walls is a noticeable feature. This is an adaptive character. As Mr. Lewis remarks, the "overhanging eaves are specially suited to a rainy climate like that of most of the Kandyan country, and serve to protect the walls from becoming sodden. They have, therefore, instinctively been adopted by the Kandyans, and in this the native builders show more sense than European architects in Kandy and Colombo, who are fond of erecting buildings with elaborate cement or plaster façades which speedily look weather-beaten and shabby, and the walls of which get soaked through annually and therefore soon deteriorate." The characteristic eaves tiles also serve as a 'weather-boarding' to protect the walls, and are thus constructional as well as decorative. It is needless to remark that Government, as in India, have consistently ignored the local building traditions, thus at the same time striking at the foundation of the arts and crafts of the country, and incurring needless trouble and expense through ignorance. Yet they have been told more than once of their errors. In 1868, Mr. Russell, Government Agent at Jaffna, wrote to Government regarding the preservation of ancient buildings, observing at the same time, "the study of such works might possibly produce a beneficial effect on the draughtsmen of the Public Works Department, who appear to me to have much to learn in respect of adapting a building to the use for which it is intended and to the conditions of climate under which it must be occupied."*

But the Government remains equally blind to the artistic and the practical value of the traditional crafts; and the Europeanised Sinhalese are, if possible, more ignorant and deluded. To take one instance only; at the Musæus Buddhist School in Colombo, it was decided to build a little temple for the use of the girls. Here, if anywhere, one might have looked for some appreciation of tradition, some elementary conception of fitness and the association of ideas; but no—the local paper informs us that the building "is a very pretty structure, a vaulted roof with a fine dome, gothic windows, doors and a porch, with parapet battlements of classic design, being very effective."

As Mr. Lewis remarks, "It is lamentable to see everywhere this process taking place; old and artistic Kandyan work is being removed and replaced by nondescript and hideous modern work after the style of the petty masons and contractors of the low country. The new temples are adorned with plaster masonry, sometimes representing sham venetian blinds, bastard and attenuated Gothic pointed arches are introduced; the Kandyan wooden pillars give way to round ones of brick plastered over, of the stock quasi-classical pattern that was introduced into the bungalows of the early English occupation; the doorways have semicircular arches with poor mouldings; the door panels and mouldings are painted in ugly loud colours which with the panels and mouldings have a Dutch character, but lack the massiveness and picturesqueness of their Dutch originals; and the pretty quaint

* *Manual of the North Central Province, p.* 215.

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little windows are being replaced by rectangular openings filled in with ugly wooden bars."* *Woodwork*

Doors were framed wooden structures, fitted and pegged together, and built into the substance of the wall; but some vihāras had door-frames of stone. The doors were either one or two-leaved, having tenons above and below, turning in sockets in the frame; hinges are very rarely seen in old work. The parts of a complete door and frame included the two *uluvahu-kaṇu* or *kaṇḍa* (door posts), *paḍi-kaṇḍa* (threshold), *haras-kaḍaya* (lintel), *bā-pata* (horizontal plank at lintel level, to carry upper tenon of leaf), *agul-kaṇuva* ('bolt-post,' upright carrying wood bolt), *agula* (bolt), and the door leaf itself (*dora hiṭinā lęlla*). An additional horizontal, above the *haras-kaḍaya* and between an upward extension of the jambs, is called *uttara lęlla*, and is generally decorated. *Doors*

Door jambs are almost always carved, sometimes very elaborately, as in the example from Dippiṭiya Vihāra figured by Mr. Bell (Kęgalla Report). The usual arrangement shows a *palā-peti* moulding at the inner angle, and *liya vęla* ('branch') ornament on the front; at the base on either side, a carved representation of a guardian deity in low relief, or a figure of a dancer, or an elephant or other form, above which come the '*āsana kaḍaya*' incisions so characteristic of Kandyan woodwork (e.g. Fig. 74, D), then a *gęṭa liya pota* or *nāga bandha*, from which the rest of the carved jamb begins and continues. The lintel may be straight or arched, and plain or carved. In some cases all the carving referred to is executed in ivory and thus applied in lieu of carving the jamb itself (Pl. XXXVIII., 1).

There are some good examples of Kandyan doors in the Colombo Museum. Mr. Bell describes the leaves and one jamb of a door from Devanagala in the following words: "The carving of the borders is exceedingly delicate. The framework of the panels is in high relief, the ten panels themselves being plain. The outer borders, upper and lower, are carved in the universal foliage scroll with inner bevelled edges of *palā peti*: the centre border (overlapping the right side plank so as to hide the line of junction when the door is closed) has a perpendicular band of tiny *nāṛi-latā*. The door swung on tenons in a socketed sill and lintel. The carving of the jamb is equally tasteful. Behind an outer beading and inner splayed edge of lotus petals runs a long narrow panel with gracefully intertwined double scroll of creeper—separating four figures, all different from each other. A space half moulded, half panelled, in flower design, intervenes between it and the base panel, in which is placed besides a tree an elephant with head and right forefoot raised, and curled trunk. The disappearance of the fellow jamb, lintel, and sill are much to be regretted."

Another fine door remains at Devanagala; it is illustrated on Pl. VII., Fig. 8, and is thus described by Mr. Bell: "The present vihārē is a modern tiled building of brick and clay, 35 ft. 5 in. by 16 ft. 4 in., unplastered and ugly. Into the outer wall have been fitted the wooden doorframes and double-winged doors taken from an older vihārē. The door on the east side, which is much weatherworn, is panelled in six elongated compartments containing figures of dancers and animals, bevelled in lotus-petal pattern and framed by tiny pitting and wide border of lotuses." Another doorway, that of the Dippiṭiya Vihāra, is figured in the Kęgalla Report.

There is much good woodwork remaining at Vaṭṭārāma, Pinnavala, Kaḍigomuva, Levkē and other vihāras in the Three or Four Kōrāles. The work at Pinnavala and Kaḍigomuva, says Mr. Bell, is "a storehouse of information on Sinhalese sacred and secular zoology and conventional floral design." The Malvatte and Asgiriya Pansalas in Kandy are full

* *H. W. Cave, 'Book of Ceylon,' p.* 342.

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Woodwork of good eighteenth century woodwork. In the Kandy Museum there are also remains of fine doors and door-frames and other architectural woodwork.

Bolts Bolts in the case of one-leaf doors were wooden pins working in an upright post (*agul kaṇuva*) set against the inside of the jamb. The free side of this post was often shaped on the model of ordinary wooden pillars, but otherwise very rarely carved; but the bolt itself afforded an opportunity, too good to miss, for elaborate decoration, but never such as to interfere with its use (Figs. 80 and 81; and Pl. XI., 2).

Another type of wooden bolt (sometimes called *daṇḍu-agula*) is used on two-leaved doors and window shutters; the nature of this form will be best understood from the illustration (Figs. 82, 83). These bolts can be opened from without by means of a long curved iron rod passed through a small hole in the door (cf. Bell, Kēgalla Report, p. 21, Bamuṇugama Dēvāle).

Windows Windows were of two main types, the first identical with the ordinary Kandyan door on a small scale, the second fitted with lacquered wooden bars. Those of the first type, as Mr. Lewis remarks, are constructed in every respect like doors, having a massive frame, and a single or double leaf fastened by a bolt. There are typical windows of this character at Kuṇḍasāle and Degaldoruva Vihāras; the latter with elegant iron bars. Mr. Lewis figures one,* no longer *in situ*, which is remarkable for its circular bolt and hinged leaf; it shows very well the typical arched lintel, equally characteristic of doors and windows. The arches are sometimes double, as in the door-lintel shown in Pl. VII., 8. Such windows are sometimes provided with two lights, as in one case at Malvatte, also figured by Mr. Lewis.† When, as in this case, and in that of the window of Pl. IX., 3, the window is also provided with wooden bars, we have an approach to the character of the second type of window. There is in the Kandy Museum a remarkable window‡ of two lights, which I rescued from the remains of a house at Nālanda. In this, as Mr. Lewis remarks, we have "the tracery of decorated or perpendicular Gothic, with a double ogee arch, independently developed."

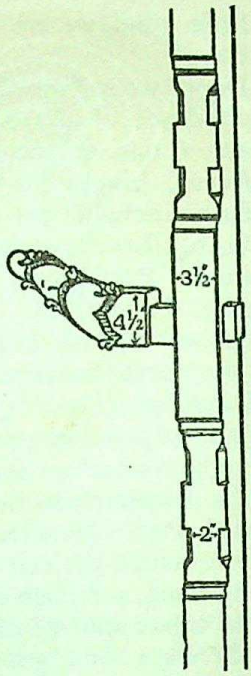

Fig. 80. *Agul kaṇuva* and *agula* (bolt-post and bolt) from door at Asgiriya Pansala.

Windows of the second type are long and low, consisting of a long rectangular frame fitted with turned and lacquered wooden bars, and without doors or shutters; Pl. IX., 2, shows such a window, in the wall of the refectory at Malvatte Pansala. Mr Lewis figures a similar window from Laṅkātilaka. He also notes that in a *pansala* window at Kuṇḍasāle Vihāra, which has seven turned bars, the two outer bars are not in the same plane with the other five, but further recessed, apparently to give variety and greater play of light and shade.

Bridges I am not acquainted with any remains of Kandyan wooden bridges of any importance. I quote, however, from the Mahāvaṃsa (Ch. LXX.) an account of one built over the river Kāḷavāpi by the General Deva-Senāpati by command of King Parākrama Bāhu I.; it was "a bridge of timber, two hundred cubits in length and twenty cubits in breadth, fastened

* *Cave*, '*The Book of Ceylon*,' *Figs.* 507, 509.
† *Loc. cit. Fig.* 506.
‡ *Figured by Mr. Lewis, loc. cit. Fig.* 505.

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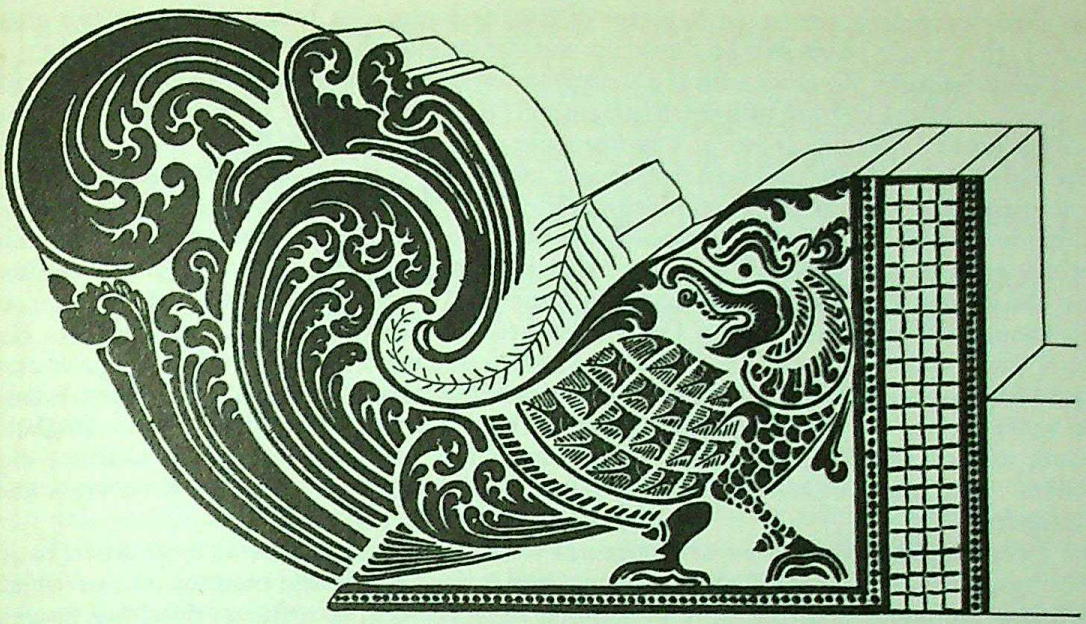

Fig. 81. Wooden door-bolt (*agula*) with '*ṣṛapeṇḍiya*,' *arimbuva* border, and *kuṇḍi-rakkan* diaper. From an eighteenth century door at Malvatte Pansala. Compare with Pl. XI., 2. Nearly half size of original.

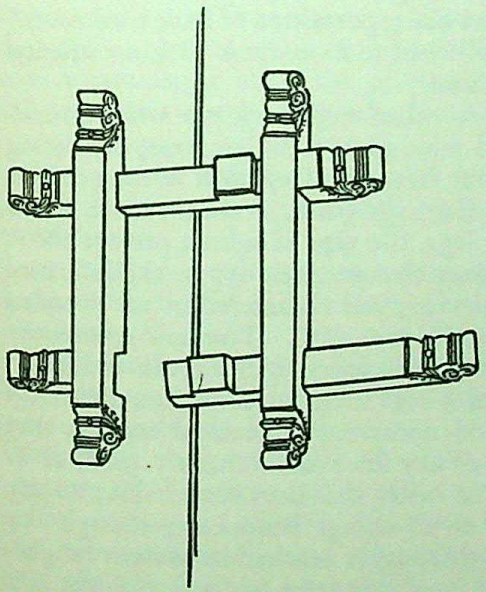

Fig. 82. Door-bolt (*daṇḍu-agula*), from eighteenth century double door at Malvatte Pansala.

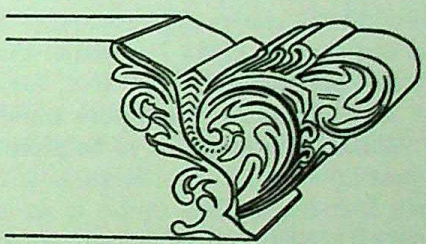

Fig. 83. Detail of Fig. 82.

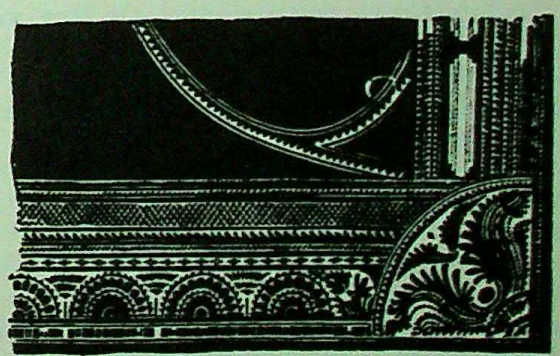

Fig. 84. Carved plank bed; detail of ornament; for entire bed see Pl. X., 6.

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Woodwork and made exceeding strong with plates of iron and pegs,—a bridge of exceeding great beauty, that could be passed by elephants and horses and chariots and footmen."

Bridges The simplest form of wooden bridge (*edaṇḍa*) now everywhere seen is a single tree-trunk passing from bank to bank of a small stream. If the stream is too wide to be spanned by a single trunk, piles are driven and two or more trunks laid across them.

The chief forms of architectural woodwork have now been noted. The construction is very massive, and would endure indefinitely were it not for the activity of white ants, which is such that it may be doubted if any woodwork really ancient now survives, while such as remains is so generally neglected that it cannot last very much longer. Only last year the ancient Pohoya Maḷuva Vihāra in Kandy had to be pulled down and rebuilt from this cause, as prophecied in "An Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs," an appeal for the better preservation of ancient buildings in Ceylon, published in 1905; a little regular care would have prevented the necessity for this; needless to say no modern work can in any real sense replace the old (for the same reasons that modern Gothic restoration in England cannot replace Mediæval work); which if any one should doubt let him examine the modern 'Kandyan' ambalams built by District Engineers at Kēgalla, Ruvanvela and Ratnapura.

The foregoing observations on architectural woodwork have a general application to all buildings, such as vihāras, dēvāles, palaces, and ambalams, in the construction of which craftsmen are concerned, but only in a much reduced form to ordinary dwelling houses, which each man made for himself. These were constructed of smaller timber tied with jungle ropes, and the walls of wattle and daub, the roof thatched.

The sumptuary laws forbade any elaborate domestic architecture. Major Forbes* states that "the king did not permit any person to have a house two storeys high, nor to build one with windows, nor even to roof with tiles nor whitewash mud walls, without obtaining the royal sanction." Davy† remarks that "The dwellings of the people in general . . . are invariably thatched; only those of the highest rank being permitted to have tiled roofs." Only the king's palace and religious building were allowed to have doors with ornamental tops, or finials to the roofs, or to be plastered with lime.

Domestic woodwork We pass now to the consideration of domestic and other woodwork not architectural.

Beds The plain four-legged bed (*eṇḍa*) is an ancient and wide-spread Indian form, consisting of a frame of netted rope or rattan, supported by four feet. In Ceylon it is essentially a wooden frame (*eṇḍa viyala*) of four parts, and with four legs (*kakul*); usually with a low head-rest in addition, morticed into the two upper legs, the tops of which project above the frame for this purpose (Pl. IX., 7). In the most characteristic types, the influence of architectural forms is evident, the legs being thirmed, and chamfered as are wooden pillars (Pl. XII., 4-7); turned and lacquered legs are also met with. The now commoner turned and carved four-post beds in general use owe their form to European influence, mainly Dutch; it is curious that there still exists a real style in furniture, based on eighteenth century European; a more dignified and massive architectural style is that really proper to the country, but so little furniture of any kind was formerly used, as to make it natural for the European forms to come in with the European habit; to say nothing of the prevalent mania for the imitation of all things European; though the semi-Dutch style of furniture was arrived at before that mania reached its present height. The mattress was formed of rope or rattan netting; over this were laid a few cloths and mats and a pillow, the sleeper covering himself from head to foot with cloth or cotton

* *Vol. I., p.* 78. *See also Tennent, 4th ed., Vol. II., p.* 195.
† '*Travels in Ceylon,' p.* 256.

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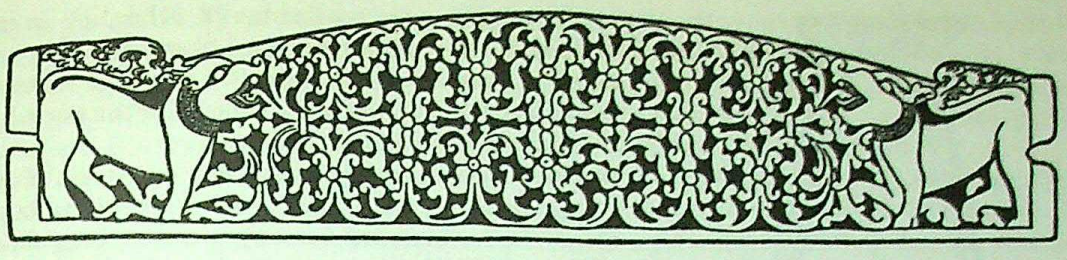

Fig. 85. Carved and pierced bed-head: said to have been used by Rāja Siṃha I. From Kabalamulla Dēvāle, where the turned wooden legs are also preserved.

blanket. Plank beds are rarely met with; the beautiful example of Pl. X., 6, is almost a solitary instance; the 'chip' carving is better shown in Fig. 84. The low head-rest or rather head-board is sometimes finely carved (Pls. IX., 7; XI., 3; and Fig. 85).

Stools

Turning now to stools and chairs, we remark at once that the ancient hour-glass form of cane stool is still in general use; next often seen is the *koloṃbuva*, little more than a low, slightly shaped log; while a more pretentious stool in use is the three-legged *baṅkuva*, perhaps, as the name suggests, of Western origin, but at any rate long naturalized. These *baṅku* are sometimes beautifully made and carved (Pl. XI., 4); the flat legs are fitted into the thickness of the seat by a 'housed dovetail,' very firm and solid.

None but the king was allowed to sit upon a chair with a back; as remarked by Sir George Birdwood, "although chairs are not ordinarily used by the natives of India, they have always been familiar with them as the thrones of kings." A beautiful chair dedicated by Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha is preserved in the Asgiriya *pohoya-gē*; it is painted and inlaid with ivory (Pl. IX., 5). In Fig. 86 are shown a number of types of stools and chairs, from paintings at Degaldoruva, sufficiently described in the legend attached.

A peculiar kind of chair is the priest's pulpit, a two-storied wood frame to be covered with white cloths while the priest sits within reading *baṇa*, his face concealed from the congregation; there are good examples at Dambulla; and ordinary specimens in every *baṇa-maḍuva*.

Tables

Ordinary tables were not in general use, though mentioned by Knox amongst the King's private treasures, most of which he had obtained from wrecks, or were gifts brought by ambassadors.

A three-legged table used as a book-rest appears in a wall painting at Degaldoruva; it is no more than a tall *baṅkuva* (Fig. 86). A piece of ecclesiastical furniture is the *daṇḍāsana* (Pl. X., 1); as seen in the picture it resembles a camp-stool, lacking the seat; but some sort of top must have been attached to the four eyelets shown; it is stated to have been used as a book-rest by copyists, and is, at any rate, an exclusively ecclesiastical piece of furniture; but I have not seen a complete specimen, or one in actual use.

Temporary trays or tables of sticks and leaves used at devil ceremonies to hold the offerings of flowers are called *taṭu*, or *mal taṭu*.

Tables or altars for offerings of flowers before images, dāgabas or *bō*-trees have been in use from the earliest times and are represented on the early Indian sculptures. These have generally the form of a bench (Pls. VIIA., VIII.), the legs sometimes carved or turned; and sometimes flattened with a double bend like those of the *baṅkuva* (Pl. XI., 4), or almost rectangular in section with the same double bend, as in the legs of the beautiful and thoroughly characteristic altar table of Pl. IX., 4, now in the Kandy Art Museum; these legs are morticed into the very solid top, and supported by iron brackets; in an

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Tables

Boxes

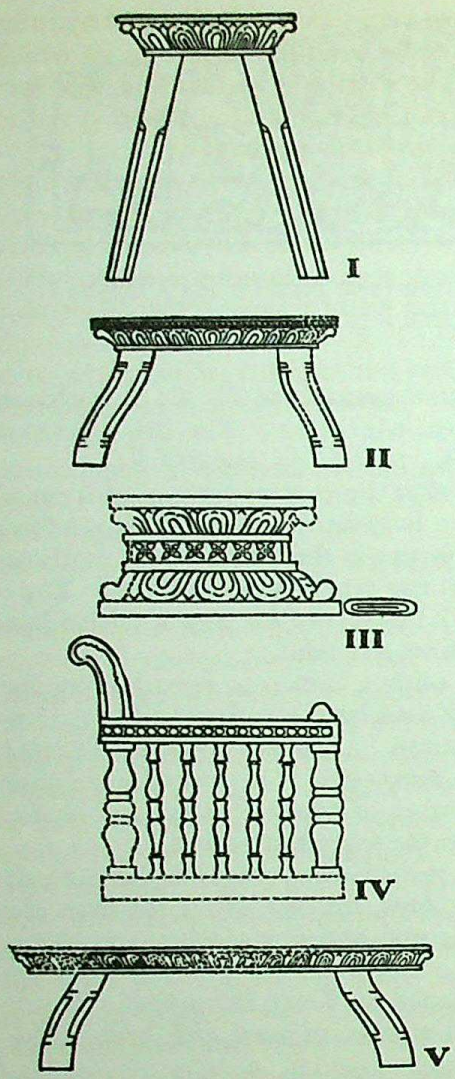

Fig. 86. From *jātaka* paintings (eighteenth century) at Degaldoruva. I. Table; II., V. Stools (*baṅku*); III. Lotus throne (*padmāsana*); IV. Chair.

olinda-kolombuva (game-board, Pl. XLI., 4) in my collection, of exactly the same form, the legs are fitted on with a mortice dovetail and wedge, but this would not have been strong enough for the big table in the Kandy Museum.

Boxes are also mentioned by Knox in his list of the King's treasures; the reference is probably to large chests such as are used for storing cloths, insignia or other ecclesiastical property (e.g., in Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy, and the *Pohoya-gē*, Malvatte), also in private houses for similar purposes. All the typical examples are of the kind known as Indo-Portuguese, large wooden chests with hinged lids and big locks, the handles, key plates, and hinges with evident Renaissance feeling, and based on Western models; we are thus led to ask whether these chests were used at all before Portuguese times. It is difficult to make an absolute statement on this point, as wooden boxes must have been in use at an earlier period; perhaps this was so, but they had the lid opening on tenons, like a door, of which I have seen one example. However that may be, the Indo-Portuguese chests are recognizable by the character of their metal fittings, and especially by the decorative metal bosses over rivets, as in the little box shown on Pl. XLIIIA., 3. They are more often and more typically found in the north of Ceylon, in Jaffna, where Western influence has been stronger and has acted longer; here we meet the 'almirah' (standing cupboard with shelves) in elaborate forms, the hinges, evidently European in form, and the woodwork thoroughly Renaissance in style. A type of box commonly met with in the low-country is the 'bible-box,' an evident copy of a Dutch form, usually made in calamander or ebony, with scallopings and flutings.

Also partly Western in origin are the 'work-boxes,' divided into compartments with trays and lids, inlaid with ivory, that were formerly made at Mātara in the Southern Province; but these low-country forms really lie outside the scope of the present book, and are therefore not referred to in greater detail.*

Purely Kandyan, however, are large book-boxes or presses used in temples or pansalas. A very beautiful and elaborately painted book-box is to be seen at the Ridī Vihāra. Beside

* *Bennett* ('*Ceylon and its Capabilities*,' 1843, *p.* 761) *says of low-country carpenters*, "*The master cabinet makers are generally Portuguese, but the workmen Singhalese;—these make very durable and beautiful cabinet furniture of every description, but they complain greatly of English tools, as being very badly adapted to the hardness of ebony and satin-wood timber.*"

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the painting, its lid is set with gems. I have myself had very successfully painted by three Kandyan painters, and fitted with handles, etc., by a founder, a similar book-box, on which three men worked at the painting for six weeks. The total cost of this box was over Rs. 200. Unfortunately, it is but rarely that work even as important as this is given to Kandyan craftsmen, who for the most part make brass trays for passengers. *Woodwork*

It is noteworthy that rare woods, such as ebony and calamander, were most sparingly used by Kandyan carpenters. Ebony is sometimes used as inlay, often associated with ivory, as at Ridī Vihāra, with a fine effect; for 'raylings,' as we are told by Knox; but rare woods are not used for the construction of large objects, such as boxes and doors. It is really a misuse of material to attempt such work: the wood is rare (calamander now almost extinct as a result of the increased demand) and should be used as such, with restraint and dignity; it is difficult to get large pieces of it, and it readily cracks, as if *intended* only for inlay. There is a certain vulgarity associated with the use of rare materials in large quantities where not required.

Turned circular wooden boxes, rarely more than a foot in diameter, are in general use, either for betel leaves and the accessories of chewing, or for jewellery or valuables; they were especially used in dēvāles to hold valuable insignia, as the *halaṃba* of Pattini; and were thence called *ābharaṇa-peṭṭi* (regalia-boxes: Pl. XIII., 3). Like much other turned work, these boxes are usually adorned with lac applied on the lathe. *Jewel boxes*

Another type of box used for jewels is the *veḷ-peṭṭiya*, or cane box, fitted with brass hinge and lock (Pl. XLIIIA., 8); a stronger round form, with shallow detachable lid, is used for storing grain, carrying food, or generally as a box of any kind; one form is divided internally to serve as a food-basket for rice and curries for a number of persons travelling.

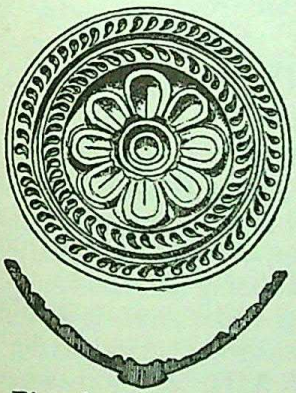

Fig. 87. Sweetmeat mould of coconut shell, inside and section.

We pass to the wooden articles used especially in the kitchen. *Kitchen furniture* The most noteworthy of these was the spoon rack (*heṇḍi-āna*), of which fine examples are shown in Pl. XI., figs. 5, 6, and 7. This was suspended from a beam, and the long handles of the wooden spoons set in the holes. The spoons themselves were usually made of a piece of coconut shell (*pol-kaṭuva*) with two holes into which the handle passes. Some are pierced for use as strainers. Another use of small pieces (ends) of coconuut shell was in making sweetmeat moulds; two ends, of equal size, were carved inside and then pressed together with the sweetmeat between; the moulds were called *sīnī piṭṭu kaṭu*, the sweetmeat itself, *sīnī piṭṭu*.

Nearly entire shells were used as the bowls of water dippers (*kinisi*, Pl. XIII., 6-9), the wooden handles, almost always beautifully carved, being passed through and pegged inside. The dippers, however, were not only of use in the kitchen, but were a special piece of ecclesiastical furniture, used by priests for taking water from a bowl, or a well, to fill a *kotalaya*, or to pour over the feet before entering the *vihāra*; but the use is not in any sense 'sacrificial' as indicated in the official description of the beautiful ivory *kinissa* at South Kensington* (Pl. XLI).

The detached coconut shells elaborately carved, and sometimes silver mounted, and of

* *There is a fairly representative series of examples of Kandyan carved woodwork at South Kensington, which, with the exception of four fine pillars (probably not older than the eighteenth century) from some temple or pansala, is mainly of a domestic character, including spoon racks, game boards, dippers and other articles.*

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Woodwork which so much is often thought, are a modern and useless invention, suitable only for the imitation European drawing-room. It is interesting that ivory carving is said to have been learnt by practice on coconut shell, a material exceedingly hard and intractable.

Kitchen furniture Other important pieces of kitchen furniture are the coconut scraper (*hiramaṇaya*), a shaped log (*kolombuva*) carrying a toothed disc for use as a rasp; and the vegetable slicer, a bill-hook set edge upwards in a wooden holder and called *vap-pihiya*. Both were arranged to sit upon conveniently while preparing the vegetables; the scraper is often of the book-rest form, called *yatura-hiramaṇaya*, the two linked parts of the folding seat being cut from a single piece of wood; and in many cases the scraper and knife were combined as illustrated in Fig. 88, from a painting at Degaldoruva.

Beside the sweetmeat-mould already referred to, there are flat cake-moulds (Pl. XIII., 4) and jaggery-moulds, the latter deeply carved with intaglio representations of elephants, lions, and sometimes of an *olinda pōruva* or game board, after the manner of butter-moulds in England. Granary seals were also made of wood; one is figured on Pl. XIII., 5.

A curious implement is the 'string-rice' press (*idi appan vangeḍiya*), a wooden cylinder with plug working in it, the end stopped with a perforated diaphragm, through which the cooked rice is squeezed, much as mashed potatoes sometimes are in England; a beautiful example now in the Kandy Museum, is shown in Pl. XI., 1.

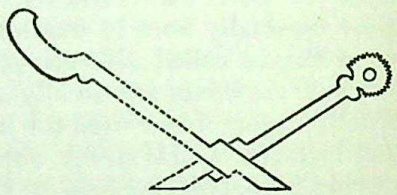

Fig. 88. From *jātaka* painting at Degaldoruva: combined coconut scraper (*hiramaṇaya*) and vegetable slicer (*vappihiya*).

Agricultural Implements Agricultural implements were largely of wooden construction; of these, the plough* (*nagula*) is the principal. Others of importance are the *pōruva* or scraper, and the *laha* and *kuruṇiya* measures. The wooden bells or clappers (*so-kaḍa*) hung from the necks of buffaloes are also interesting. Into the details of all these forms, however, it is hardly necessary to enter. Many are characteristically ornamented.

Carving A few words must be said as to the carving. The designs are for the most part those common to the whole of Sinhalese decorative art, but treated in a manner suited to the material. The treatment is always extremely flat, no attempt at relief or undercutting being made. This admirable restraint is now a thing of the past, for the influence of Kandyan woodwork and carving is hardly perceptible in modern building and furnishing. Furniture is based almost entirely on Dutch models, with fluted and bowed legs and relief carving. The flattest treatment of carved wood is seen in the regular 'chip-carving' of the bed in Pl. X., 6, and Fig. 84, or the sweetmeat mould, Pl. XIII., 4. Somewhat greater relief is characteristic of the *liya veḷa* ornament of door-jambs, and the carving of pillars, capitals and bolts. Even in these cases the treatment remains severe, the stems of the foliage flattened and not rounded or undercut. A characteristic feature is the emphasis of the outline of stems or interlaced work with an incised line next to the margin on each side. In this, and some other respects, such as the flat balusters of the Asgiriya chair (Pl. IX., 5) we are reminded of old Scandinavian methods. Some kinds of work, as bed-heads (Pl. XI., 3, and Fig. 85) were in many cases pierced as well as carved, giving an appearance of greater relief and light and shade. Even here the flat surface and incised outlines were retained. Wood-carving completely in the round is rarer; the string-rice mould (Pl. XI., 1) and the handles of dippers (Pl. XIII) afford examples. Wood was also used for figure sculpture, but not generally; in such cases, as also in many cases of

* *See description by Lewis, J.C.B.R.A.S., VIII., p.* 325, 1884.

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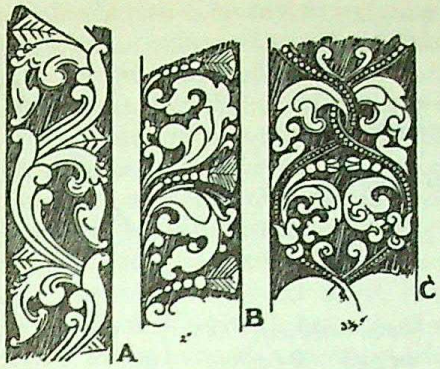

Fig. 89. Carved wood door jambs. B, an extreme form of *pala peti*. A, C, *liya vęla*. B and C from Badulla Dēvāle.

Fig. 90. Carving of *haṃsa*, from a wooden pillar, Daḷadā Māligāva.

merely decorative carving (Pl. IX., 1), it was painted. *Makara toraṇa* shrines for figures of Buddha were sometimes made of wood carved in high relief, as in the example from Danagirigala Vihāra, figured by Mr. Bell (Kęgalla Report, p. 43). There is also a small example in the Colombo Museum.

Turning

A somewhat extensive use of *turned* wood is noteworthy. The feet and legs (Pl. IX., 6) of benches, beds and seats were often turned, but it is perhaps in window bars (Pl. IX., 2 and 3) balcony railings (Pl. VIII., upper story of Māligāva), and vehicles (Fig. 2) that turning is most resorted to. It is less often used in the case of larger constructional pillars. Not uncommon is a mixed form in which a pillar or leg is half turned and half thirmed (Pl. IX., 6); the handles of tools, such as bill hooks, and of cressets (Pl. XLV., 5), are often similarly treated. Turned railings are usually lacquered in rings of red and yellow and green or black. The form of the turned rails or pillars is usually very satisfactory, contrasting markedly with work now done. It appears to be a craft in which degeneration of form takes place with peculiar readiness.

The art of turning wood is indigenous; but I am not sure that the method of Pl. VI., 5 is so. The ivory turner's lathe shown in Pl. VI., 4 is certainly a traditional one; it consists of a large concentrically grooved spindle (*liyana kaṇda*), set in two posts sunk into the ground; the object to be turned is fastened to the projecting end; the spindle is turned by hand as shown. A form of lathe similar to this is used by gem cutters, but is worked by a bow (like the drill of Fig. 93) to enable one man to turn and grind simultaneously. Carpenters now use the wheel-turned lathe exclusively, but I have seen a large grooved spindle of the older type, and have no doubt it represents the original and indigenous form of lathe.

Carpenters' tools

It is to be noted that all the carving was done with a few chisels only, the immense variety of chisels and gouges found in the European carver's workshop being quite unknown.

The tools used by Sinhalese carpenters are numerous and varied, and in form and adaptation not very different from those used by European carpenters. The following is a rough list, based upon a set of sketches made for me by a Kandyan craftsman, one or two of whose drawings are reproduced: cubit-rule (*riyan lęlla*), plumb-line (*laṃba-kęṭaya*), line or tape

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Carpenters' tools

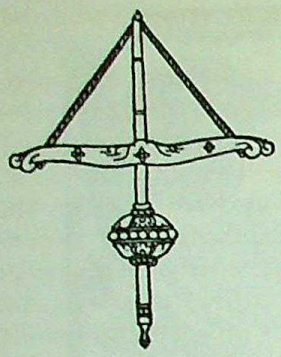

Fig. 91. Stock drill, with stone weight and deerskin thong.

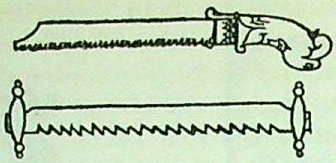

Fig. 92. Hand saw, and timber saw.

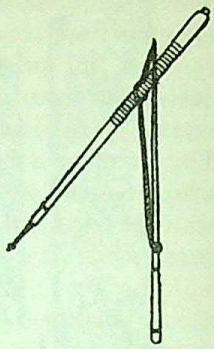

Fig. 93. Hand drill.

(*nūl-laṇuva*), compasses (*kava-kaṭuva*), set square (*maṭṭam pōruva*), wedge (*lī-palana-kaṭuva*), sledge hammer (*kuḷu-geḍiya*), axe (*porava*), small adze (*at-veya*), large adze (*loku-veya*), mallet (*at-koluva*), hammer (*miṭiya*), tenon saw (*tahaḍu-kiyata*), hand saw (*at-kiyata*, Fig. 92), timber saw (*haraskapana-kiyata*, Fig. 92), straight plane (*yatu-kęṭaya*), curved plane (*ravum-yatu-kęṭaya*), chisels (various sizes, *loku-niyana*, *niyan-kaṭuva*, *kalambu-niyan-kaṭuva*), stock drill (*gal-torapanaya*, Fig. 91), hand drill (*at-torapanaya*, Fig. 93), scoring tool (*iri-gahana-kaṭuva*), awl (*vidina-kaṭuva*), gimlet (*gijulettu-kaṭuva*, ? of European origin), rasps (*pullōrama*, *peti-*, *vaṭa-*, and *loku-pullōrama*), file (*pīra*). The foot-rule, which measures a 'carpenters' cubit' (*vaḍu-riyana*) in length, is divided into twenty-four *aṉgal* or 'inches.'

The ornamentation of carpenters' tools, as indicated in Figs. 91 and 92, is a characteristic expression of the craftsman's pride and pleasure in his work. The ivory compasses of Pl. XXXV., 1, and the damascened adze of Pl. XLV., 9, illustrate the same thing. In the Kandy Museum, also, there are adzes with fine lacquered handles, one of which is said to have been used by Dēvēndra Mulācariyā; and the iron cubit-rule referred to below as having belonged to him is ornamented with a silver damascened lion.

Carpenters' measure

Carpenters' measure was different from that in common use. The *vaḍu riyana*, or carpenter's cubit, was the ordinary cubit + a span + the four fingers' width. The carpenter's *aṉgala* or 'inch,' $\frac{1}{24}$ of the *vaḍu riyana*, was the length of the third joint of the forefinger. The span (*viyata*) was the space between thumb and little finger at full stretch, reckoned, it is said, at 7 *aṉgal*.

I have examined a *riyan-lęlla* ('cubit-rule'), now in the possession of Goḍapola Galaddā, a descendant of the Dēvēndra Mulācariyā already mentioned, to whom it once belonged. It is an iron rod, rectangular in section and exactly 31 (English) inches long. One side is divided into 24 *aṉgal* (each equal to $1\frac{7}{24}$ English inches), the other into divisions measuring respectively $3\frac{7}{8}$, $2\frac{7}{12}$, $1\frac{7}{24}$, $\frac{31}{48}$, and $\frac{31}{96}$ inches respectively. These measurements are those in ordinary use amongst craftsmen; various special units are described in Chapter VIII.*

Common measure

The ordinary or 'short' cubit (*miṭi riyana*) was the distance from the elbow to the top of the second joint of the little finger, the fist being closed. The ordinary span was, I think, the distance between thumb and forefinger at full stretch, and two spans made one cubit. The ordinary *aṉgala* or 'inch' was the length of the second joint of the forefinger, and of these 'inches' twelve formed the *aḍiya* or 'foot.' I have never seen a cubit rule of ordinary measure, so cannot give the exact value of the *miṭi riyana* in English units. From the

* *Some other details are given by Modder, J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII., No. 43, 1892, pp. 181-185.*

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above calculations it would seem to be about 17 inches. It should be remembered that Orientals are smaller and slighter boned than Englishmen.

It must not be supposed that the measures employed were inexact by reason of their derivation from variable standards, any more than the English 'foot' or 'barleycorn'; the craftsmen made use of an iron or wooden 'cubit-rule' (*riyan lḷella*) as already mentioned. The extreme accuracy in the work of the old craftsmen, indeed, will be apparent to all who examine it. In architectural woodwork the great test was considered to be in the accurate fitting of the wooden rod (*idda*, see p. 130 above) which passed through each rafter, just within and under the eaves of a temple roof. It is said that when an important building was ordered by the king, it was usually given into the charge not of one, but of four *mulacāri* (foremen), by each of whom, the fourth part of the timber was separately prepared; and when all was ready, the four parcels of timber were brought together.

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CHAPTER VII. STONEWORK.

WE have already seen that the indigenous style of architecture was one of wooden building, and shall not, therefore, be surprised to find that the amount of mediæval and strictly Sinhalese stonework is very limited. There were, however, amongst the craftsmen a certain number of masons (*gal-vaḍuvō*), no doubt mainly of South Indian origin, or descendants or pupils of Indian masons. As we have seen (p. 65, above), the *koṭṭal-badda* contingent of craftsmen in the Four Kōrales, consisting of eighty-eight men, included only one mason. This may be taken to represent fairly the position of stonework amongst the other crafts. Such stonework as does exist bears strong evidence of Tamil design and workmanship. Mr. Bell remarks (Kēgalla Report, p. 19): "Few men were capable of artistic work; and the services of these experts were only called in on the rare occasions when some ruler, ambitious of erecting buildings of special strength and beauty, reared around him palaces and temples too often left unfinished. Yāpahu, in the Seven Kōrales, and Beṛeṇḍi Kōvil in the Three Kōrales, were such. Architecture and sculpture could never have thriven in the Kēgalla district. The paucity of artistic remains attests this, such carved stonework as does exist itself bearing witness to Dravidian design and workmanship. The 'Kurunēgala Vistaraya' records that artificers had to be summoned from Gampola to put up the buildings on Beligala. . . . So, too, at Beṛeṇḍi Kōvil, where, though little more than the tasteful platform of the *kōvil* is left,—if the shrine ever advanced further,—history and style unite in proclaiming with certainty its Dravidian conception."

One of the most important mediæval cities, though somewhat earlier than the period dealt with in this volume, was Yāpahuva,* above referred to. Founded about A.D. 1225, it remained the capital until 1288, when the seat of Government was transferred to Polonnaruva. In spite of this early date, I have mentioned the city because of the beautiful stone window from the palace which can now be seen in the Colombo Museum, and in order to quote from the Yāpahuva Vistaraya, the interesting though doubtless exaggerated legendary account of its foundation.

"Eight *gav* from Anurādhapura, attended by the chief ministers and other officers of State of the three kingdoms, the building of the city of Yāpahu Nuvara was begun on the rock called *Sundaragiriparvata*, after which the city was named. That same king (Parākrama Bāhu) commanded that it should be constructed of stone only, and that the following workmen should be engaged: 120 lacs of masons, 100 chief blacksmiths, 250 *haṅgiḍi* (foremen), 3000 painters, 400 carvers.

The Adigārs thereupon commanded some to cut stone pillars, some to carve, some to smooth, some to carve figures, some to paint, some to carve figures of elephants, some figures of lions, some of wolves, some figures of men, some of geese, some of birds, some *nāga* figures, some figures of gods, some figures of women, some of creepers, some of parrots, some of peacocks, some figures of beaters of tom-toms, some figures of dancers engaged in the act of dancing, some of conch-blowers engaged in blowing, some of figures engaged in wrestling, some to carve representations of beds, some of stone doors, some

* *The references to Yapahuva, Beṛeṇḍi Kōvil, etc., represent a digression from the main object of this book, the description of late mediæval, and purely Sinhalese art. For a more detailed account of the ancient, early and mediæval stonework, the student should consult the Reports of the Archæological Survey, relating to Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva, and Sīgiriya, and the Kēgalla District, also the Guide to the Colombo Museum*, 1905.

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of stone doorposts, and some of stone steps. These stones were then painted over by the painters.* *Stonework*

In this style four *māligāval* of nine storeys each were built, with stairs leading up to them. Round these 500 smaller houses of inferior workmanship were also built. A store eighty cubits high, 500 houses outside the fort, 1,000 double shutters for the houses, a stone wall 7 ft. high, a metal rampart encircling it, 1,000 golden arches, 1,000 silver arches, were also constructed, and adorned with 1,000 flags and flaps and cloth dolls† appended thereto, there being also 1,000 elephants, 1,000 horses, 24,000 mercenaries, 2 lacs and 61,000 inhabitants in all. Like Śakraya, enjoying health and happiness, and so reigning, the king built and adorned the city, the only material used being stone."‡

The Bęręṇḍi Kōvil near Sītāvaka was, according to local tradition, built in the sixteenth century by Rāja Siṃha I. It is altogether Hindu in purpose and construction.

In the Kęgalla District there are more or less important remains of stonework at Beligala, Gaṇēgoḍa, Ambuḷugala, Męḍagoḍa and a few other temples, described by Mr. Bell. At Beligala there is a well-preserved 'moonstone,' its design a *makara toraṇa* adaptation of the more usual types. There are also stone pillars, and a pair of balustrades. These remains may be as old as the thirteenth century. At Gaṇēgoḍa there are more extensive remains, with elaborate friezes of dancers, beautiful columns and balustrades. At Ambuḷugala there are carved pillars and a magnificent stone door-frame, probably of the fifteenth century. At Męḍagoḍa there was a stone pillar, now in the Colombo Museum, originally, perhaps, taken from the Bęręṇḍi Kōvil. It has a lion pedestal, elaborately ornamented octagonal shaft, and capital with four 'kibihi' (lion) faces above the *mutu-ḍęla*. *Kęgalla District*

In the Kurunęgala District the most important stone remains are at Ridī Vihāra, where there is a well-built and unmistakeable Hindu temple. In the Kandy District there are temples with important stonework at Gaḍalādeṇiya and Laṅkātilaka.§ Both of these temples are very beautiful. The stonework at Gaḍalādeṇiya is mainly of fourteenth century date. Patches only of the original plaster remain, with traces of painting. Perhaps the most striking part of the stonework is the entrance porch. It is roofed by huge monoliths, resting on very large stone pillars of the usual Kandyan type, with two smaller pillars beside them, forming thus a cluster of three pillars on each side of the porch. The smaller pillars are of more archaic pattern, recalling those characteristic of the Kęgalla District and Anurādhapura; this temple and that of Laṅkātilaka, indeed, as Mr. Lewis remarks, form a link connecting Kandyan architecture with the older work at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. At Laṅkātilaka, the 'Brow Spot of Ceylon,' only the foundations are of stone, the main structure being of brick, originally plastered. *Kurunęgala and Kandy Districts*

Of Narēndra Siṃha's palace at Kuṇḍasāle there remain *in situ* a few plain stone pillars and a stone with an elephant carved on it near the river. Two stones with elephants carved on them are now placed in Kandy at the entrance to the Daḷadā Māligāva, and there are also two stones in the Kandy Museum, with carvings of vases. Of these, one is figured in Cave's 'Book of Ceylon,' Fig. 494.

* *This observation should be noted, and compared with the statements made on pp.* 146 *and* 147 *regarding the plastering and painting of stonework.*

† *Banners woven in the form of a man; several of these were made by weavers at the Peradeṇiya Exhibition in* 1906.

‡ *Modder, Yapahuva, J.C.B.R.A.S., XIII.,* 1893, *p.* 104.

§ *For pictures and descriptions of these temples, Mr. Lewis' account of Kandyan Architecture, in Cave's 'Book of Ceylon,' should be consulted.*

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Stonework

Perhaps the most remarkable eighteenth century stonework building in the Kandyan District is the peculiar vihāra at Galmaḍuva. This, the 'most Hindu-looking Buddhist temple in existence,' or at least in Ceylon, was never finished. It is said to have been built by Kīrti Śrī, but that while it was in progress he heard of the cave at Degaldoruva, he abandoned the scheme and set to work on the cave-temple at Degaldoruva. This, however, seems improbable, considering the great difference in style of the two temples, and the fact that the massive masonry and brickwork at Galmaḍuva were finished, nothing remaining to be done but to set up the image and decorate the temple. The plan of the building is a square stone chamber, covered by a pyramidal tower of stone and brick masonry, reminding one of the *gopuram* of a Hindu temple. Around this building and a little removed from it is a massive wall with an overhanging cornice, with five windows on each of three of its sides, and a doorway in place of the central window on the other side. The arches of the doorways and windows is remarkable. They are semi-circular cusped arches with a keystone; the door has six of these cusps, the windows two. In the image room there is an *āsana*, or throne for the image. The whole building contrasts markedly with all other 'Kandyan' architecture.

Speaking now generally of Kandyan stonework, it will be found that stone masonry plays a very small part in the construction of typical Kandyan buildings; in vihāras there is fairly often a carved stone doorstep ('moonstone') and no other work in stone. In the Kēgalla District "elaborately carved monolithic pillars are rare. . . . Basement revetments in worked stone, where found, follow one recognized plan. First a low socle, next the plinth, then a narrow fillet slightly retired, Lesbian cyma moulding of shallow lotus leaves (*pala peti*) running back to the inner plane, a vertical block broken half way by a bold torus, a second fillet slightly projecting, finished by ogee and rectangular cornice coping. . . . Rises or balustrades (*eṭ-hoṇḍa-veḷ*) to steps are common everywhere."* The last are sometimes carved on the exterior face in the form of *gaja siṃhayō*, the trunks forming the upper edges of the stones, hence called *eṭ-hoṇḍa-veḷ*, 'elephants' trunks'; or they may be very severe and plain.

Carved 'moonstones' (*haṇḍa-kaḍa-pahana*), semi-circular stone doorsteps like those so well known at Anurādhapura, are met with in some vihāras, as at Degaldoruva, Beligala, Alutnuvera, etc. In these there is considerable beauty and variety of design, but rarely such as to compete with the older examples at Anurādhapura. A mediæval specimen from the palace at Haṇgurańketa, is to be seen in the Colombo Museum. Carved friezes are sometimes found, as at Gaḍalādeṇiya, Gaṇēgoḍa and other important vihāras. On these are represented dwarfs, dancers and lions.

Genre carving is rare. At Kappāgoḍa, on the sides of steps leading to the vihāra premises are slabs with carvings of a calf taking the udder whilst licked by the mother, and of an ox licking its raised left foot.

Practically all stonework was intended to be covered with plaster of milky whiteness, just as the brickwork at Laṅkātilaka is only the foundation for work in modelled plaster [see Pl. VII., 1, and description]. The Kandy *bō maḷuva* wall, so beautifully described by the chronicler as resembling the necklet of a fair woman that was the city of Kandy, must have been lovely indeed when the delicate mouldings were perfected in form, and snowy white. The common whitewashing of the carved stone doors of temples, to which objection is often taken, is not a modern fashion, but a somewhat careless continuation of an old one. There can be no doubt that all architectural stonework was intended to be plastered or painted, or both. This old Buddhist method does not survive so markedly in

* *Bell, Kēgalla Report.*

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Southern India, where the use of stone for building and for images is far more general than in Ceylon. In Ceylon the earlier methods of building in wood and of making images of impermanent materials have lived on side by side with the work in stone. But even in Southern India, stonework is very generally painted. *Stonework*

Before finally leaving the subject of stonework it is necessary to refer to the smaller domestic and religious purposes for which stone articles are employed. The commonest of these perhaps is the curry stone (*kuḍu-miris-gala*), a plain slab and roller for compounding the ingredients of 'sambol,' a preparation of condiments eaten with curry. Somewhat more elaborate are medicine stones (*bēt-gal*) used in the preparation of herb and mineral medicines, and for the grinding of colours by painters. In form and use these *bēt-gal* resemble the pestle and mortar of Europe, but the mortar is flatter. The pestle is often grotesquely carved. Two *bēt-gal* are shown in Pl. LII., 6, the pestles carved into heads and the four angles of the mortar with cobra hoods. Somewhat similar in purpose are the sandal wood grinding stones (*haṇdun-gal*), on which sandal wood is rubbed down with water to prepare the fragrant paste so often referred to in Indian poetry. The stones are circular in outline, something like a bread platter, but having the upper side, on which the wood is rubbed, quite smooth but carved below with three low legs, an elaborate central pattern, and *palā peti* chamfer (see Pl. LII., 7). The *kurukkan-gala* is a quern or hand mill for grinding *kurakkan*, the grain chiefly grown in hillside cultivation. *Domestic stonework*

In connection with vihāras and *bō-maḷu*, stone lamps, altars (for flower offerings), bowls (*pātra*) and stone troughs for dyeing robes are sometimes to be found; there is one of the latter at Haṇgurańketa said to have been carved by the late incumbent himself. The stone pestle used by the potters will be described in the chapter on Pottery.

We have seen that the stock drill (Fig. 91), or *gal torapanaya*, has a stone weight.

A few words may be said about gems, and crystal. All gems found were strictly royal property, and, no doubt, found their way to the treasury in considerable numbers. They were almost always cut 'en cabochon.' Occasionally stones are met with slightly facetted, with original facets polished. The gem-cutting apparatus consisted of a lathe, similar to the ivory turner's lathe of Pl. VI., 4, but worked by a bow, and having a copper plate set with corundum powder. *Gems*

The art of cutting quartz (crystal) which occurs abundantly in fine transparent masses has been understood from remote times. There is a crystal Buddha at the Daḷadā Māligāva. At Asgiriya there is a crystal *karaṇḍuva* about a foot in height. Spectacles are still made by hereditary workers in Uḍa Dumbara.

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CHAPTER VIII. FIGURE SCULPTURE.

"The sound of the tools that are raising the image of Buddha, let it reverberate in Heaven!"
—EMPRESS KOMIO OF JAPAN.

IN this chapter I speak of all sorts of images, whether in the round or in low relief, and whatever the materials of which they are made.

The most primitive images made are the impermanent images made for use in *yak* and *bali* ceremonies, and wax images of *Rīri yaka* used in *hūniyan* ceremonies. These are made by the professional astrologers and dancers of the weaver (*beravāyā*) caste, not by the regular artists. The mud images of devils, and planetary or other gods are prepared in low relief on a wooden foundation, or in the round, on a wicker construction; Pl. IV., 2, shows an elaborate erection of the first kind, which required fully two days for its construction by several men. The devils, it will be seen, are intentionally hideous; the gods' faces, however, are refined and even beautiful. These gods' heads were made separately by the modellers, the rest of the work done on the spot. The smoothed clay is whitened and painted with earths, and the figures decorated with cut leaves of coconut and plantain. It is probable that in work of this kind, executed in impermanent materials we see a survival of the most primitive form of Indo-Aryan plastic art.

More important from every other point of view are the images of Buddha, and of gods and men. Images of Buddha and of gods are made according to certain canons laid down in the work called Sāriputra, which will subsequently be summarised. Images, says the canon, may be made of gold, copper, clay, stone, wood, burnt clay (brick), and lime. Images of silver, bronze, brass, and ivory were also made. Small images were most often made of metal—brass, silver, and even gold. A majority of these belonging to the later times are ill-formed and even grotesque, but earlier examples of a very superior character are sometimes seen.

A few references to metal images are given in various places. Thus when the last king's favourite astrologer built a Vihāra at Tibboṭumulla, the king presented him with a gold image, which he deposited in the vihāra, which the king also endowed with lands.* The golden image at Morāpaya Vihāra has been referred to above (p. 71). A golden image valued at £1,000 was stolen not long since from Niyangampaha Vihāra at Gampola. There is a bronze-gilt Buddha at Danagirigala.† But bronze images do not appear to have been often made in the later times. Very beautiful examples are occasionally met with which may well date from the fifth century or earlier. Brass images of poor quality are still commonly made.

There are many references in the chronicles and elsewhere, to images made of stone, brick, mud and other materials. Thus, we learn from the Mahāvaṃsa, that at Gaṅgārāma, Kīrti Śrī "caused a fair statue of the Conqueror, nine cubits high, to be hewn out by cunning workmen, skilled in the art of cutting stone and the like crafts. And he covered that beautiful and graceful statue with leaf of gold, so that it looked like the living Buddha." At Ridī Vihāra he had "a great sleeping image made with fine brick and mortar and clay, and many other images of Buddha also, seated and erect. . . . At the foot of the sleeping image he let make in order, fair images of Ānanda, the constant attendant of Buddha and the preserver of the Law, and of Metteiya Bodhisatta, of the pre-eminent Nātha Dēva

* *Lawrie's Gazetteer, p.* 823.
† *Figured in Bell's Kēgalla Report, opposite p.* 43.

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and of the King Duṭṭha Gāmanī." And he gilded with gold the five large images of Buddha. *Figure sculpture*
Again we learn that a priest named Palkumbure Unnānse, of Palkumbure Vihāra, in the reign of Narēndra Siṃha, "effected repairs in this stone-built vihāra, made a stone image of one carpenter's cubit high, whitewashed the vihāra buildings, celebrated the festival of *ṗētra-pinkama* after giving over 25,000 fanams' worth of things as remuneration to the artists."*

In 1801 Pilima Talāva Adigār built the Alut Vihāra at Asgiriya; within it was an image of Buddha, in the reclining posture, sculptured out of a solid block of stone, more than forty feet long. Another stone image mentioned in a *sannasa*, is that of Urulevatte Vihāra. At Dambulla (Four Kōrales) there is a colossal clay image, a reclining figure of Buddha, of which Mr. Bell† remarks: "this gigantic figure has been modelled so skilfully as to give that impression of well balanced proportion, and calm repose, always aimed at, but rarely attained, by Sinhalese artists in the representation of the sleeping figure." Mr. Bell gives the following measurements of this image, here re-arranged for more convenient comparison with the canon:—total length from top of head to feet, 48 ft. 3 in.; hair to chin, 5 ft. 4 in.; nose, length 20 in.; across nostrils, 15 in.; each nostril, 5 in.; each knop of hair, 1 ft. in circumference; mouth, 20 by 5 in.; eye, 14 in.; foot, 6 ft. 6 in. long. The total length, 48 ft. 3 in., is 18⅔ carpenters' cubits. The figure is thus exactly twice the standard size of nine cubits. The correspondence with the canon is very evident. The face measure is two cubits: the whole figure up to the hair on the forehead is nine 'faces': the top of the head is two thirds of a 'face' more. The other measurements given correspond as nearly as could be expected, having regard to the vagueness of their exact application, and their not having been made with the immediate object of comparison with the canon. The foot is apparently too long. It is most desirable that measurements of older images should be made in Ceylon and India, as they may be expected, when compared with the canons, to throw light on the history of sculpture. At Ḗmbḕkke Dēvāle there is a painted clay image of Kataragama Deviyō seated on a peacock, and a painted wooden image of Devata Baṇḍarā, about five feet high, kept in the Palle Dēvāle. The Portuguese, as we have seen, destroyed in 1587 A.D., the Vishṇu Dēvāle at Devundara; they destroyed 'the idols, of which there were more than a thousand of divers shapes, some of clay, some of wood, some of copper, and several of them gilt' (p. 10, above).

It may be remarked the wood is but very rarely used for images of Buddha, but more often for images in dēvāles.

Images of crystal are rare. They are naturally always fairly small. There is one such image at the Māligāva, where it is kept in an elaborate silver and ivory shrine, suggestive of Italian Renaissance work.

Ivory images of Buddha are not abundant. They were always painted. Kandyan craftsmen are still skilful in making ivory figurines of drummers, Raṭemahatmayas, and other Kandyan characters, and the workmanship of these is superior to that of the ivory figures shown on Pl. XXXVI., where their chief value is in the illustration of eighteenth century costume. Such figures were not wholly coloured, but generally details of dress and features picked out in red, and the hair blackened.

It should be understood that it is not possible to tell by inspection of what material the larger statues are made. Whether of stone, brick or clay, they are always plastered and painted or gilt. The same was, no doubt, true of the older statues at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva.

* *Palkumbure Sannasa, Lawrie's Gazetteer, p.* 688.
† *Report on the Ḳḗgalla District, pp.* 38, 39.

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Figure sculpture

Images in low relief are commonly found against temple walls, usually they represent deities such as Vishṇu, kings or heroes, or benefactors of the temple. The plastered *makara toraṇa* above a seated image (Pl. VIIA.) is similarly modelled in clay, plastered and painted. At the door of a vihāra on each side of it, these are usually represented door guardians (*doratu-pāla-rupa*), with swords or clubs, symbolising the spiritual guardianship of the shrine.

One is at a disadvantage in describing only the eighteenth century work; for it represents the old age of a great art, rather than its beginning or its prime. The earlier stone sculptures of Ceylon, of various dates, and early bronzes are adequate examples of Indian art; but the eighteenth century images, though possessed of dignity and other qualities, are generally not beautiful, and are sometimes even grotesque.

Image making in Ceylon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was at a comparatively low level, though not so low as that now reached in the low-country by artists unfamiliar with the canon, or in the weak alabaster images that are imported from Burma. The matter is that the canon has been used, not as a guide merely, but quite slavishly by artists who, in spite of their strong decorative sense and capacity for ordinary drawing, had little or no feeling for the human figure as such, though they felt the symmetry, passivity, and grandeur of the symbol they made stand for it. "The image must exemplify a person with an unfettered, quiescent, and absolutely pure mind, pre-eminent from head to foot." The artist did actually work with such ideals before him, and they could not but be reflected in it. The traditional work, despite the decay of the tradition, is still in restraint, dignity and religious feeling vastly superior to the sensuous and effeminate work of ignorant craftsmen in the low country, influenced by European art, but with no taste or real knowledge of drawing.

I proceed now to a description of the artistic canon, and method of making images.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

SĀRIPUTRA.

Grünwedel's work on 'Buddhist Art in India,' while specially lacking in reference to ancient or modern Sinhalese art, nevertheless makes mention of the interest attaching to works containing formulas for the construction or drawing of Buddhist images, giving detailed dimensions. These he speaks of as modern and as specially characteristic of the northern school. It is therefore of special interest to be able to give some account of the work known in Ceylon as *Sāriputra*, which deals with the dimensions of images in general and Buddha in particular.

I am indebted to my learned friend Mudaliyar E. R. Gooneratne of Galle, for a translation of the Sāriputra, based on a transcript of the copy in the Colombo Museum, compared with three copies which he with difficulty secured in the Southern Province and which were deficient in the first and more general part which appears in the Museum MS. Before proceeding to give some idea of the contents of the work, I quote a part of the learned Mudaliyar's remarks upon it :—

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"The work takes its name from the author, who says at the end of the work that he heard it, from whom he does not state, though the inference in such cases, is that he must have heard it from one of the ṛishis. From the style of the verses, though they are presented to us in an incorrect form, it is plain that the work is the production of a master hand. The author must not only have been well versed in Sanskrit, but (it is clear) that he was also a thoroughly efficient artist.

"Sāriputra is a common name in Buddhist history. One or two distinguished disciples of Buddha owned it, and subsequently at various periods, several distinguished authors and grammarians went by this name. The meaning of the term is, the son of Sāri (Sāri-putra). . . .

"The making and painting of images have been in the hands of a particular section of the Sinhalese; not being versed in the Sanskrit, and not understanding the texts, it is plain that they only took care to have the paraphrase jotted down, to enable them to take the measurement, regardless of the accuracy of the Sanskrit verses. Hence the work is full of errors, and I have had great trouble to get the verses corrected and put into proper metre before commencing the translation.

"In the first part which treats of images in general, in the paper copy sent me, all the Sanskrit stanzas were omitted and by the aid of the gloss I had to recast them.

"The second part which is confined to the making of images of Buddha, is more complete; only a few of the verses are missing, but those that were found were full of errors and omissions, and were deficient in metre. I had them collated with three copies which I procured. It is curious, however, that the missing verses and omissions in one copy were nearly the same in the others, leading me to infer that they must be copies of one original work. . . .

"In conclusion I have to acknowledge with thanks the very great assistance rendered me by Talamalagala Somānanda Thēra, of the Simbalī Āvāsa, Galle. But for his willing support . . . I am doubtful whether this translation would have seen the light of day."

Mr. Gooneratne also remarks, "(1) I have confined myself to translating the original literally. (2) In some places the text is so vague, as regards the exact positions of the parts of which measurements are given, and the terms used are so uncommon, I am not sure whether my rendering is quite correct. (3) Several of the verses had to be recast, of course embodying the exact meaning of the gloss, nevertheless there may be deficiencies. . . ."

Regarding the date of the Sinhalese gloss (*sannaya*) which constitutes the most important part of the MSS. regarded from the imager's point of view, the following statement, an annexure discovered in one of the old copies, is supplied by Mr. Gooneratne:

"About A.D. 1165, after the translation of the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli, the pious and illustrious King Sarvajña Parākrama Bāhu ascended the throne of Laṅkā. Having noted with concern the corruptions that had crept into the Saṅgha since the sway of the great King Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya he took action to purge it from its corrupt adherents, with the aid of the illustrious Mahā Kāsyapa of Dimbulāgala (Dambulla), and he thoroughly renewed the Cētiya at Purvārāma and other temples (Anurādhapura) and the Uposatha hall, and embellished the parapet around the Bōdhi tree with various beautiful paintings. Maha Kāsyapa then approached his Majesty and prayed for a translation of the Sāriputra, a portion of the old Vedāṅga, which treats of the dimensions of the images of Buddha for the guidance of lay artists. The King deputed this work to a pupil of the Mahā Thēra Kāsyapa, who was competent to undertake it."

I do not give the text and translation of the Sāriputra in full, as they deserve separate publication elsewhere. The parts of the translation omitted are the astrological details,

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Sariputra some of the more minute measurements, and some of the verses of which the exact meaning is not clear. The second part of the work (as found in the Colombo Museum MS.) treating in particular of standing, seated, and reclining images of Buddha, is here first dealt with; afterwards the first or general part and a further gloss accompanying it. The work is not now well known either by imagers and painters or by the priesthood in the low-country, but is familiar to the best craftsmen in the Kandyan districts. The diagram (Pl. XXVII. and Fig. 95) of a seated image is drawn by D. S. Muhandiram to illustrate the use of plumb lines, and to show the appearance of a correctly measured image. The chief point to be comprehended is the use of the lines: a framework, of which a plan appears in the top left hand corner of the figure, and another (Fig. 94), taken from an actual example given to me by the same artist and now in my possession, in the text, is fixed horizontally over the place where the image is to be made, and the plummets suspended from it. The plumb lines so hung serve as axes of reference, determining the position of the chief parts of the body. They act as a simple 'pointing machine.' The lines shown in the diagram are those generally relied upon by Kandyan workmen, but others are available if still more exact work is required, or if the size of the image is so great as to make their use advisable. The '*karṇa sūtra*' of the diagram is the '*pārsva sūtra*' of the text, which latter is probably correct. The height is reckoned at 5 'faces' from top of forehead to throne, i.e. $67\frac{1}{2}$ inches, an approximation used, it is said, in small work instead of the 62 inches of the canon.

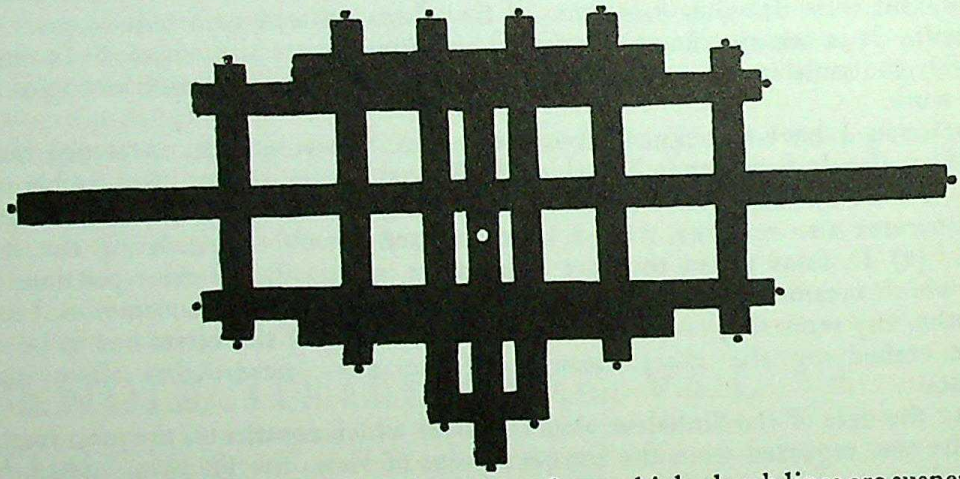

Fig. 94. Plan of *laṃba taṭuva*, showing points from which plumb lines are suspended.

In the case of reclining images the 'lines' are not, of course, plumb lines, but threads drawn from point to point.

Some explanation of the units of measurement must be given. They may be tabulated thus :—

One *mukha*	$13\frac{1}{2}$	*aṇgal* (lit. fingers), 'inches,' or units.
One *tāla*	$13\frac{1}{2}$	do.
One *bhāga*	$4\frac{1}{2}$	do.
One *veda*	4	do.
One *kāla*	2	do.
One *kolaka*	2	do.
One *matra*	1	do.
One *yava*	$\frac{1}{8}$	do., a 'barleycorn'

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The first three units as thus tabulated apply to images of Buddha only.
The ordinary architect's cubit (*vaḍu riyana*), the foot (*pāda*), and span (*viyata*) are scarcely mentioned. The *aṇgala* or 'inch' is presumably the *vaḍu aṇgala*, (distance from first to to second joint of forefinger when bent), the twenty-fourth part of a *vaḍu riyana*, and measures $1\frac{7}{24}$ English inch (see p. 142). The '*aṇgala*' of the text, however, is not merely a fixed measure, but also may be translated 'unit,' as the instructions are intended to provide for the construction of images of all sizes, both large and small. But there has been much discussion as to the exact dimensions of the images in the case of images of Buddha,* and special books have been written on the measurement of his person, usually considered to be twelve cubits†; his span is usually considered much longer than the span on which calculations are at present based; but such views are purely mythical.
The other units employed are technical and not in common use. The most important is the *mukha*, or 'face.' This is the equivalent of $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches when images of Buddha are spoken of. It is an unit corresponding to, but not identical with, the 'head' of European artists. It is measured from the base of the hair on the forehead to the chin and is thus less than a 'head' by the height of the crown of the head above the forehead. The standard height of an image of Buddha, including the crown of the head, is 124 *aṇgal*, as stated in verse 22 of the canon, or more exactly 9 'faces' and half a *bhāga*, making $123\frac{3}{4}$ inches (about E. 13 feet 4 inches). The detailed measurements given actually add up to $121\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* (9 'faces') + $3\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* for the crown of the head. It will be seen that this canon of proportion corresponds to about $7\frac{1}{3}$ *heads*, in the terms of European art.
Some words are perhaps needed as to the purpose and use of artistic canons of proportion. Probably they have been in use from the earliest times in the East, as we know that they were in the West. But there is a tendency, not altogether unreasonable, to regard them as purely mechanical devices, reliance upon which is a fetter upon free artistic expression, and characterises rather the decline than the flower of a great tradition. But it is the abuse, not the use, of canons of proportion that does this, and it is therefore worth while to enquire into the *rationale* of their use by Indian craftsmen and imagers. It is in drawing from the life that a canon is likely to be a hindrance to the artist; but it is not the method of Indian art to work from the model. Almost the whole philosophy of Indian art is summed up in the verse of Sukrācārya's 'Sukranītisāra' which enjoins meditation upon the imager:
"In order that the form of an image may be brought fully and clearly before the mind, the imager should meditate; and his success will be proportionate to his meditation. No other way—not indeed seeing the object itself—will achieve his purpose."
The canon, then, is of use as a rule of thumb, relieving him of some part of the technical difficulties, leaving him free to concentrate his thought more singly on the message or burden of his work. It is only in this way that it must have been used in periods of great achievement, or by great artists. It must also be remembered that the use of some such device was always absolutely essential in the case of the many colossal images made, and often executed in a relatively cramped space, such as the interior of a rock vihāra. Further, only a few of the measurements given are used in the case of the smaller images; all the minuter details are necessary only in the case of colossal statues. And the fact that the canon is now used mechanically by mere craftsmen is no contradiction of its value, for

* *See J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. V., No.* 19, 1874.
† *Clough gives Maha-purusha, 'name of Buddha alluding to his height, which is said to have been four of his own cubits measured from the tip of his middle finger to his elbow, and equal to twelve cubits of common measure.'*

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Sariputra

even their work is the better, not the worse, for their reliance upon tradition and rule. This at first sight may be doubted, but will be obvious to those familiar with the degeneration that everywhere results when even the old tradition, however rigidly interpreted, is abandoned, and a futile endeavour made to imitate a foreign style or the individualism of Western art.

A translation of the text of the canon now follows, beginning with Part II., which deals with images of Buddha. Part I. deals with the measurements of images of gods and men.

SĀRIPUTRA. Part II., translation.

Hail to the Omniscient!

Standing images of Buddha

1. "Let that Lord Buddha, having cheeks of a golden hue, lips of light red, captivating eyes, brows that are lovely as a bow, shining like the moon, who eclipsed the lotus, who is beauteous as the faces of the daughters of Māra, guard thee.

2. "Hearken, we shall now describe the dimensions of images of Buddha in the three postures of sitting, standing and reclining.

3. "Images of Buddha are made from gold, copper, clay, stone, wood, burnt clay, and lime.*

4. ". . . The size of the (image-) house should be in proportion to the size of the image, and *vice-versa*. . . .

8. "We shall now describe the various heights of images. Those that are less than two cubits (E. 62 inches) are called very small (*alpa*) images:

9. "Images above two cubits and up to five cubits are small (*adhama*): images above five cubits and up to eight cubits are called middling (*maddhyama*):

10. "Images above eight cubits, and up to twelve are called large (*uttama*): images above twelve cubits (E. 31 feet) are great (*maha*).

11. ". . . No images of gold or other metal should be cast hollow within.

12. "The making of hollow images will ere long result in the loss of wife and wealth, and lead to quarrels and famine,

13. "and to delay in the performance of work, and dread of enemies to royalty. The joints of images of wood and stone, must be placed exactly where the joints are, and not otherwise. If images are made thus it will result in length of days.

14. "If this rule be deviated from it will result in the loss of wealth and life. If the measurements be out by half an *angala*, or (even) a barleycorn, it will result in loss of wealth, and death. Therefore the measurements must be neither more nor less.

15. "The height of an image must be calculated by a division of it into a scale† of inches . . ."

16—21. "These verses treat of the relation between height and breadth of the image, whether lucky or not, in accordance with Shaḍvargaya.

22. "One hundred and twenty-four *angal* scale of an image is called the *uttamadasatāle*. [cf. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India,' 1901, p. 167, note by A. G.]

23. "Two *kala* and half an *angala* is called a *bhāga*; thirteen and a half *angal* is called a

* *Cf. Sukrācārya: "There are the following kinds of images, arranged in order of durability: (1) Images made of sand; (2) Images made of flour or meal; (3) Drawings; (4) Plasterings; (5) Earthen images; (6) Wooden images; (7) Stone images; (8) Metal images."*

† *Patti lḷella if of wood, 'kadavasa kōle' (for kaḍadasī kolaya) if of paper.*

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mukha. From the top of the head* to the sole of the foot is nine *mukha* and half of a *bhāga*. *Sāriputra*

24. "According to this scale the length of the face is three *bhāga*. The *ushnīsha*† is equal to eight *yava*. The length of the part just above the brow, covered by hair is three *aṇgal*. *Standing images of Buddha*

25. "From the centre of the forehead to the centre of the space between the eyes, and from the end of the nostril to the jaw is one *bhāga*.‡ The piece of flesh projecting beyond the chin is half an *aṇgala*.

26. "From the base of the throat to the top of the neck is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and from thence to [the end of the breast and thence to] the end of the navel, and from thence to the end of the penis is one *tāla* in each case.

27. "The length of the thigh is two *tāla*; the foot and the knee are two *bhāga*; these are the principal measurements.

28. "The length of the [upper] arm is 27 *aṇgal*; the length from the elbow to the wrist is 21 *aṇgal*. The length of the hand [from the wrist to the end of the fingers] is $13\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* . . . , the same as that of the face.

30. "The back of the head, from the crown to the nape of the neck, is one face and three *aṇgal* [$42\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal*]; the space from one ear to the other [measured over the crown] is 10 *kolaka* [20 *aṇgal*] and twice this sum is the circumference [viz., 40 *aṇgal*, the same as stated below, but without including the thickness of the hair].

32. "The diameter [of each tuft of hair] is eight barleycorns, and the height six; the area within which the hair is found is three faces and one *veda* [i.e., $44\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* round]; there are 360 tufts of hair.

36. "The breadth of the chest is $40\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* . . . [?]

37. "The space between the breasts is 19 *aṇgal* . . . [?]

40. "The edge of the hair in front by the forehead is curved, in the shape of a bow or like an arch. The height of the eyebrow is an *aṇgala*, and the breadth two barleycorns . . .

42. "The length of the eye from the unguent-spot§ to the other end is three *aṇgal*, and its breadth six barleycorns. The two lids are two barleycorns.

43. "The eye is divided into three parts, one black and two white. In the black part the disc is of the size of a louse. [Part I. gives greater detail.]

44. "The space between the eyes is one *kāla*; the height of the nose at the top is one *aṇgala*, and the skin of the eyelid half a *mātra*.

45. "The length of the nostril is one *aṇgala* and a *kāla*, the height of the nostril is one *aṇgala*, and the breadth of the hole is six barleycorns.

47. "The mouth is between the two cheeks [lit. parts which display or smile]. . . . The upper lip has three curves.

48. "The width is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kāla* [three *aṇgal*]; the breadth of the [lower] lip is one *aṇgala*. . . .

50. "The face will be beautiful if the aforesaid parts are [thus] completed. The breadth of the ear is two *aṇgal*, the [total] length five *kolaka*; the length of the part above the pendant is four *aṇgal*; the pendant is three *kolaka* [six *aṇgal*].

51. "The width of the pendant part is half an *aṇgala*, the pendants on either side the same.

* *The translation reads 'forehead,' but evidently 'head' is intended. Nine mukha and half a bhāga are* $123\frac{3}{4}$ *aṇgal, practically the* 124 *aṇgal of v.* 22.

† *Protuberance upon the skull, one of the thirty-two chief physical perfections or 'lakshaṇas.'*

‡ *The face is divided into three equal parts.*

§ *Karavīra, the small aperture at the beginning of the eye where unguents are placed, hence called aṇdun-vala in Sinhalese.*

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Sariputra

The space between the pendant of the ear and the neck is 1½ *angal*. The height of the outside of the ear is 1½ *angal*.

Standing images of Buddha

54. "The length from the base of the neck to the nipple, thence to the other nipple, and thence to the base of the neck is 13½ *angal*.*

55. "From the base of the neck to the armpit is one *tala*, and the part over is one *kolaka*. The breadth of the palm is six *angal*, and its length seven *angal*, the thickness of the palm one *kolaka*, the breadth of the thumb 1½ *angal*.

56. "The length of the middle finger is six *angal* and four barleycorns; the fourth finger is 5½ *angal*; the forefinger is less by one barleycorn.

[Verses 57-63 give further minute details of the measurements of the fingers and finger nails.]

64. "The length of the foot is 13½ *angal*, and from the ankle bone to the heel is one *bhaga* [two *angal*].

[Verses 65-71 give detailed measurements of the toes.]

72. "The breadth of the back between the two armpits is two *mukha*. . . .

73. ". . . the space between the two thighs at their beginning is one *angala*, between the two knees one *kolaka* [two *angal*] and the space between the two [great] toes one *kala* [two *angal*] and a barleycorn.

74. "The *maddhya sutra* [medial plumb line] drawn from the crown of the head must touch the tip of the nose, the centre of the chest, the navel, the private part, the inner side of the knees, and the inner sides of the feet.

75. "The *parsva sutra* [side plumb line] drawn from the crown of the head must touch the side of the forehead, the centre of the cheek, the side of the arm, the centre of the thigh, the centre of the knee, as well as the centre of the ankle joint.

76. "The girth must be three times the breadth of the several parts. . . .

77. "The end of the hand [raised in] blessing must be in a line with the end of the chin, the cheek and the nose, at a distance of eight barleycorns from the end of the mouth and the nipple of the breast. [This is incomprehensible.]

78. "The *kata sutra* [loin plumb line] must be drawn from the side of the little finger [of the raised hand] to fall over the middle of the hip, the middle of the thigh, and outside the knee.

86. "The *kaksha sutra* [armpit plumb line] must be drawn from the side of the armpit, by the side of the hip, the calf and its termination, and by the fifth toe of the leg.

87. "The *bahu sutra* [shoulder plumb line] must be drawn by the centre of the side of the [left] arm by the end of it and outside the palm.

88. "A *maddhya sutra* [medial plumb line] must be drawn [behind] from the centre of the crown of the head, the centre of the rising part of the back, the centre of the [small of the] back, and between the heels.†

90. "If the plumb line is drawn amiss, the image maker will be afflicted with illness . . . if correctly it will lead to the success of royalty and the protection of the maker.

The section specially referring to standing images of Buddha ends here.

Seated images of Buddha

91. "I shall now describe *yogasana* [meditative] images. The tip of the nose, the thumb and the heel must be visible to the eye [of the image].

92. "The image must exemplify a person with an unfettered, quiescent, and absolutely pure mind, pre-eminent from head to foot.

93. "From the place where the feet touch the throne, to the top of the hair on the head,

* *This appears to contradict v. 37, but is evidently correct.*

† *Verses 84, 85, and 89 speak of two or three other plumb lines, but less clearly defined and not named.*

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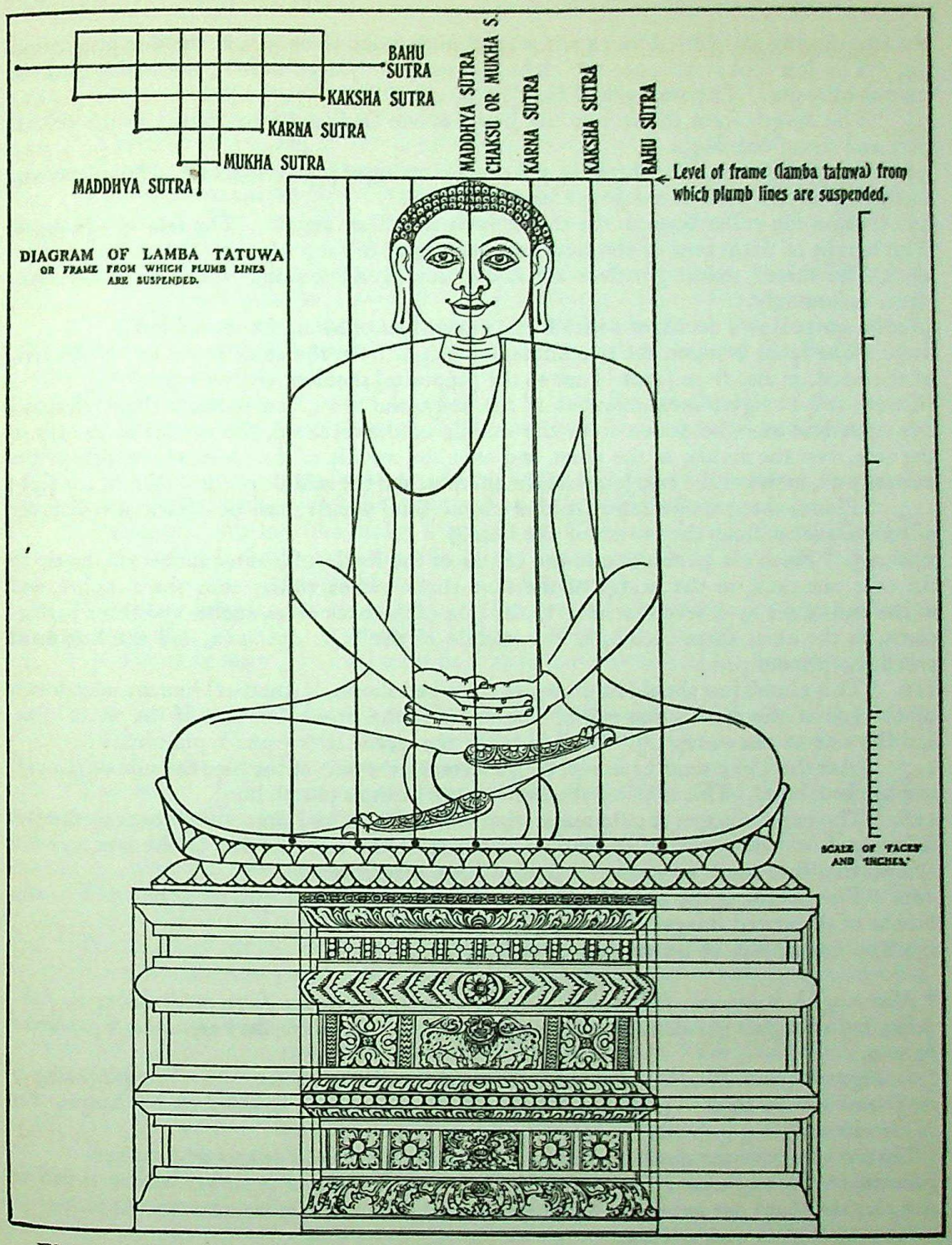

Fig. 95. Seated figure of Buddha, drawn to a scale of five 'faces,' and showing the principal plumb lines used in making images [D. S. M.].

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Sariputra

the length is 62 *angal*.* The expert imager must make the figure in the due proportion.

Seated images of Buddha

94. "The left foot is beneath, the right foot must be placed over it, the hands must be placed likewise. The image will then be pleasing.

95. "The length from the feet to the hands is one face, and from thence to the private part and navel one *bhāga*.

96. "From the base of the throat to the navel is 27 *angal* [i.e., two faces]. From the base to the top of the neck is one *bhāga* less one inch.†

97. "From the collar bone to the throat joint is half an *angala*. The face is $13\frac{1}{2}$ *angal*. The height of the crown of the head is three *angal*, the top $1\frac{1}{2}$ *angal* [cf. v. 24].

98. "The three‡ sedent positions are as aforesaid, and the skilful craftsmen must make them accordingly.

[Verses 99-104 give details of position and dimensions of hands, knees and feet].

105. "The space between the two knees, the height from the ankle to the end of the hair of the head, as also from [each] knee to the [opposite] shoulder are the same.§

[Verses 106-111 give measurements of the body, and arms, and indicate their relation.]

112. "A line must be drawn from the middle of the forehead, the middle of the tip of the nose, over the middle of the chest, and over the middle of the navel, the middle of the private part, between the two joints of the thumbs, and the middle of the ankles of the feet;

113. "This is the *maddhya sūtra* [medial plumb line] which must be drawn at a distance of twelve inches from the crown of the head.‖

114-115. "From the plumb line to the centre of the forehead is three inches, to the tip of the nose one inch, to the bridge of the nose three inches, to the chin three inches, and to the end of the neck seven inches: to the base of the neck seven inches and three barley-corns, to the chest three inches, to the middle of the belly one inch, and the line must touch the private part.

116. "This plumb line should be drawn as described above. [Another] line must be drawn by the end of the mouth, the end of the nipple of the breast, the end of the wrist joint, and the side of the instep [?]. This is called the *mukha sūtra* [mouth plumb line].

117. "[Another] line must be drawn by the armpit, the side of the hip, the side of the calf and by the elbow. This is called the *kaksha sūtra* [armpit plumb line].

118. "The expert imager should mark what is said above, and draw the lines accordingly. Sideways from the centre of the crown, the side of the ear, the side of the arm and the elbow, this line must be drawn over the three seated images.**

119. "The height of the seat should be either one third or one quarter or one fifth of the height of the seated image.

The description of seated images ends here.

* *More roughly in practice, for small images, and as in the figure, five faces, not including the hair.*

† *i.e., half an angala less than the measure given in v. 26. The discrepancy appears to be explained by v. 97.*

‡ 1. *Yogāsana, meditative, with hands laid flat on one another on the lap.* 2. *The right falling to the ground over the thigh.* 3. *The right hand raised and held palm forward, the left hanging flat by the side or holding garment.*

§ *This is a very important check, useful even in the case of quite small images or drawings.*

‖ *So that the line may clear by one inch the tip of the nose, as indicated in the next verse; it will be seen that the plumb line serves as an axis of reference from which by measurement the position of various parts of the body is known.*

** *Cf. v. 98, also referring incidentally to the three varieties of seated image.*

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120. "I give below a description of recumbent images. The recumbent image should be made exactly in the attitude of a devotee. *Sariputra*

121. "The image must be made without contracting the vital joints, [allowing them to be pressed on the throne], then only will it lead to all prosperity. *Recumbent images of Buddha*

122. "Otherwise it will end in the destruction of the place as well as of wealth. The length of the [image-] house should be divided into sixteen parts.

123. "Two of these should be vacant at either end, and the remainder occupied by the reclining image. The breadth of the house should be divided into seven parts, three and a half of which should be occupied by the couch of the reclining image.

124. "The breadth of the recumbent image must be one *Brahma pāda*, and half of a *prēta pāda*. . . . The couch must be within the *Brahma sūtra* precincts of the house.*

125. "When the reclining image is two *aṇgal* within the limits of the *Brahma sūtra* it will lead to all increase of prosperity; if it is made to extend beyond the *Brahma sūtra* it will destroy wealth and life.

126. "The *maddhya sūtra* must be drawn from behind the ear, the side of the pendent of the ear, the navel and the centre of the private part, and the knees and between the feet.†

127. "The *pārsva sūtra* [must be drawn] from the [upper] side of the crown, by the side of the neck, below the elbow and the wrist, and over the middle finger and the ankle.

128. "The *mukha sūtra* must be drawn from the middle of the crown, the middle of the forehead, the middle of the nose, the side of the breast and the side of the lower hip.

129. "The *vaṃsa sūtra* [abdominal line] . . . [not clear].

131. "The space between the two nipples of the breasts is 11 *mātra* [11 *aṇgal*, cf. with the $13\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal* of v. 54, where the body is upright and not contracted]. . . .

133. ". . . The *nētra sūtra* [eye line] must be drawn from the side of the arm on which the head rests.

134. "The line must be drawn from the thumb by the side of the cheek, the neck and the pendent of the ear. The [under] armpit must be in a line with [i.e., immediately beneath] the beginning of the shoulder of the other arm.

136. "The height of the pillow is the same as that of the face. The full rounded face when complete with all its features is beautiful.

137. "The measurements of the standing, seated and reclining images of Buddha should be as above, moreover, the images should be illustrative of the perfections of Buddha.

138. "If the image is perfect it will lead to the increase of merit and prosperity, otherwise it will lead to the destruction of all wealth and length of days.

139. "The image of the Asura Rāhu‡ should be drawn in accordance with the position he occupied at the estimable feet [of the recumbent Buddha], covered with every ornament,

* *This refers to a division of the site of a house or temple into four areas by means of lines called Brahma sūtra, Deva sūtra, etc., dividing the whole into 64 squares. The four central squares compose the Brahma pāda; the 12 surrounding squares the Dēva pāda; the 20 next surrounding squares the Manushya pāda; the 28 outer squares the Prēta pāda. Diagonals are drawn from corner to corner. A house should not be built upon the Brahma or Prēta areas. We are here told that the image in a temple should be within the Brahma area. Similar particulars are given in the Bṛihad Saṃhita, II., 6, vv. 55-58. The terms Brahma pāda, etc., are also used in this verse as units of measurement: pādaya=a foot; also a quarter, part, etc.*

† *The line—not here a plumb line, of course—is asymmetrical as regards the head, because the head is raised on a pillow out of the straight line of the body, and so with the other lines.*

‡ *The figure of Rāhu is not generally found in association with reclining images in Ceylon.*

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holding flowers and garlands in his hands, bending in three places, and in every respect perfect.

"The end of the measurement of images as heard by Sāriputra."

Part II. of Sāriputra ends here.

SĀRIPUTRA, Part I.

The first part of Sāriputra treats of images in general, not as above, exclusively of images of Buddha. Here the *mukha* or 'face' consists of 12 *aṇgal* only, instead of $13\frac{1}{2}$, and the *bhāga* of 4 *aṇgal* instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$. The other units are unchanged.

Verses 1—30 give very detailed measurements of the head and features, body and limbs, hands and feet. The dimensions are slightly less than those above detailed: thus the breadth of the back between the armpits is two faces (of twelve *aṇgal* each only), the middle finger six *aṇgal* long instead of six *aṇgal* and four barleycorns, and so on. Verse 30 concludes: "all the rest not described may be suitably supplied." Verses 30—43 treat of the plumb lines and measurements to be made thereby. Reference is made to the part 'slightly slanting,' this seems to refer to a slight bend in the waist, which, like the 'sway' in thirteenth-century Gothic work, gives grace and delicacy. I do not think that reference is here intended to the markedly curved figures known as *triváṅka** (triple-curved).

31. "Of images of which a part is erect, and a part slightly slanting, we give dimensions of the part slightly slanting, between the *Brahma sūtra* [=medial plumb line, above] and the *lalāṭa sutra* not previously mentioned.

32. "The dimensions of the images of gods and men are nine *tāla* [=nine *mukha*, or faces] less by two *aṇgal* from the crown of the head. From the termination of the hair down to the foot the *Brahma sūtra* should be hung.

33. "The space between the two toes is one *tāla*. The image should be erect and firmly fixed. The part slanting should be measured by a curved line.

34. "In the part slightly slanting, from the *Brahma sūtra* to the *lalāṭa sūtra* is two *kala* and one *aṇgala* [five *aṇgal*].

36. ". . . From the *Brahma sūtra* to the face is three *kala* and half an *aṇgala* [$6\frac{1}{2}$ *aṇgal*; can this be a mistake?].

37. "From the [*Brahma*] *sūtra* to the chin is one *aṇgala*; thus the measurement regarding the face.

43. "From the first toe of the foot over the base of the throat and the forehead, also from the eyebrow eye end of the nostrils and base of the throat and also over the breast and side and the centre and beginning of the thigh, three lines must be drawn. . . .

[Next follow measurements given in Sinhalese in the original copy, without any mention of its being, like the foregoing, a gloss (*sannaya*) and without any *śloka* as its basis. A part of this is quoted].

"The length of an image is 124 *aṇgal*, when it is divided by four, 31 *aṇgal* will be the resultant. . . . When a line is drawn horizontally through the navel, the portion of the elbow below it will be two *aṇgal*, and the loins below, four *aṇgal*; below that is the hip, and below that the private part." [The prose next refers to many other lines, such as the *purva* and *prishṭa*; *hikka* (=*Brahma*?); and lines drawn horizontally $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the navel, across the navel, the centre of the private part (six inches below the last), and across the calf of the leg (eight inches below the last). It would appear that these notes are with regard to a seated image of Buddha. Much that appears very vague in the prose

* *Not 'three sided' as suggested by the translation in the Mahavaṃsa, footnote on p. 256, ed. 1889; The images in low relief within the porch at Laṅkatilaka have been pointed out to me as 'triváṅka.'*

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would no doubt be quite clear to the expert imager. I have quoted only so much as *Sāriputra* appears to be important or quite clear.]

Comparison with other canons.

Of the great series of works composing collectively the *Silpa Śastra*, or Science of the Arts, very little is at present known. The measurements given in the second part of Sāriputra are those usually met with in the parts of these works which deal with images. To illustrate this point, and to present more clearly the chief peculiarities of the canon, the following table of some of the principal measurements is prepared, the numbers being given in 'inches' (*aṇgal*):

	Sāriputra [figures of Buddha.]	Sāriputra [other figures.]	Sukrācarya.*	Bṛihad Saṃhita.†
Whole figure to top of forehead ...	9 faces	9 faces	9 faces	9 faces.
Face	13½ aṇgal	12 aṇgal	12 aṇgal	12 aṇgal
Crown of head	3½	3 ?	3	3 ?
Three parts of face	4½ each	4 each	4 each	4 each
Neck	3½	4	4	4
Neck to breast	13½	12	12	12
Breast to navel	13½	12	12	12
Navel to penis	13½	12	12	12
Thigh	27	24	24	24
Knee	4½	4	4	4
Shank	27	24	24	24
Foot, height	4½	4	4	4
„ length...	13½	12	14	12
Hand	13½	12	12	12
Palm	7	7	7	7
Middle finger	6½	6	5	5

It is evident that the universal Indian standard is one of nine 'faces,' which in the terminology of European canons of proportion would be just over seven 'heads.' The figure of Buddha is made only relatively 'heroic' by increasing the unit, without altering the proportions to any appreciable extent. But there appears to have been some variation in the standards; the Rūpāvaliya (pp. 112, 113, above), for instance, gives the height of a man or a woman at eight, and an Asura at nine, Devas and Buddhas at ten 'faces'; but verse 129 gives proportions agreeing with those prescribed in Sāriputra for figures of the Buddha. Slightly conflicting statements are also made by craftsmen; as ten for Buddha, nine for gods, eight for men, and seven for women. One craftsman reversed the last, explaining this on the ground that tall women were considered beautiful.

Age of the canon, and the Silpa Śāstra generally.

Owing to the systematic neglect of the Silpa Śāstra by English and Indian Sanskritists, it is difficult to give any adequate account of the technical literature of Art and Craft in India. This literature has evidently remained for centuries in the hands of craftsmen,

* *Sukranītisāra, or Elements of Polity, by Sukrācārya, ed. Calcutta*, 1890.
† *Brihat Samhita of Varaha Mihira, English Trans. by N. Chidambaram Iyer, Madura*, 1884, *Pt. II., Ch. XI.*

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Sāriputra

whose knowledge of Sanskrit as a language was usually slight, though they might know the text by heart. They relied on verbal glosses in the various vernaculars, Tamil and Telugu in Southern India, and Sinhalese in Ceylon. It is quite clear that the Silpa Śāstras are the remains of a very carefully systematised and complete literature, and it is certain that it must have taken many centuries for them to have become so imperfect and corrupt as they now are.*

Age of the Silpa Śastras

The golden age of Indian art and literature, when India was most herself, I conceive to have been the period dating from the time of the Upanishads and of Buddha, to the close of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The civilisation of this time found its ultimate literary expression in the Rāmāyaṇa (about 300 A.D.) and the Mahābhārata (about 400 A.D.) and is in popular tradition centred round the court of Vikramāditya (about 375 A.D).

I have above (p. 63) referred to the now isolated occurrence of special crafts widely scattered in different parts of India, and suggested that this indicates a once more universal distribution. The study of Indian Art and Craft, in its profound unity in variety, suggest that its present remains are but the wreck of its former grandeur. If so, this must have been the case long ago, before the Hindu culture of the North was overrun by the Muhammadans. It may well have been in the brilliant era of the Gupta rulers, culminating in the rule of Vikramāditya. The great iron pillar at Delhi, erected in his reign, witnesses still to a knowledge of metallurgy enabling the craftsmen of that day to forge a bar of iron larger than any that could have been forged in Europe before the end of the nineteenth century.

It is probable that the Silpa Śāstras were written down towards the close of this period. They had previously been handed down orally by the hereditary craftsmen, amongst whom their secret was jealously guarded. The brevity of the memory verses and their technical language further preserved their meaning from common comprehension. The craftsmen are reluctant to allow their technical books to be made public.

A certain parallel may be drawn between the writing down of the materials of the Silpa Śāstras, and those composing the epics of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Mahāvaṃsa. There seems to have been a tendency at this time to put into permanent form, traditions and accumulated learning previously transmitted orally in memory verses.† There is a close correspondence between the literary and the artistic phenomena. Compare, for example, a memory verse from the Rūpāvaliya (e.g. vv. 3 and 4, p. 112, above) with this verse from the Dīpavaṃsa, in which the history of the *satsatiya* is summarised: "The throne, the Animisa (sanctuary), the cloisters, the Gem-court, the Ajapala (tree), and the Mucalinda (tree) together with the Khirapala grove as the seventh." In both cases we have mnemonic verses of great brevity, evidently adapted to oral transmission; the artist in each case had to fill in the meagre details, and make the story or the image live.

I suggest a parallel between the literary impulse which led to the writing down of these mnemonic verses, and their expansion into epic history, and the impulse which led to the writing down of the orally transmitted verses of the Silpa Śāstra, and suggest also the probability of these two processes having taken place about the same time.

* "*Mutilated as they invariably are in many important parts, almost every line of them is not only disfigured by gross errors, perpetuated by a succession of ignorant transcribers, but the technical terms and memorial verses with which the whole abounds, are so little understood either by the artists or the pundits of the present day, that it requires no ordinary exertion to comprehend and explain the exact import of even a single section.*"—*Rām Rāz, 'Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus', London, 1834, p. 3.*

† *See Geiger, 'Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa,' Colombo, 1905, for a study of the evolution of the 'epic of Duṭṭha Gāmanī,' forming the main part of the M. as composed in the fifth century.*

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I select, then, the fifth century as a probable date for the writing down of the Silpa Śāstras, but in doing so I do not attach, of course, importance to the exact figures, and do not forget that not all the works in question are necessarily contemporaneous. *Sāriputra*

It is clear that the artistic canons and memory verses cannot have been formulated at a very early period, for they imply the development of Hinduism from and through Buddhism, such as could hardly have taken place before the close of the second century A.D. They appear to be in the main independent of Buddhism; we cannot suppose that any vital tradition, or one concerned mainly with Hindu representations could have been formulated in connection with the weak and effeminate sculpture of the Gandhāra school, perhaps the least truly Indian and artistically least important of all sculpture in India. There is some indication that the Silpa Śāstras date from a time subsequent to the decline of Buddhism as the complete expression of national religion. Thus in the Rūpāvaliya, Buddha appears only as one of the ten avatārs of Vishṇu; and as Rām Rāz suggests,* there is evidence in other works to show that the worship of the Jainas and Buddhists, though still tolerated and provided for in these works, occupied a position of very minor importance in them. But a purely Buddhist canon like the Sāriputra would not have been preserved in India at all after the complete extinction of Buddhism as a separate cult; and it is not likely to have been composed in Ceylon; so that by this line of reasoning also we are thrown back to the fifth century. Another piece of evidence is afforded by the Sukranītisāra,† or 'Elements of Polity,' by Sukrācārya, which was translated into Tibetan in the seventh century A.D., and must therefore have been well known in India for a considerable time previous to this. This work contains important chapters on the measurements of images, summarised in part in the table given above, and also a clear presentation of the artistic ideal of the imager himself.

The truth is that we have to consider in all probability two stages in the history of the works in question, the first that of their formulation at the close of the fifth century in Northern India, the second that of their subsequent use and final decay in the North, finally completed as the result of Muhammadan conquest and influence. During this second period, the traditions flourished in the South, where most of the remaining works are still to be found; new recensions of them were made, with additions and interpolations relating to representations of local deities and saints. Artistic expression in the South culminated in the sculpture and architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after which there followed a gradual decline, rapidly accelerated in the nineteenth century, until now there are but few craftsmen who understand their own books, and but few copies of these books procurable, and those imperfect and exceedingly corrupt.

* '*Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*,' London, 1834. *This valuable book contains the fullest account in English of the Silpa Śāstras (so far as they relate to architecture) and some discussion of their age.*

† *In this case, and in the Bṛihad Saṃhita of Varaha Mitra, the artistic canon does not stand by itself as the body of the work, but forms a single chapter or a few chapters in a work of general information, an encyclopædia.*

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CHAPTER IX. PAINTING.

OWING in a large measure to the activity of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha, who was such an eager friend of religion and of art, we find preserved a sufficient amount of eighteenth century painting, to enable us to form an accurate idea of its scope and capacity and methods, in which we are aided by a study of the good work which can still be done by the hereditary painters when the opportunity is given them. The few really good painters, now living, are equal to any but the very best eighteenth century men, such as Silvaṭenna, who painted *jātakas* at Ridī Vihāra and at Degaldoruva. The eighteenth century work may be best studied in old and unrestored vihāras, such as Degaldoruva, Ridī Vihāra, Danagirigala, Doḍantale, and in the low country at Kęlaṇiya. Examples are also afforded by old painted furniture, like the book-box at Ridī Vihāra, and in the rare paper MSS. of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; but I do not know of any old paintings on cloth surviving.

The technique and character of Kandyan painting will first be described in detail.

The pigments were prepared as follows:

White (*sudu pāṭa*).—This is prepared from hydrous magnesite (*makul*, or *kovā makul*) obtained from a cave known as the *makul gal-lēna* at Vetekgama near Maturaṭa. It is often mixed with other pigments to make pink, grey, etc.

Red (*rata pāṭa*).—This is *sādiliṅgam* or cinnabar, which is not known to occur in Ceylon and must always have been imported. In all cases it forms the ground colour.

Yellow (*kaha pāṭa*).—This is gamboge from the *gokaṭu* tree (*Garcinia morella*); but the material preferred for painting on wood or earthenware is orpiment (*hiriyal*, or *maḍa hiriyal*) and this is now often used even when *gokaṭu* would be preferable.

Black (*kalu pāṭa*).—This is lamp-black, to make which, jak-milk (*kos-kiri*, i.e. juice from the fruit of *Artocarpus integrifolia*), *kękuna* oil (oil of *Canarium zeylanicum*), and rosin (*hāl-dummala*, from the *hāl*-tree, *Vateria acuminata*) are ground up together and mixed with shreds of cotton cloth, then set over a small fire in a clean earthen pot with a second pot inverted above it. The soot is deposited in the upper pot and thence collected. Its oily nature makes it difficult to mix with water.

Blue (*nīla pāṭa*).—This colour is very rarely seen; it was obtained from the leaves of the indigo plant, *nīl-gas*, but only in small quantities; possibly some was also had from the Dutch. In the great majority of old paintings blue and green are absent altogether.

Green (*pacca* pāṭa*).—Made by mixing blue with yellow.

Gold (*ratram pāṭa*).—Gold is used in an old pattern-book of the eighteenth century which I have, and in the *baṇadaham* book (breviary) from which pages are reproduced on Pl. XX; but I have seen no other examples. The gold prepared for use is said to have come from Siam, which is quite possible. The use of gold leaf, however, applied to gild stone or other statues is a common and ancient practice.

Shades of colour.—Red, black, and blue are mixed with white to form pink (*iṃbul sivi*), grey (*sudu kalu* or *nīl sivi*) and pale blue (*nīl sivi*). The grey is generally used to represent blue or green or brown in nature and in representations of Vishṇu, the 'Blue God.' A little yellow added to the grey gives it the usual greenish tinge. The use of shades of colour is very limited, and never such as to produce relief or interfere with the flatness of the decoration.

A characteristic feature is the outlining of all forms with a clear black line: this outlining,

* *It may be noted that the word pacca in 'pacca heṭṭaya' (a chief's jacket, as in Fig. 1) has little or no colour significance, indicating rather the kind of jacket than the colour of it.*

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and the occasional use of small quantities of green or white in the detail of ornament, gives just the necessary softening required to harmonize the strong reds and yellows, and reduce their extreme brilliancy. The whole range of colours may seem very limited, but it will be found that a varied use can be made of them, and the very limitation was a safeguard and a stimulus to the inventiveness of the painter. Regarding the exact meaning of the names for colours, it may be noted that *kalu* means 'black,' but also 'dark blue' when applied to cloth; *nila* means either blue or green, properly the former, it is applied in poetry to the colour of parrot wings and compared with that of young rice. The use of few colours in Sinhalese art is a point of importance, as also the fact that the same word is sometimes used in different senses, as *kalu*, black or indigo; *ntla*, blue or green. The appreciation of shades of colour is even in Europe a comparatively modern matter, and has gone to great extremes. The old appreciation of pure bright colour is almost lost, a fact not generally realised by persons who regard *pure* colour as barbaric.

One of the most important things needful to secure good colours, is long and careful grinding. This work, often done by the pupils, may occupy as much as a month before a large undertaking, such as the decoration of a vihāra, is begun. The pounded colour is ground with water in a stone mortar again and again until it is fine and smooth enough. According to the best method, the pigments are mixed with *divul laṭu* (gum of the elephant apple tree, *Feronia elephantum*) and water, and thus used. The work is thus in no sense fresco, but should be called tempera painting. Gum arabic is now successfully used when the *lāṭu* cannot be had. The use of *doraṇa* oil (oil of the *doraṇa* tree, *Dipterocarpus glandulosus*) as a medium is said to be entirely a modern innovation; the effect is coarser and altogether inferior. But some say that *doraṇa* oil was used for outside work, and even in interiors when the *laṭu* could not be had. Certainly if oil was not used as the medium for outdoor work, such as that above the vihāra at Ridī Vihāra, it is difficult to understand how it can have lasted. The paintings at Ridī Vihāra were executed in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha. Siddhattha, the incumbent who had charge of the works, after completing the vihāras and their decoration, "caused a delightful picture to be made of the Sage, seated amidst his five hundred disciples with Sāriputra at their head, above the image house, in the convenient hollow of the rock" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C.). There are external paintings also at Māniyaṅgama and Lenagala. Mr. Bell (Kęgalla Report, p. 30) says of the latter, that above the lean-to tiled verandah there "is still visible a coloured representation of a *perahęra*, much faded, in which riders on elephants and horses, with flag-bearers, escort a five-tiered *karaṇḍuva* on a car." These paintings, at any rate those at Māniyaṅgama, date from the time of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha. Ordinary interior painting is sooner or later destroyed by even partial exposure to damp.

The brushes used for flat colouring of small spaces are made of cats' or squirrels' hair, and are small and delicate. Larger brushes are made from the frayed ærial roots of *vęṭakeyiya*, a species of *Pandanus*. Long stiff brushes for drawing fine lines are made from the awns of the *teli taṇa* grass (*Aristida adscensionis*). The *teli taṇa* grass and the brush (*teli kūra*) are so-called from the resemblance to the snout of the *teli* fish. The *teli taṇa* brushes are very easily and rapidly made; the grass spike is wetted, and the awns stripped off between the finger and thumb nail, shaken down to a level and tied on a pointed stick; the longest awns form the fine point of the brush. Graphite pencils were unknown, but actual *lead* pencils were used—but very sparingly, however, as the painter relied almost entirely, perhaps altogether, on his brush.

The materials on which eighteenth century paintings were executed, were plaster (on walls), wood (ceilings, furniture, etc.), cloth and paper and earthenware, as at the present day. Accounts of paintings on cloth are quoted on pp. 72, 73, above, from the Mahāvaṃsa.

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Painting

They refer, no doubt, to ordinary pigment painting, as dye-painting was not, at any rate in the eighteenth century, a Sinhalese craft. I have seen no drawings on paper of Sinhalese paper, which was very coarse and rough.* Such old drawings or paper MS. as have been preserved are found to be on Dutch paper, or at a later time on English paper. No doubt paper of Indian or Sinhalese manufacture was used at an earlier period.

Methods of wall painting

Vihāra walls were made sometimes of stone or brick, more often of mud mixed with sand, laid on a wooden framework as in ordinary domestic work; the wooden framework was filled with a mixture of puddled earth and sand, covered with a layer of finely ground clay and sand, mixed with rice water. The surface was then covered with a layer of *kirimeṭiya* ('milk clay,' viz. kaolin) made very smooth, and then a coat of Maturaṭa *makul* (magnesite). The surface was thus made pure white. The *sapu* or bamboo wooden framework of such walls lasts well; but some are riddled with white ants. In the case of the roof of a rock temple, the plaster of clay, sand and rice water was applied direct with a coconut-fibre brush, and then the *kirimeṭiya* and *makul* were laid over. The proportion of clay to sand is one part to two. When there have been many successive redecorations the thickness of plaster becomes considerable, and is sometimes heavy enough to fall away by its own weight. According to the statement of good modern craftsmen, lime plaster was not used as a basis for painting upon, but only for external surfaces not intended to be painted. But a verse from the Gaṇa Devi Heḷla, quoted on p. 89, indicates that lime plaster was sometimes painted on, as one would naturally have expected.

Painting is commenced upon the *makul*-covered surface. The work is first sketched in (*lakuṇu kalā*) with a fine brush and black paint, then the background filled in with pink, leaving the figures white. The latter are then filled in with yellow, carefully outlined in red, and the background filled up in pink exactly to the outline. Part of this work is done by pupils. The pink is covered with a coat of red; and two or three alternate coats of pink and red may be necessary to ensure a fine red at last. The final background is invariably red, as in Pl. I. Detail of features, etc., is added in red on the figures, which are finally cleanly outlined with a firm black line, which at once defines, harmonizes and unites the whole composition. All the line work is done with the fine *teli taṇa* brush. The use of yellow for the face and figure is explained by the frequent comparison of the colour of beautiful persons to that of gold. It is a fact that the most beautiful Indian skin colour is golden brown, going with a very satiny texture, and this is recognized in the Indian ideal of beauty, which demands a 'fair' skin. A very dark skin is despised, and is actually more usual amongst persons of low caste, than those of high. The elephant-keeper, in Pl. I., is accordingly represented as dark, in contrast to the *goviyavaṃsa* people attendant on the king. Trees, leaves, and water are usually represented in grey; buildings are yellow, tiles red, and rocks black. The use of blue or green is most exceptional.

Pattern work is done in a corresponding manner. It is usual to determine first the position of the most important elements, such as flowers or animals, then to connect them together, and last to add the leaves and detail on the stems. The black outline, and occasional use of a little green, black, or white detail, temper any hardness of contrast between the red and yellow. When a particular flower or animal is to be repeated several times, a paper pattern (*accuva*) is made, and the outline traced from it wherever required. Pouncing seems to be unknown, although a familiar practice in India and Siam. When a limited space has to be filled with a repeating pattern, it is carefully subdivided with compasses,

* *The method of manufacture was described by Ondaatje, 'Observations on the Vegetable Products of Ceylon,' Colombo, 1854.*

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so as to allow the pattern to begin and end well. All important principles of the construction of design were fully understood, as may be judged from an examination of Figs. 29 and 52. *Painting*

The methods of painting on wood are similar, except that *hiriyal* is preferred to *gokaṭu*, and the work is usually protected by a layer of varnish (*valicciya*). The whole is first covered with an even coat of pink, the design sketched on this, and the background filled in with red, and detail as before. Painting on earthenware is done in the same way.

The varnish is made as follows: powdered *dummala* (which must be white and clean, not dark) is mixed with *doraṇa* (oil) and boiled for half an hour or more and then allowed to cool, when it is ready for use. The varnish so prepared smells strongly of turpentine and dries quickly.* The yellow *gokaṭu* (gamboge) paint is said to be itself a *valicciya* and not to require any other varnish. A superior method of varnishing small wooden articles is to cover the painting with a thin coating of carefully cleaned and strained lac (*keppeṭṭiyā lākaḍa*), applied with heat. Old book covers will always be found to have been thus treated. *Varnish*

One great merit of the old Sinhalese painter is the thoroughness of his knowledge of the preparation and properties of the pigments and tools at his disposal; their natural limitations moreover tended to restraint and gravity. The readiness with which excellent implements are made from the commonest and simplest materials is very striking. The old methods are still well understood and sometimes followed by the best workmen; but, unfortunately, those responsible for modern vihāra decoration rarely take the trouble to secure their services; and the majority of inferior painters run riot with Aspinall's enamel and Rickett's blue, with which they depict designs more like those to be looked for on second-rate Christmas cards than suitable for temple walls.

Vihāra walls are usually covered with *jātaka* subjects, in long panels of continuous narration, set close together, one above the other (Pls. I. and VIIIA), the narrow space between sufficing for a short explanatory note; or a label may be inset in the picture itself; both methods are illustrated in Pl. XVIII. The 'continuous narration' should be specially noted. In this primitive method, the same figures are repeated frequently in continuous pictures, in fresh situations revealing the progress of the story; so that the result is a panorama, where, however, the observer and not the picture itself must move. Thus in Pl. I. the one elephant appears twice, first ridden by King Vessantara, afterwards as being given by him to certain Brahmans who in the original are shown on the right; below again, Madrī Devī and the two children are twice depicted, once passing along the highway, and then arriving at the hermitage. *Jātaka paintings*

It is worth while to describe in slightly greater detail the wall paintings of a particular vihāra. I have already quoted from the Degaldoruva *sannasa* some account of the decoration of the vihāra there; it is stated that twenty-four images of Buddha were painted on the walls and ceilings, beside other workmanship. Of these paintings, the *jātaka* paintings on the outer surface of the wall of the *piḷima-gē* are the most interesting and important. Four *jātakas* are illustrated; these are the Sattubhatta and Vessantara Jātakas on the left of the main door, Sutasoma Jātaka between the doors, and the Sīlava Jātaka on the right. The little iron-barred window referred to above, p. 134, separates the Sattubhatta and Vessantara Jātakas on the left. Mr. Cave in his 'Book of Ceylon', Fig. 489, gives a good picture of Degaldoruva, showing the doors and the painted wall; in the same picture may be observed the twelve monolithic pillars with their cushion capitals, the painted

* *I have found an alcoholic solution of shellac a convenient substitute for the methods described, and preferable in effect to the intense brilliancy of newly applied dummala varnish.*

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Painting

Jataka paintings

ceiling, and the beautiful 'moonstone' or doorstep. Four painters worked at Degaldoruva, the work being completed in 1771, or at any rate before 1786, when the *sannasa* was granted. Their names were Nilagama Paṭabẹnda, who was the chief *gihiya*, or foreman: Devaragampola Silvaṭẹnna Unnānse, who was an 'unordained' priest of ācāri caste, and worked also at Ridī Vihāra, being still remembered as the best painter of his day; Kosvatte Hitaranayide, by whom the Sutasoma Jātaka is said to have been done; and another man whose name is not remembered. The work was overseen by Moraṭoṭa Mahā Nāyaka of Malvatte, who was the first incumbent.

The value of these paintings lies not merely in their beauty and charm as decoration, but in the fact that they are priceless historical documents that could not be reproduced under modern conditions. The gorgeous trappings of the elephants, the king's and the attendants' dresses and the royal insignia; the hermitage; the village scene at the well in the Vessantara Jātaka, are all most faithfully drawn, and these pictures, like the mediæval manuscripts of Europe, are invaluable records of past manners and customs. In the Sutasoma Jātaka, the most interesting pictures are perhaps those in which the king's sons meet in an *ambalam*; the representations of the king's kitchen, with the *gahoniya* hanging from a hook on a pillar, covering the provisions brought in from some royal manor; the king's expulsion; and his offerings of human victims as a sacrifice to the tree dēva.

In the Sīlava Jātaka, perhaps the most interesting scenes are those showing Senaka Paṇḍit expounding the *dharma* to men and women, and a school scene showing a seated paṇḍit and a row of respectful scholars, of whom the first is repeating his lesson to the master. Of the other paintings at Degaldoruva, the most noteworthy are the Buddha and Maitri Buddha on the rock ceiling within the *piḷima-gē*.

Another temple which may be briefly described is the Kẹḷaṇiya Vihāra. The main building consists of an image room with a large reclining image and an antechamber (Pl. VIIA., below) with four doors, the walls and ceiling elaborately painted. Upon the walls are depicted many *jātakas*, such as the Vessantara and Kiṇdurā, a representation of Māra's battle, where the figure of Mihikata rising from the earth at the Buddha's feet should be noticed, and also decorative panels of *nāri-lata*, flowers in pots, and portraits of royal benefactors and successive incumbents. These paintings are not in the best manner, but for nineteenth century low-country work are very good. Most of the characteristic features of Kandyan painting can be recognized, such as 'continuous narration,' and many of the details of pattern work on the walls, and especially the ceiling, are excellent (Pl. XIV., 3, 4, 5, and 7). It is instructive to examine the wall paintings critically and determine the degenerate features. It will be found, for example, that the trees are more slovenly in treatment than at Degaldoruva, often mere daubs; there is also a tendency to more relief and realism, and variety of colour. But the sprays and branches and birds are well done, and the treatment of the *makara toraṇa* and branches within the image room could hardly be improved upon.

Other temples where good eighteenth century Kandyan painting is to be seen, include Doḍantale, Danagirigala, Laṅkātilaka (Pl. VIIA), Ridī Vihāra, Gaṇēgoḍa (Pl. XV.), and many others. Almost all the painting at the Daḷadā Māligāva has been renewed in recent times, and although the designs are for the most part traditional, the colours are gaudy and varied to an intolerable degree. One of the few remaining good paintings (Pl. XVI.) has been restored and altered very recently.

In Kandyan painting there is an entire absence of perspective and shading. The primary object is to tell an edifying story in an attractive way. The work is thus rather epic in character, than artistic in the modern sense. It has a great deal in common with the mural painting of Egypt; in its pure gay colour, decorative flat treatment and restfulness,

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it is most admirable as wall painting. As in Egypt, "the wall is a wall still and not a window; nay a book rather, where, if you will, you may read the stories of the gods and heroes, and whose characters, whether you read them or not, delight you always with the beauty of their form and colour." Beside *jātakas* we find other subjects on walls, particularly the *sat-satiya*, *suvisi-vivaraṇa*, rows of *arhat* priests, *māra-yuddhaya*, etc. Large wall spaces are not usually covered with mere pattern work, which only appears as an accessory (Pl. VIIA). If the religious subjects are not depicted, beautifully designed pictures of trees may be found, as at Danagirigala (Pl. XIV., 8). Portraits of royal or other patrons are sometimes painted flat on the walls, as at Doḍantale, where there is a valuable costume representation of Kīrti Śrī wearing the famous *kurulla beṇḍi mālaya* now in the Māligāva, and carrying a jewelled cane; but more often the figure of the patron is modelled in low relief. All figure subjects, whether images of Buddha in the round, or Gods or patrons in low relief on the walls are invariably painted, the costume of the Gods or men covered with fine diaper and other pattern work (Pl. XIV., 5 and 6). *Painting*

Figures are represented in full, three-quarter or side face, never as seen from behind. This fact is remarked by the mediæval poet, Toṭagomuva (see p. 10), in a verse of the Seḷa Lihiṇi Sandēśaya: "True friends, alike when adverse fortune comes or when success, like painted images upon a wall, show not their backs."

The off eye is foreshortened in three-quarter face presentations, but the near eye is drawn as if seen in front view, and the same is true of profiles. Lines to indicate the eye socket are drawn above and below the lines of the eye itself. The four lines just mentioned are drawn in red, the eyebrow black. The pupil is a black spot. In large paintings the white of the eye on either side of the pupil is barred by vertical red lines, curved concentrically with the limit of the pupil.

In small paintings by good artists, and particularly in renderings of *jātaka* subjects, the figure and features are sufficiently well done to allow even a critical observer to enjoy the work as a whole, as one decorative construction. But in larger paintings it very often happens that the distortion of the features and misproportion of the limbs is painful. Paintings of Buddha are usually carefully and correctly drawn in accordance with the measurements of the canon, but hardly show any appreciation of the physical beauty of the figure.

The figures have a good deal of vivacity and dignity, but are rarely drawn with any feeling for the beauty of the human form; they are sometimes almost grotesque. The canon of measurement (Sāriputra) is not made use of in drawing figures in *jātaka* scenes, but only in representing Buddha or figures of the gods. The absence of perspective is so much a part of the style that we can hardly call it a fault. We can imagine an improvement in the drawing, but the introduction of perspective and relief and division of the picture into several planes would so alter the work—not necessarily for the better—that it could no longer be called Kandyan painting.

The most essential character of Kandyan painting, as of Kandyan design in general, is its *idealism*. This idealism belongs to all Indian art; but in Kandyan art it appears in almost an extreme form. Some of the *magul lakuṇu*, for example, are little more than hieroglyphics. But the idealism is very marked also in design and picture. Observe, for example, the trees on Pl. I. and XIV., 8; these are not portraits of particular trees, but abstractions, representing the artist's generalised conception of all such trees. When I say 'the artist,' I do not refer to any individual, but imply the whole body of artists who together worked out the language long ago; and I say language because traditions and conventions are to the artist what words and metre are to the poet, and these no one man made. The idealism of Kandyan art is part of its inheritance from India; but as *Idealism*

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Painting

Idealism

we have already observed, Kandyan art does not represent Indian art at its greatest or even at a very great period, but rather Indian art at the level of a great and beautiful scheme of peasant decoration. Kandyan art as we see it represents a tradition handed down from the earliest stratum of Indian art, modified and enriched by subsequent influences but in many ways primitive; just as the original manner of building in wood, and of making images in impermanent materials, survives in spite of the work in stone of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. Could the sculptors of Barāhat have come to life in eighteenth century Kandy, they would have found little that would have seemed strange or unfamiliar in the style or subject of the paintings on its vihāra walls. The sculptured trees at Barāhat differ only from those painted at Danagirigala in their more intense feeling for beauty and the deeper emotion which inspires them. This we should expect in work so much nearer the beginning of a great tradition.

We shall understand the idealism of Indian and Sinhalese art as well from a study of the Barāhat or Kandyan trees, as in any other way. There are two ways of seeing a tree; at first glance or in a photograph, it strikes us as an irregular growth of branches and leaves, producing a confused effect of light and shade. We soon learn to distinguish more than this, and to tell one kind of tree from another. But as we consider more deeply a number of trees of different kinds, we realise that each has, as it were, a law of its being: its leaves have a certain form, with a certain range of variation, its branches a certain manner of growth, its flowers a particular symmetry. Each actual tree seems to be an incarnation or embodiment of some more perfect and rhythmical idea of the tree. This idea it is the aim of art to reveal.

A good example of the idealistic treatment is afforded by the lotus. The lotus to Indian art and for the Indian mystic, is all that the rose was to Mediæval Europe. As English mediæval art is one long 'Romaunt of the Rose,' so Indian art is a romance of the many-petalled flower that is the throne of all divinities, and whose ideal form continually re-incarnates in every vessel and in every design. The simple lotus form represents the ideal form of all lotuses, as does the Tudor rose for all roses, it carries the emotion of all lotuses compressed into one abstraction. This is the secret of the constancy of art forms, that the ideal form they represent is eternal and immutable, a thought in the heart of Īśvara; that is why the trees at Barāhat and the trees in a Kandyan vihāra are expressed by the same formula. The impulse to the expression of emotion in art, is born of the sense of the unity of all life, the recognition of the many in the one. The representation of ideal forms, the reduction of various complex appearances to their simplest terms is an expression of the desire to see the one in the many.* There is here a great affinity between art and science; what natural law resuming the sequence of phenomena is for phenomena, ideal art is for the expression of emotion. Scientific drawing is concerned with the appearance of things as they seem to be in themselves; art with things as they really are within ourselves: in other words science is objective, art subjective. It is most important that their aims should not, as is now usually the case, be confused.

* *This impulse in its extremest art form produces such hieroglyphs as many of the magul lakuṇu, as shown in Fig.* 69. *In religion it results in a corresponding asceticism. We feel that the hieroglyphs or symbols are scarcely any longer to be classed as art, so slight is their intrinsic manifestation, and so entirely does the emotional value depend on association. We get a glimpse here again of the nature of the antipathy between religion and art. The former must in the end transcend the latter. Of the golden crowns which must be offered at the throne of truth, before the truth itself is known, art like all else related to time and space, is one. But for most of us, the time is not yet arrived, when we are prepared not merely to refine, but to transcend this life.*

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The memory element is in Indian art almost as characteristic as its consistent idealism. *Painting*
As already remarked, the Kandyan artist carried in his head the elements of his art, and composed them as occasion required. His fault lay in becoming the slave rather than *Idealism*
the master of the tradition thus transmitted; there have been many times in the history of Indian art when it has been otherwise, but eighteenth century Kandyan was not one of these high-water marks.

The essential points in the traditional representations were summarised in mnemonic verses, for example, "This is the appearance of Vishṇu, two hands, a chank, a discus, a head-dress, a crown, ear-flowers, a golden garment, his colour blue, his vehicle the *garuḍa*" (Rūpāvaliya, v. 57). Such mnemonic verses correspond to the memory verses of the early literature, and may once have been transmitted orally in the same way. Thus the Dīpavaṃsa, I., 29, describes the *satsatiya* thus: "The throne, the sanctuary, the cloisters, the gem palace, the ajapala (tree), the (nāga) mucalinda, together with the Khirapala (grove) as the seventh." But all this is subservient to the idealism and the living tradition. From the verse alone, a quite inadequate figure of Vishṇu would be drawn, just as from the verse alone, a very poor idea of the *satsatiya* would be gathered. Each had to be filled in by the artist, whether painter or reciter, as best he knew.

In some verses of the canon the idealism is more evident. The Buddha, for example, is one with "an unfettered, quiescent, and absolutely pure mind" (Sāriputra); of the horse it is said that "his neigh has the sound of the storm, . . . he is swift as the wind, stately as the lion and has the gait of a dancer" (Rūpāvaliya). The expression of these abstract ideas is of more value than the exact imitation of natural forms.

We are not told, and do not want to be told, what the animal itself was like, but what it meant to the men who painted it, what it was like *for them*, and so what *they* were like. As I have said above (p. 87), the artist's lion need be like no lion on earth or in any zoological garden; the artist is not preparing the plates of a work on natural history; but makes his lion at once a portrait of the universe and an expression of the whole theory of his national existence. At the same time it must be recognized that the eighteenth century craftsman in Ceylon was merely making use of such expressions already formulated, and was not himself a creator. The same applies to the imager, who used the formula, and was influenced, no doubt, by the suggestions of such verses as those just quoted, but can hardly at this time have been accustomed to practise meditation and mental visualising as truly great Indian artists have always done.

It must not be supposed, however, that tradition, by its very nature, fetters the expression and production of great art; on the contrary it enables the great artists to speak in a language understanded of the people, and without that necessity for explanation which reduces the value of more individualistic art; and the existence of an art language is no more a fetter to the true artist, than the existence of a word language is to the true poet. And what did tradition mean to the lesser craftsmen, for whom art was but a craft? It gave them a conception so defined as to avoid all danger of the sacred subjects being treated absurdly or irreverently. How well this aim was attained is shown by the vulgarity and stupidity that do appear in Indian art, where the tradition is rudely and contemptuously broken with. But while the tradition lasted, it saved the man of small capacity from his own folly, and made it possible for him to work acceptably within its limits.

If, for example, the spiritual conflict of Buddha with the powers of evil had been depicted by some great artist, in the shape of a strong man whose face was torn by conflicting emotions, a wonderful picture might have resulted; but it would not have been peaceful, impersonal, ideal. Such a rendering of 'expression' in the face would be quite foreign to the aesthetic and philosophic conceptions of Indian art, which is not at all concerned

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Painting

Idealism

with the interpretation of individuality. It would not be possible for many such personal individual pictures to be made; and one essential of religious art, is that there shall be a possibility of the work being done fairly well by average craftsmen. This does not at all rule out the genius, who has a greater, not a less, opportunity than has such a man nowadays who can only do good work, in conscious opposition to the spirit of the age. Furthermore, only great individual artists could depict the mental struggle adequately as such; but the concrete symbolism made it possible for average workmen at all times to produce a sufficient result; without preventing the great man from throwing all his genius into the expression of peace in the seated figure.

The serene seated figure, surrounded by vainly attacking devils, is a most assuring and peaceful promise of final victory over the passions. The Buddha is not represented in his painful struggles, but with the calmness of perfect victory and peace. So, too, in earlier Christianity, representations of Christ in glory, or transfigured, were much oftener made, than of Christ upon the cross.

In times of great artistic expression, we have both the work of men of genius, and that of ordinary workmen. Their work is united by the bond of a common tradition, or means of expression, just as the work of contemporaneous poets is united by a common language and association of ideas. But in eighteenth century Kandyan art we have to deal not with the work of men of individual genius as well as that of ordinary workmen, we have only the work of the latter. The value of the concrete traditional symbolism in this case can hardly be overestimated, a point which those who are acquainted with the extraordinary vulgarity and unsuitability of modern vihāra decoration, often executed by low-country painters who are not hereditary craftsmen, will understand.

References to Sinhalese literature

To enable us to judge of the light in which art, and especially painting, was ordinarily regarded, an examination of some literary references will be useful. There was at this time no great philosophy of art; it was regarded almost entirely as decorative in aim. Here is the translation of a verse in the Nīlakobō Sandēśaya (eighteenth century): the writer, addressing the parrot messenger, "Sit quietly on the fruitladen *kaduru* tree, and behold the ambalam built at Polonnaruvavela, adorned with paintings of lions and leopards, as if by the advent of Viśvakarma with his mighty power."

Again in the description of the building of a palace for the youthful *Gaṇēśa*, in the *Gaṇa Devi Hęlla*, "After the walls were daubed with clay, and smoothly plastered with lime, an artist was engaged, who painted pictures of *makaras* and *haṃsas*, *gavaras*, leopards and lions, peacocks and parrots, ringdoves and cocks, pigeons and pretty *kovulas*."

Verse 205 of the Girā Sandēśaya (fifteenth century) speaks of "the monks reaching the different parts of such a great vihāra (Pępiliyāna), and opening the painted covers of the books of sacred doctrine to investigate the meaning of the Abhidhamma text."

Verse 91 of the Sevul Sandēśaya (late sixteenth century) describes the paintings in a Hindu Temple near Sītāvaka: "Beholding with a heart filled with boundless joy the paintings representing in detail the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the war of the Mahābhārata, the wars of the auspicious Skanda, and the wars waged by Īśvara against the Asuras in ancient times."

Other quotations could be given, but these show that the mediæval poets did not fail to notice and appreciate the paintings of their time.

The whole of the Mahāvaṃsa is extraordinarily full of the idea of art and craft, especially architectural. The ideals of civic and architectural magnificence and beauty are continually dwelt upon, often in poetical and imaginative passages of the highest order.* I quote

* *Mahavaṃsa, Chs. LXXXVIII. and XCVII., quoted above, pp.* 9, 11, 12.

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in full the description of the restoration of Ridī Vihāra by Kīrti Śri. "And the lord of the land gave unto the novice Siddhattha the large vihāra called Rajata [Ridī Vihāra] that the king Duṭṭhagāmanī had built, who had verily come (into this world) with the desire to become the chief disciple of Maitri Buddha. And the ruler of Laṅkā caused that priest to be ordained, and bestowed offices on him and on all the priests who dwelt in the Uposatārāma, and also showed them favour in many ways. And that they might restore that vihāra which had been long in a state of decay, the lord of Laṅkā provided them with divers artificers and many painters, and much refined gold for gilding the statue of Buddha, and all the labour and instruments that were necessary. And when the eminent monk Siddhattha had received all these things he removed everything that was old and decayed, and made the thick high wall of solid stone, to shine, and the floor and the outer wall also. And he caused a picture of the Supreme Buddha, as he was engaged in the battle with Māra, to be painted on the roof of the rock, and divers flowers and branches also. He caused also the great sleeping image to be made with fine brick and mortar and clay, and many other images of Buddha also, sitting and upright. And on the inner wall he caused about a thousand beautiful pictures of the Supreme Buddha to be painted with exquisite art. At the foot of the great sleeping image he caused to be made, in due order, beautiful images of Ānanda, the constant attendant of Buddha and the preserver of the Law, and of Maitri Bodhisatva, of the excellent Nātha Dēva and of the king Duṭṭhagāmanī. And he gilded with gold the five large images of Buddha, and completed the other works that had to be done inside. On the outside wall also, he caused to be painted a beautiful row of figures of Dēvas and Brahmas carrying flowers in their hands, as if they had come to worship. He caused also to be made a large arch, beautiful and pleasant to the sight, and two figures of lions on the two sides of the door, and figures of demons on the spaces between them, in the walls. He also had pictures made of the sixteen principal shrines consisting of Mahiyaṅgana and the rest, and a likeness of the excellent footprint (of Buddha) on the Sacca-baddha Pabbata, and many scenes also, painted with exquisite art from many Jātakas, showing the ten-fold Pārami, the three-fold Cariyā, the five great self-denying sacrifices, and other virtues (of the Bodhisatta). And in the hall he caused many pictures to be painted: lions, elephants, and swans, in rows; likewise flowers and branches also.

Painting

Ridī Vihāra

"Then in the beautiful cave that is on the top of that selfsame rock he made a fair, large and excellent image-house pleasant to the sight, and many works in stone that were wrought to perfection. In it he made a large, beautiful, and life-like sitting image of Buddha, pleasant to behold, and on both sides thereof two fine upright statues. He also caused to be made there the images of Maitri Bodhisatva and of Uppalavaṇṇa, and many images of Buddha, and hundreds also of Arhats. Likewise also there were figures of the twenty-four Buddhas (before Gautama) and as many Bodhi trees, *sāvisi-vivaraṇa*, pictures of the sixteen principal shrines, of demons and other evil spirits, of the five different venerable convocations, and divers other paintings of exquisite beauty. In that very place he placed relics of Buddha, and built thereon a Cetiya, and adorned it with a pinnacle of gold. And on the top of the image-house in that excellent rock basin he caused a delightful picture to be made of the Sage, seated amidst his five hundred disciples, with Sāriputta at their head. And even in the different courts (of the vihāra) he built walls and open halls, and divers gates also, and rows of steps and other excellent works. He repaired many old works, also built many new ones; and completed all in a beautiful manner.

"And when the time for holding the feast of the setting of the eyes of the images had come, and the king had sent his ministers with apparel and other ornaments (to conduct it), they adorned the place with many continuous rows of arches; and when they had made an end of putting on all the ornaments that were necessary and had arranged the order

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Painting of the high ceremonial, they celebrated the great feast, and, under a lucky star and at a favourable hour, performed the ceremony of setting the eyes of the images.

Ridi Vihāra "From that time forth many inhabitants of the country came together from different parts, in great number, like unto a sea that overflowed the land; and when they had seen the works of gold and divers other things that had been wrought there, they were exceedingly delighted, as if they had seen the Supreme Buddha performing the double miracle. And with their hearts full of joy they made great offerings, accompanied with shouts, and paved their way to heaven.

"And in the festival which was held at that vihāra they invited the priesthood, and prepared seats for them in the upper hall of the vihāra, and caused the priests who were preachers of the Law to sit thereon and recite the Mahā-maṅgala-sutta and other discourses which were pleasant to be listened to; and then they made due offerings in honour of the Law. And all the people who heard and saw these things enjoyed the pleasure of seeing (the image of) the Supreme Buddha at the same time that they listened to his holy doctrine; and they rejoiced exceedingly as if they heard the doctrine preached by the living Buddha himself. Thus, day after day, did they show to the people both the beauty of his (Buddha's) form and the dignity of his discourses.

"And, on the courtyard without, an open hall was built on stone pillars with seats prepared (for priests). And the great body of the priests assembled themselves together there, and were instructed in the rules of moral conduct, such as the five precepts and others; and they had everyone the opportunity daily of hearing much of the Law expounded to them. Moreover, he (the priest Siddhattha) in his great loving-kindness, did often invite preachers of religion, and make them discourse to the people all through the three watches of the night.

"And he (the priest or king) caused that vihāra named Rajata to be completed, and that great feast to be held in the two thousand three hundred and first year of the Parinibbāṇa of the Supreme Buddha" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C.) Such work was a labour of love to all concerned.

Painting on cloth The following mention of painting on cloth is connected with Parākrama Bāhu II.: "And he longed every day to behold a beautiful picture of the Blessed One—a perfect likeness of the Master as he was in his lifetime. So the chief of men employed many skilled painters to paint on a beautiful cloth a surpassing likeness of Buddha, as the Blessed One appeared on earth when he walked on the great bridge of gold and gems" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXXV.).

Siri-vaḍḍhana The following account of the building of a Mahā Vihāra for the Tooth-relic, by Vijaya Bāhu III., in the thirteenth century, contains most interesting descriptions of buildings, images and golden utensils, of which the chronicle speaks in truly poetical language, which must, of course, lose greatly in translation. The period is earlier than that generally dealt with in this volume; but the ideal, if not the attainment, of the eighteenth century was similar, and the chronicler's words give the keynote of the part played by the arts in Sinhalese life from first to last. The description includes an account of the magnificent procession along the decorated road from Dambadeṇiya to Sirivaḍḍhana*:

"And afterwards the king built the Mahā Vihāra in the noble city of Sirivaḍḍhana wherein he was born—a city that could not be compared for its situation—and endowed it with great possessions. It consisted of stately houses and open halls, of high walls and gates,

* *The distance from Dambadeṇiya to Sirivaḍḍhanapura given in the text is altered to* half *a yojana and one usabha* (*about seven miles*), *in accordance with the footnote to F. H. Modder's paper on 'Dambadeṇiya,' J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XV., No.* 48, 1897, *p.* 23.

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and was ornamented with *bo*-trees, dāgabas, groves, and image-houses. The workmanship thereof was diverse and of exceeding beauty, and it was adorned with great splendour. And in the vast space that extended from the city of Jambuddoṇi to the city of Sirivaḍḍhana, the length and breadth whereof was about half a yojana and one usabha, (the highway was) made even like the face of a drum, covered throughout with sand, exceeding fine and soft. And the divers flags and banners which ornamented the sides thereof were so great in number that they seemed to hide the rays of the sun; and rows of plantain trees were placed along the length thereof, with divers vessels for water, of exceeding beautiful workmanship, filled with ornamental flowers. And within this vast space the chief of men caused royal arches to be raised, one at every space of five cubits, at every space of ten cubits a cloth-arch,* and at every space of hundred cubits a stately house of great size, consisting of three stories and lofty spires, and containing images of the supreme Buddha,—all finished with paintings of exceeding great beauty.

Painting

Siri-vaḍḍhana

"Afterwards he ornamented the vihāra with many painted arches round the circuit of the vihāra wall, of great size and beauty,—arches that looked contemptuously on the beautiful bow of the Chief of the Gods; with white parasols that looked like the moon in her fullest splendour, and beautiful flags of five colours and divers shapes, like beautiful dancers dancing in the firmament of heaven; with rows of splendid halls glittering with jewels, like beautiful rows of mansions that were come down from the world of gods; with numerous images of Brahmas dancing in rows with parasols in their hands, that were moved by instruments; with moving images of gods of divers forms that went to and fro with their joined hands raised in adoration; with moving figures of horses prancing hither and thither with the beauty of waves, rising and falling one after the other in the great sea; with moving likenesses of great elephants, clothed in the trappings of elephants, making men doubt whether they were not rain-clouds that had descended to the earth;—with these and divers other shows of this kind which delight the world, and are used at feasts, did he make the vihāra exceeding attractive.

"Then again the king commanded all the priests and novitiates and the lay devotees also, male and female, who were dwellers in the island of Laṅkā, to wait for the procession in great crowds without the vihāra and around it, at the space of a league from each other, raising shouts of applause and uttering the praises of the supreme Buddha, and holding in their hands offerings, flowers, and such like things that were needful at feasts in honour of Buddha; and (he likewise commanded) all others, men and women who knew the value of the three sacred gems, to adorn themselves in their best apparel (and to tarry for the procession) with things that were fit for offerings. And the king also, moved by great devotion, decked himself in all the royal ornaments and, in the midst of his fourfold army, placed the two relics of the Tooth and the Alms-bowl in a carriage of great splendour, decorated with all the ornament meet for such a vehicle. Then he caused rows of men to carry before the procession these articles and divers others that were used at feasts; namely, banners of gold and banners of silver, water-pots of gold and water-pots of silver, chowries of gold and chowries of silver, caskets of gold and caskets of silver, beautiful fans of gold and fans of silver, *pokkharaṇis*† of gold and *pokkharaṇis* of silver, and flower vases made of gold and flower vases made of silver. Then the king, followed with the sound of the five instruments of music and forming a procession of great magnificence, carried the relics by stages along the decorated highway into the city of Sirivaḍḍhana, and placed

* *The Sinhalese are still exceedingly expert at street decoration. The reḷi-pālam or arches of folded cloth, which it is the duty of the dhobies to prepare, are a very characteristic feature of the decoration.*

† *Pokkharaṇi is a lotus pond. These were probably miniature representations of it.*

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them on the seat that was prepared for Buddha in the spacious ornamented hall that was built in the middle of the vihāra, and caused offerings to be made thereunto by the divers people (who had assembled there).

Siri-vaḍḍhana

"And when the morning was come all the people arrayed themselves in their best garments, and, being exceeding desirous of gaining merit, went up with flowers of the jasmine and champac and ironwood, and other kinds of flowers of divers hues mixed with flowers of gold (leaf) and the like, and devoutly made their offerings to the Tooth-relic and the Bowl-relic. And they made offerings also of many heaps of sweet white rice that looked like heaps of the glory that had long gathered around the great king, and of divers kinds of fruit, such as plantains, jak, mango, and the like fruits that were exceeding ripe, sweet, and luscious. Then the king himself, in like manner, made offerings of divers kinds to those two noble relics; and then he who was expert in all courtesy ministered unto the Order and carefully provided them with food and drink,—food hard and soft, and drink that could be sucked, and drink that could be swallowed. And the lord of the land, who was exceeding delighted on that occasion, bestowed on several hundreds of priests the eight things that were needful for monks. Afterwards, throughout the three watches of the night, he illuminated the vihāra all round with lacs and crores of lighted lamps fed with perfumed oil, and with garlands of divers lamps perfumed with camphor oil, so that the whole face of the land looked like the firmament that was studded with stars. And the lord of the land held a feast in honour of Buddha, to which all men were drawn by the sweet songs of singers and the dances of many dancers as they danced in divers characters on the excellent stages that were raised here and there,—a feast the tumult whereof was greatly increased by the sound of the five musical instruments which, like a blast proceeding from the sea of his merits, sufficed to drown the roar of the ocean and to put to shame the thunder of the clouds,—whereat also the voice of religion was heard from pulpits reverently set up by the faithful at divers places, whereon sat preachers of the sacred Law, who, with beautiful fans in their hands, proclaimed the good Law that convinced the hearts of the hearers thereof,—a feast which also was made pleasant by the shouts of the four classes of Buddha's disciples,* who went hither and thither viewing all things with admiration and congratulating each other as they praised the virtues of the three sacred gems, exclaiming, "Oh, the Buddha! Oh, the Dhamma! Oh, the Saṅgha!"—whose praises also were sung in strains like those of the Nandis† by the masters of the ceremonies as they stood in crowds on every side invoking the blessings of Buddha.

"And for seven days the lord of the land held this great feast in honour of the three sacred objects (Buddha, the Law, and the Church) in such a manner as if he were showing here (on earth) how even the chief of the gods held the feasts of Buddha in heaven, and as if he proclaimed how the kings of the olden time, the great rulers of the Sinhalese, held their feasts in honour of the Supreme Buddha, and as if he proclaimed to all men how the perfections of the Omniscient Buddha, like unto the wish-conferring tree of heaven, yield fruit in and out of every season.

"And afterwards when he (the king) had made the Mahā Vihāra the property in common of the brethren, he dedicated it to the great priesthood, and thus filled the measure of his merit and his fame" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXXV.).

Bali painting

Before concluding this chapter, it is desirable to give an account of the methods of painting temporary mud images made by astrologers for *bali* ceremonies. This painting

* *Monks, nuns, lay disciples, and female devotees.*

† *Speakers of prologues in a drama, or panegyrists.*

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is quite distinct from that practised by the craftsmen proper, and represents an historically and actually more primitive art. The finished images, when a little dried, are first whitened with kaolin paste, then painted in colours, red, green, grey and black. The red is made of pounded iron oxide (*guru-gala*) as used for the slip-painting of pottery; the green from pounded leaves of *ranavara* (*Cassia auriculata*); the black from pounded coconut-shell charcoal; and grey by mixing kaolin with the black. The colours are applied with a brush, and are combined with other decoration in the form of leaves and flowers of coconut, cut stalks of plaintain, etc. Some idea of the style and scope of this *bali* painting will be gathered from Pl. IV., 2. *Painting*

Fa Hian (A.D. 400) states that on a certain occasion during his visit, both sides of a procession road were decorated with representations of Buddha in the five hundred bodily forms which he assumed in his different births before the last; "these figures are all beautifully painted in divers colours, and have a very life-like appearance"*; no doubt they were made of impermanent materials somewhat similar to those used in *bali* ceremonies.

A few words may be said as to the history of painting in Ceylon. Naturally there are no surviving examples of primitive work of this character where earth and leaves supply the pigments and materials. We are forced to rely upon inference and literary evidence for anything even as old as the oldest stone sculptures, at which time an equally developed school of painting must also have existed. Painting was one of the 64 arts and sciences practised in ancient India. It is frequently referred to in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. It may have been known in a primitive form to the original inhabitants of Ceylon before the arrival of Vijaya. The first mention of it in the Mahāvaṃsa, is the reference to the use of 'painted vases' in the reign of Dēvānam Piyatissa (307 B.C.). It is very likely indeed that the foundation of the craft as now surviving in Ceylon, dates, like so much else of Hindu-Buddhist culture, from the time of the settlement of Aśōka's missionaries, and the great intellectual stimulus resulting from the contact of the art of Barāhat with the more primitive art, of which we have no remains, but which may have existed in Ceylon. In connection with the building of the Ruvanvĕli Dāgaba, we are told of the mixing of orpiment (mistranslated vermilion in the English edition) with oil for use in cementing the foundations; this has been taken as evidence of a practise of oil-painting, but without the least justification. But we hear also (p. 5, above) of the decoration of the relic chamber with representations of *jātakas*, and it is probable that tempera painting (in water colour) is here meant, though not expressly indicated. *History of painting*

The artist king, Jeṭṭha Tissa (A.D. 330), has been referred to above, p. 7. The earliest paintings actually surviving in Ceylon are those at Sīgiriya. These differ in character and in technique from all modern work, but very closely resemble the famous Ajanṭa paintings of the same century. This period was one of great artistic activity, which began in India in the fourth century under the Gupta dynasty, and absorbed Dravidian tradition into its own.† The character of the art of this period may be judged best from the Ajanṭa wall paintings, and the Ellora sculptures. The Sīgiri paintings show that Ceylon was in close touch with the art growth of the time. The early Chinese historians speak in raptures of images made in Ceylon; and it is clear that the fourth and fifth centuries were one of the great periods of Sinhalese art. But they stand isolated from the historical development of the later art, which possesses far less capacity for drawing the human form. The Sīgiri paintings are somewhat sensuous, and though apparently representing goddesses and

* *Beal*, '*Buddhist Records*,' *I.*, *p.* LXXV.
† *Okakura*, '*Ideals of the East*,' *p.* 78.

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Painting

attendants, are not markedly religious in feeling. They appear to have left no trace on later Sinhalese art. Were they not thus an isolated landmark, it would be easier to fit them into the historical evolution of Sinhalese art as we know it.

Sīgiriya tempera paintings

It will be worth while to give a brief account of them. They are executed on the plastered surface of the Sīgiriya rock, those remaining being only found in an almost inaccessible cave; probably the whole rock surface over the gallery was once plastered and painted. The plaster consists of a groundwork of earth (white ants' nest ?) and kaolin, half an inch in thickness, strengthened with an admixture of paddy husk, and perhaps coconut fibre, and covered with white chunam (lime) smoothed with a trowel. Only three pigments are used, yellow, red, and green, but these are varied by shading and mixture, unlike their use in modern work; blue is absent. Mr. Bell* thinks that the paintings are portraits of Court ladies proceeding to the vihāra with flower offerings. To me the fact that the figures are cut off at half-length by conventional clouds suggests that they represent divine beings; who are always so represented in modern work.

The work is much freer and shows much greater knowledge of the human figure than any work now done; but is equally less ideal in character and less religious. Perhaps we cannot judge much from this single surviving example of what must have been a great school, working over a very extended area, and partly affected by Chinese influence.† Their one great value is the demonstration of the fact that the work of the Ajanṭa school was so widespread. A controversy has arisen as to whether the artists were Sinhalese or Indian. The point is of little real importance. The Chinese and others at this time thought exceedingly highly of Sinhalese images, which goes to show that art of a high type flourished in Ceylon; and suggests that the painters may also have been indigenous; but if so, it can hardly be claimed that the *school* was so,—only that it was so widespread as to have representatives even in Ceylon. The fact that the work differs so much from all modern work suggests that special conditions made it possible. As regards technique it is true that the work is much more enduring in character than any now done; but I do not know that it was necessarily oil colour. The painters of to-day have a method of varnishing water colour work, so as to make it very durable. There are outdoor paintings at Ridī Vihāra; the rock wall over the vihāra is covered with remains of paintings of priests on a plaster surface now much broken away (see p. 165, above). I do not know in what manner these were executed, as they were inaccessible; they date from the eighteenth century. The problems raised by the Sīgiriya paintings are many and hard, but lie mainly outside the scope of the present volume; the chief concern is the place of the school in relation to the historical evolution of modern Sinhalese art.

Passing on to later times, we find at Polonnaruva in the Mahā Demala Saya certain *jātaka* paintings, more like the Sīgiriya work than modern work; and on certain of the dāgabas (Ruvanveḷi and Abhayagiriya) at Anurādhapura, paintings (patterns) in a very bad state of preservation, but which also incline to the earlier type in their free and almost careless execution.‡

Subsequently we find in the Mahāvaṃsa frequent references to paintings on cloth and the painting of temples, evidently of the same character as the eighteenth century work known to us. The modern work seems to represent the continuous tradition handed on from the earliest times; for it has much in common with the Barāhat sculptures, and the style of painting which we may suppose to have existed in Aśōka's times. There are many

* *J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XV., No.* 48, 1897.

† *As suggested by Mr. W. A. De Silva in the J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI., No.* 57, 1906, *p.* 91.

‡ *Some of these are illustrated in Smither's 'Architectural Remains,' Pl. xxxii.*

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primitive features, such as the method of continuous narration, where the same figure or figures are repeated again and again without separation into different scenes, but in fresh situations revealing the progress of the story. The figures are shown in three aspects only, full face, three-quarter face, and side face. It is most probable that the Kandyan painting of the eighteenth century represents a survival of an early style which has always continued more or less independent of the other schools of more developed art which existed at various times; just as building in wood has always been the truly indigenous style of architecture, apart from exceptional periods of important work in stone, mainly under Indian inspiration.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

I. PAPER MANUSCRIPTS.

Of paper manuscripts I am acquainted with two only, and am indebted to the owners for the loan of them. The oldest is a small *baṇa daham pota*, containing a selection of sūtras or discourses of the Buddha, and said to have been used by the Kuṇḍasālē king (Narēndra Siṃha) as a prayer book or breviary; it now belongs to Indajoti Unnānse of the Mẹda Pansala, Malvatte. It is written on 168 leaves (two blank) of Dutch paper measuring 5 inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There are twenty-seven lines to a page, rubricated throughout, with stops (*kuṇḍali*) in blue and red and the words separated by red marks. Each *sūtra* is separated from the one following it by a tail-piece very delicately drawn in colour (Pls. XVII. and XX); there is also a page of pure pattern work at the beginning and end. The colours used are red, yellow, black, blue, emerald green and gold. The writing is in a fine *haṃsa lipi* hand, on lines ruled feint with a stylus but not marked in any clearer way. The book is bound in brown leather, gold tooled with a pattern, the elements of which are identical with those of one of the tail-pieces; two very finely worked silver clasps are still perfectly preserved. Pages of the book are reproduced on Pl. XX., and in Fig. 3; the clasps and binding are shown in Pl. LII. This little book is so very beautiful and complete in every way as to give cause to regret the absence of others like it. It may be supposed that the binding was executed by some Dutchman or Portuguese resident in Kandy, who must also have explained to the silversmith the form of clasp required; the silver work being typically Kandyan, and the best of its kind.

The other book is both larger and later; it was written in A.D. 1811 by Iriyagama Dhammadassi at a cost of 200 ridīs, at the request of a certain official and court favourite who wished to perform a meritorious action for the benefit of the soul of the late Queen Mother who had been his patron. Full details of the many lands and offices held by this man are given in the long colophon, translated below; affording an interesting side-light on Kandyan court life 100 years ago. The book is written on 150 leaves (two blank) of Dutch paper measuring $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, thirty-three lines to the page, and is plainly bound in leather; folios 1-146 are numbered consecutively, the text beginning as above stated, after the usual invocation of Buddha; folios 2-4 are painted on the recto side only, with 7, 8, and 8 of the 24 assurances (*sāvisi vivaraṇa*); the text begins on folio 5 (numbered 1) and ends on folio 145 (numbered 141) with the last of the 24

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assurances as a tail-piece; on the verso of same are the seven scenes of the *sat-satiya* or seven weeks' fast of Buddha, the last four of which are shown on Pl. XVIII.; the next leaf bears a note to the effect that a priest named Parakumbure Vipassi inherited the book, and on the back, above, a picture of Buddha besought by Mahā Brahma to reveal the Dharma, and below, of Buddha preaching *baṇa* for the first time in Isipatana Ārāma at Benāres; the next leaf shows Buddha preaching (Pl. XIX.), walking and standing; the next, the holy footstep, and Buddha reclining; and a scene from the Daham Soṇḍa Jātaka; the next leaf contains the colophon, and the last, like the first, is blank.

The book now belongs to a priest named Vẹliviṭa, of Malvatte Pansala, to whom it has descended in pupillary succession.

The paintings are typical examples of the Kandyan style of the eighteenth century, exactly resembling those usually found on vihāra walls, of which they may serve as specimens.

Translation of colophon of paper MS. of Viśuddhi Mārgaya:

"I, Dehigama Navaratna Atapattu Vāsala Mudiyānsē, having been brought up with filial affection from my earliest infancy by the great (or elder) queen who was mother of the queen of Mẹdavāsala (the 'middle palace') and occupied the position of chief queen to His Noble Majesty the King named Vijaya Rāja Siṃha [Śrī Vikrama R.S., the last king] received the following (villages and offices) from His Noble Majesty Śrī Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha, Lord of Laṅkā,—(viz.) Māvatura, Dehipāgoḍa, Kūragama, Pẹlẹṇa, Hunubadda Secretaryship of the Palanquin Department, Koṭakēpiṭiya, Aṃbepussa, Randeṇiya, Māpanāvatura, Alavatugoḍa, Mahara-niyangama, Haputale, Dulmure, Aṭabāge, Beravāgaṇṇẹve, Haloluva, Gahalagaṃboḍa, Aṅkumbūra, Gaṇhatara, Mōrāgammāna, Talēvela, Dumbara-depalāta, Ūrāvala, Pẹlava, Gaṅgoḍa, Vatura, Kīravẹlla, Attaragama, Mulgama, Līnipiṭiya, Valatvẹva, Gālēvẹva, Pālugālēvẹva, Galvẹva, Hiripiṭiya, Baṃbaragammana, Gaṇaṭa, Pubbiliya, Vatuvala, Mātgomuva, Teldeṇiya, Raṃbukvẹlla, Porokāra Muhandiramship of the two villages Māvela and Pērādeṇiya (*gabaḍāgam*), Dumbara-Mahā-uyanvatte, Nilambavatte, Basnāyaka Nilameship of Doḍanvala Dēvāle, Basnāyaka Nilameship of Maha Dēvāle, Tāppakāra Muhandiramship of Āvudha-gē (Royal Armoury), Vannoku Nilameship (? State appraiser), Mahabadda-haloluve Muhandiramship, office of Maha Lēkam (Chief Secretary), offices of Atapattuvē Lēkam, Nānāyakkāra Lēkama, Vaḍana Tuvakkukāra Lēkama, Koḍituvakku Lēkama, Atapattu of this district of Yaṭinuvara, Secretaryship of Vāsal-maḍuva (Royal pavilion), Paḍikāra Lēkama of Yaṭinuvara palace, Kẹṇgollē Atapattu Kūruvē Lēkama, Adigarship of the *vihāragam* and *dēvālegam* in Yaṭinuvara, Muhandiramship of Bōgomuva and Maruvaliya, office of Disāva of Paṭṭipola, and Secretaryship of Sat-kōrale Kuruva.

As the late elder queen was the cause of my receiving these and numerous benefits, I have thought it fit to make return by performing a meritorious action, such as to secure to her the bliss of heaven and Nirvāṇa.

I have (therefore) on this Friday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of Vap of the year 2354 of the illustrious Buddhist era, offered to his Grace Vẹliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara (nephew of the learned Pontiff Saraṇaṅkara* who is a refuge to the helpless and a true observer of the four holy rules of conduct, called Catu Pārisuddhasīla), this paper copy of Viśuddhi Mārggaya (which I had made at a cost of 200 ridīs by application to the Buddhist monk Īriyagama Dhammadhassī, a pupil of Butāvatte Lēkama who is an abode of fortitude, memory, perseverance, and a multitude of other good qualities, and is adorned with stainless conduct) a commentary on the stanza beginning with the words, "*Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño*" (composed by the great Elder, Buddhaghosa, renowned

* *The 'Saṅgha Rāja' referred to on p.* 12.

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for clear intellect), containing 58 bhāṇavāras,* 14,500 granthas, and 400,064 letters and embodying a compendium of the Tripiṭaka. *Painting*

May all the gods equally participate in the store of merit acquired by ourselves so that they may vouchsafe prosperity of every kind.

Oh Gods, Brahmas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Prētas, Piśācas and all other beings of the innumerable worlds and of this blest world, who have assembled here and elsewhere! may ye accept the merit that I offer you with boundless love!

May the multitude of Gods in the seven oceans, Mount Mēru, the worlds of the Asuras and Nāgas, the six heavens, the six dēvālayas, Samankuḷa, Himālaya, the seven tanks, the tank Anōtatta, the sky, the earth, all the worlds of the Brahmas, this world and Ceylon, graciously accepting the merit, attain Nirvāṇa by virtue of seeing Maitreya Buddha! Let there be success and prosperity."

On recto of folio 142 (as numbered) is a later note to the effect, "The 150 leaves of the Viśuddhi Mārggaya which Parakumbure Vipassi Sāmī inherited from Vęliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara Sāmi."

II. HOW TO PREPARE COLOURS.†

1. Take equal parts of *hiriyal* and *ran-hiriyal*, and grind with the juice of *milla* bark, *gammalu* bark, and *gokaṭu* bark, and roast it; the colour of gold is produced.

2. Take *badulla* milk, *kęppiṭiya lākaḍa*, *hāl-dummala*, and old jak milk in equal parts, grind these four together, and warm; apply to what you will; this is black *badāma*.

3. For red *badāma* grind *sādiliṅgam* and warm with juice of *ratmal* bark; apply it to any work you will; the colour is red.

4. For yellow *badāma* take *gokaṭu* juice, *hiriyal*, and *ratukaha* in equal parts; collect old jak milk and grind with *doraṇa* oil; apply it to any work you will, polish it with a cheetah's tooth; this is yellow *badāma*.

5. For a good effect take sea sand, roast and sift it; apply it with arrack where required, polish it with a cheetah's tooth; this is blue *badāma*.

6. Take equal parts of *hiriyal*, *gokaṭu* milk, quicksilver, alum, sal-ammoniac, borax and white lead (*sudu īyan*) and grind in *doraṇa* oil; apply it to whatever work is needed, polish it with a cheetah's tooth; this is gold coloured *badāma*.

Badāma	... ...	Varnish, composition.
Hiriyal	... ...	Orpiment (in lump).
Ran-hiriyal	... ...	Orpiment (scaly).
Milla	... ...	*Vitex altissima*, L.
Gammalu	... ...	*Pterocarpus Marsupium*, Roxb.
Gokaṭu	... ...	*Garcinia Morella*, Desr.
Badulla	... ...	*Semecarpus Gardneri*, Thw.
Kęppiṭiya lākaḍa	...	Stick lac.
Hāl-dummala	...	Resin from the *hāl* tree, *Vateria acuminata*, Hayne.
Sādiliṅgam	... ...	Cinnabar.
Ratmal	... ...	*Ixora coccinea*, L.
Ratukaha	... ...	*Bixa orellana*, L.
Doraṇa	... ...	*Dipterocarpus glandulosus*, Thw.

* *A bhāṇavāra is equal to 250 verses of 32 syllables each.*

† *Old recipes from D. S. Muhandiram, Ęmbękke. It will be seen that the 'colours' referred to are compositions, not pigments.*

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III. HOW TO MAKE GLUE.

"Whensoever they have occasion to use Glew, they make it after this fashion. They take the Curd of milk, and strain the water from it through a cloth. Then tying it up in a cloth like a Pudding, they put it into boyling water, and let it boyl a good while. Which done it will be hard like Cheese-curd, then mixing it with Lime, use it. If it be not for present use, they will roul up these Curds into a Ball; which becomes hard, and as they have occasion will scrape some of it off with a Knife, and so temper it with Lime. This Lime with them is as soft as Butter."*

* *Robert Knox*, '*An Historical Relation of Ceilon*,' *p.* 96.

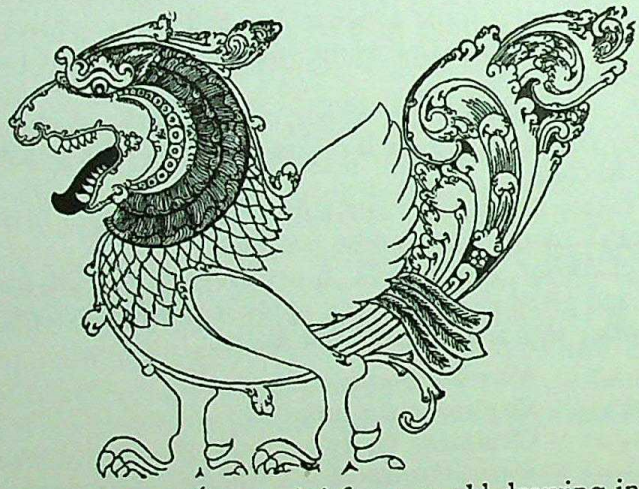

Fig. 95A. '*Śarapenda*,' from an old drawing in red, lent by Mr. T. B. Kęppiṭipola, Basnāyaka Nilame, Ęmbękke Dēvāle. × ⅓.

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CHAPTER X. IVORY, BONE, HORN, AND SHELL.

IT is remarkable that nowhere in India has ivory in mediæval or modern times held a really prominent place amongst the arts and crafts, although its use must date back to a remote antiquity, and where practised, was so well understood. No collection of strictly Indian ivories can compare with that in the Colombo Museum, although individually finer pieces of work are to be found on the mainland. An explanation of this may be found in the Hindu reluctance to make use of animal products, and their view of bones, leather, and other remains of the dead body as unclean. The worship of the tooth-relic, for example, would be quite impossible to a Hindu. With the rarest exceptions, ivory has not been used in India for the fabrication of Hindu images; and even for domestic purposes ivory has not been used as extensively as might have been expected. The Buddhists had no such scruples; we know that they were willing to eat even the flesh of animals slain by others, and in the same way to use animal products. Ivory has always been a comparatively rare and costly material. That ivory was valued very long ago by Buddhists is suggested by Chadanta Jātaka, where a great elephant was robbed of its tusks, and died from the suffering; but this was regarded as a great sin, and held up to execration in the story. In the ordinary way no elephant would have been killed for the sake of its ivory; indeed, the elephant alive would be of greater value.

It is, then, not altogether surprising that even in India, the traditions of ivory carving "centre round the early Chalukyan and Buddhistic traditions rather than the more recent Dravidian and Indo-Aryan schools of South Indian decoration."* The same thing is, of course, much more obvious in Ceylon, and we are again reminded of the value of late Sinhalese art as preserving something of the Buddhist Indian art which preceded the more definitely Hindu art of the seventh century and onwards.

Whilst in Africa and India elephants of both sexes have tusks, in Ceylon not more than one in a hundred possess them, and those exclusively males; and these are particularly valued, as the tusks are of so much use in enabling them to perform any work required of them. But nearly all Ceylon elephants have 'tushes' or tusks not more than a foot or so in length and an inch or two in thickness. The tusks of those elephants which possess them rarely exceed fifty or sixty pounds in weight. Large tusks are highly valued and generally form part of the treasure of the greater vihāras and dēvāles; it is usual to place a pair of tusks on either side of temple doorways, either permanently or on special occasions. They are to be found in the dēvāle storerooms still, and were kept in reserve, ready to be given to the temple craftsmen whenever work in ivory at or for the temple was required. In a vihāra at Badulla may be seen a large pair with an inlaid inscription in silver letters. Ceylon ivory is valued in the East above African on account of its density of texture and delicacy of tint; but the quantity obtainable must always have been small. It is indeed surprising that under the circumstances, so large an amount of work in ivory should exist and such great skill in its manipulation attained.

But few references to Sinhalese ivory are to be found in works on Indian art. Mr. Maskell, in his 'Ivories,' devotes a chapter to 'India, Arabia and Persia,' in which, after a violent attack on Indian ivories in general, he does some justice to those of Ceylon. He perceives that for true Hindu art, that is, Early Hindu in feeling, we must go to Ceylon. He reproduces in his Pl. LXXII. two beautiful fragments from a door jamb, one representing

* *Watt*, '*Indian Art at Delhi*,' 1904, *p.* 186.

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Ivory

a *haṃsa* procession, the birds carrying each a spray in the mouth, as on the Anurādhapura moonstones; the other a *liya veḷa* or 'vine.' These, as he says, are of bold and broad workmanship. He speaks also, of course, of the fine *kinissa* or water dipper of Pl. XLI., 3. He refers to the 'numerous Cingalese caskets made by native Christians which have Biblical subjects from European models' (*sic*), but I know of none such except the large casket at South Kensington, and according to Mr. Andrews ('Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. X.) even this casket is Goanese, not Sinhalese. Such hybrid art is never of much value. In Sir George Watt's 'Indian Art at Delhi,' there are scattered references to Sinhalese ivories, and a casket, supposed to be Sinhalese, is figured on Pl. 78, 4.

Kinissa

The beautiful *kinissa* here reproduced on Pl. XLI., 3, has been illustrated in colours in the 'Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. X., Pl. 86, to accompany Mr. Andrew's paper on 'The Elephant in Industry and Art.' It is there, and also in the South Kensington 'Portfolio of Indian Art,' incorrectly described as a 'Sacrificial Ladle.' Mr. Andrews describes the typical *liya pata* decoration of the handle as follows:—"There is a distinct method of conventional elaboration in the scrollwork, very striking and quite unmistakeable. The general form of the scrolls may be likened to the upward flow of smoke and flame; and as thin threads of smoke rising beside heavy ones are curled over as they meet the downward roll of the greater, so we see in this ornament innumerable lines flowing along the general direction, but terminating in tiny volutes under the shadow of larger ones. Sometimes two masses will divide and join higher up, and in the hollows so formed, sparks like pearls may be seen to rise. And with all the scrolls and sparks and ripples the balance of the gently waving mass that issues from the jaws of the grinning fire-breathing *yāli* in this example is perfect."

The crafts of ivory carving and ivory turning are distinct. The ivory carver is usually an all round craftsman of the highest rank, a *galladdā*, used to practise both painting and building also; the ivory turner does no other work, and belongs to the *vaḍuvō*. These distinctions have been explained on p. 54.

Statuettes

The ivory carver's chief tools are his saws and gravers and chisels. The work he does is varied in character, covering a wide range of objects required for religious, architectural and personal use. The statuettes and images are of special interest. Ivory statuettes of Buddha are not very rare; good examples are to be found in the Colombo Museum. They appear to have been usually painted; traces of paint can still be seen on some. I have seen only standing figures in ivory, none seated or reclining. Statuettes of kings, and ordinary men and women are also common, and are sometimes excellently done. Some figures of Raṭemahātmayās, drummers and other characters executed in the twentieth century are superior to any old ones I have seen. The figures (from the Colombo Museum) shown on Plate XXXVI. are of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century and more useful as records of the costume of the royalty and nobility, than remarkable as works of art; the costume is explained in the description of the Plate.

The Mahāvaṃsa speaks of a park made at Polonnaruva by Parākrama Bāhu (A.D. 1164-1197), which was railed "with pillars decorated with rows of images made of ivory," of which the ivory-railed palanquin of Pl. IX. reminds us in a smaller way. Parākrama Bāhu also built in the 'Island Park,' a pavilion named Sāmīmaṇḍapa 'wrought with ivory.'

Panels

Next to the statuettes may be mentioned plaques and panels such as those figures of dēvas representing the guardians of the threshold, which are seen at the base of the door jamb at the doors of vihāras and dēvāles. These are illustrated in Pl. XXXV., 5 and 6. The head-dress, robes and jewellery are those traditionally given to figures of dēvas or kings. It will be seen that the treatment is stiff and conventional, but not without dignity and

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beauty. The right hand of the dēva of Pl. XXXV., 6, is especially fine. The figures are enclosed within carved *arimbuva* border, carrying *liya pata* crockets on the inner side. *Ivory*

We sometimes find that the ivory plaques of door jambs represent not dēvas, but dancing-girls, animals or other subjects. Thus at Ridī Vihāra, the figures at the dēvāle store-room door are those of dancing-girls (Pl. XXXVIII., 2), those at the side entrance to the lower vihāra verandah are *gaja-simhayō*. Probably such secular subjects are only represented in the case of decorated doors, which are not the actual doors of a sanctuary; for the guardian dēvas are for the protection of the spiritual atmosphere of the sanctuary, and this kind of guardianship is not needed for verandah or store-room doors, where a good lock and key suffice for more worldly guardianship. But it is mainly sanctuary doors on which decoration is lavished without stint; and so magnificent a secular door as that of the dēvāle store-room at Ridī Vihāra is not to be seen elsewhere. It is shown on Pl. XXXVIII. in Figs. 1 and 2, and represents an extraordinarily high level of attainment in the application of ivory carving to architectural decoration. The contrast of the comparatively plain door, with its ivory and ebony-covered frame, with the once gaily painted wall could not be better conceived; it will be many a long day ere anything so fine is done in Ceylon again. Not all the efforts of the Department of Public Instruction, aided by all the technical schools and Public Works Department's draughtsmen can do what Kīrti Śrī and the royal craftsmen did so easily a hundred and fifty years ago. Indeed, they do not want to do the same thing, and hardly know that they could not. If we consider a capacity for producing and understanding literature and art to be any test of 'civilisation,' then, even though we know that Sinhalese art in the eighteenth century is no more than a great and beautiful scheme of peasant decoration, we are driven to feel that in the possession of such skilled craftsmen and in their organic relation to the life of the people, a higher and more beautiful life is indicated than that of which the railway goods-yard and the Governors' Residences are visible evidence. The purchase of xylonite combs made in Birmingham does not indicate any real advance upon the days when the local craftsmen spent days and weeks on the elaboration of ever varied and beautiful design. It is difficult sometimes to see where the advantage of the modern conditions lies, either economically or ethically. *Doors*

But it is necessary to return to the immediate subject before us, and in so doing, we may speak next of combs. The number and variety of Sinhalese ivory combs is surprising. Their general characteristics are well shown in Pls. XXXIX. and XL. and need little further detailed description beyond what is given in the explanations of the Plates. The combs are most often elaborately carved, and often fretted, but occasionally more severe and plain. Figure and genre subjects, plant and geometrical ornament abound. In the case of figure subjects we find two ways of treating the back: either the back and front are identical, so that the figure faces both ways; or the back of the figure is treated as such, and figure faces one way only. Of the combs illustrated on Pl. XXXIX., No. 4 is of a very unusual form, No. 6 is almost unornamented, but none the less finely designed, and No. 2, perhaps the most beautiful, is of bone, as is also No. 11 on Pl. XL. The comb shown in Fig. 10 on Pl. XXXIX. shows traces of colouring. *Combs*

A piece of ivory sawn for a comb (*panāva*), but not finished, is called *panā-kaṭuva*; the same name is given to the central part of an old comb, when all the teeth are broken or removed; such pieces are often repaired by rivetting into a groove a thin strip of ivory cut into new teeth.

Book-covers (*pot-kambi*) of ivory are rare, but sometimes very finely worked. A very beautiful small pair is shown on Pl. XXXVII., 5, and a somewhat over-elaborate pair on Pl. XXXVIII., 7.

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Ivory Caskets

Caskets are perhaps more characteristic of low-country than of Kandyan work, and often show European influence, but rather in the form and metal fittings than in design of ornament. Pl. XXXVI., 6, 7 and 9 shows good examples of caskets; the first of these is in bone, and it will be observed that the beautiful design is well adapted to the harder and rougher material. In Fig. 6 the European form is evident. Pl. XL., 7, represents a long narrow casket in which the golden Algama *sannasa* is preserved, in the Mahā Dēvāle in Kandy. Pl. XXXVIII., 9, shows a modern casket, of the type made in Galle for the larger Colombo jewellers, to be sent to large exhibitions like those at Paris and Chicago. It will be at once seen that the over-elaborated and greatly undercut treatment is far inferior to the older and more restrained work with which it must be compared; the *palā peti* border is tortured and twisted out of all meaning, the dēvas are mere dolls, and there is no meaning in the *makara toraṇa* used thus a mere ornament.

Veḷi-pata

On Pls. XXXVIII. and XL., Figs. 6 and 2, are represented examples of the ivory styles (*veḷi-pata*) used by priests in the *pansala* schools for teaching writing in sand. These call up for us a picture of the old incumbent of some village vihāra, shrivelled, but still keen, standing, in his yellow robes, by the long narrow *veḷi-piḷa* or 'sand-bench,' with its brightly-lacquered legs, holding in his hand the ivory *veḷi-pata*, and watching the beginner's efforts to trace the letters with his finger in the sand; then smoothing over the sand with the *veḷi-pata*, and again tracing the copy for the pupil to imitate. But this is a picture of the past, not of the present.

Knife handles

Knife and sword handles are sometimes of ivory, more often, perhaps, of horn, and almost always so in the case of swords. Silver rivets and mountings are usually added to the ivory or horn handle. On Pl. XXXVII. is shown a very small selection of the forms of ivory handles, which are very varied and well made; Pl. XLVII., 11, shows the common form of sword handle, with its silver fittings. A peculiar fibrous material sometimes used, and called 'unicorn horn,' valuable also medicinally, is probably identical with the so-called 'fish-tooth,' which Sir George Watt refers to as being a common substitute for ivory in India, and actually preferred for sword and dagger hafts. In some cases we find a handle of this material inlaid with pegs of ivory. The same method of inlaying with ivory pegs is applied to articles of horn, as in the comb illustrated on Pl. XL., 12.

Ivory dice, for *pacisi*, are shown on Pl. XL., 3. The numbers on them are represented by lac-filled incised circles.

Ivory turning

The ivory carving already described is done by craftsmen of the upper group, the same man being often a painter and an ivory carver. Ivory turning is done by men of the lower division. The ivory carver is called from his work, *et-dat-keṭayan-kārayā*; the turner, like the turner of wood, *liyana-vaḍuvā*. The chief articles fashioned on the lathe are fan handles, handles of knives, and various implements and tools, boxes, book-buttons, (*pot-saki*), scent-sprays, *pacisi* pieces. Fan handles and boxes of horn are also made. Most of these are decorated with dots and circles incised and filled with coloured lac applied on the lathe. This decoration is an excellent instance of the good effect produced by simple means directly adapted to the material, and arising out of the method of manufacture and the nature of the materials available. The dots are made with a pointed tool; the circles with one having two points, used like a pair of compasses, one point being stationary, the other describing a circle about it. Fan handles so decorated are illustrated on Pl. XXXVII., 6-9, a knife handle in Fig. 1 on the same Plate, and an oboe (*horaṇē̆va*) in Fig. 11; Fig. 10 represents an *uḍakkiya*, or double hand drum (usually made of lacquered wood). I have also an inlaid sickle with an ivory handle, and an ivory flageolet. *Pacisi* pieces are made in ivory or horn, and distinguished by ornament of red or yellow lac. A typical turned ivory

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box is shown on Pl. XXXVI., 8, and horn pill-boxes on Plate XL., 15 and 16. The ivory boxes are used for jewellery, sometimes for medicine. *Ivory*

One of the most remarkable feats of the turner is the manufacture of scent-sprays. The *simiḍiya*, or ivory scent-spray consists of a hollow cylindrical base, and a long neck. The base, holding the scent, is so thin that it is easily compressed by slight pressure of the hand. The method of turning ivory to this extreme thinness, almost that of paper, is kept a secret, but would seem to depend only on great patience and delicacy of handling.

The ivory turner's lathe is shown on Pl. VI., 4. It is extremely simple, and in principle identical with the carpenter's lathe. The essential parts of it are the wooden spindle (*liyana kaṇḍa*); the two supports embedded in the ground, the one in the figure furthest from the observer being the *piṭa-kaṇuva*, the nearer, the *vema-kaṇuva*; the *aṇḍina-laṇuva* or string for turning the lathe; and the hand-rest, the *paṭṭala-lēlla*. The other tools used, an adze, saws, rasps and graver are seen in the foreground. It will be seen that the ivory to be turned is attached to the end of the lathe, outside the *vema-kaṇuva*, instead of between it and the *piṭa-kaṇuva*; this is very convenient for hollowing out boxes and the like. *Ivory lathe*

Horn work may now be referred to in greater detail.

The carved horn handles of weapons, and the turned horn pill-boxes of the *vedarāla* have been mentioned. An elaborate horn comb such as that illustrated on Pl. XL., 12, is perhaps the work of a superior craftsman; but the common horn combs in general use, sold everywhere for ten cents, are made in some districts by *roḍiyō*, and elsewhere by smiths, *beravāyō* or *durayā* caste men. A more than usually elaborate example is illustrated in Fig. 96.* I shall now describe in detail the manufacture of these combs by *roḍiyō*, as seen at Ella, Uva.

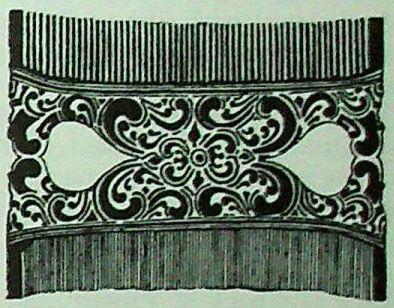

Fig. 96. Carved and pierced horn comb, $\times \frac{2}{3}$.

The usual tools of the horn-comb-maker include a small adze ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inch cutting edge), a coarse rasp, one or two knives, a marking awl, a vice, two or three saws, a file, and one or two tools for incising patterns; the iron tools are made by local blacksmiths.

The combs are made of buffalo horn cut transversely, the tops of the horns being used for tool- and knife-handles and the like. A flat piece of horn is sawn off and cut roughly into the shape of the comb, and then made thinner with adze and rasp, and the shaping then finished with a knife. Next the guide lines for the inner ends of the teeth and for the patterns are scored with the marking awl, which is a small bone tool with a sharp point inserted near one end. The comb is now set in the vice, which is held conveniently against a stone by pressure of the worker's leg (Pl. V., 9). *Horn combs*

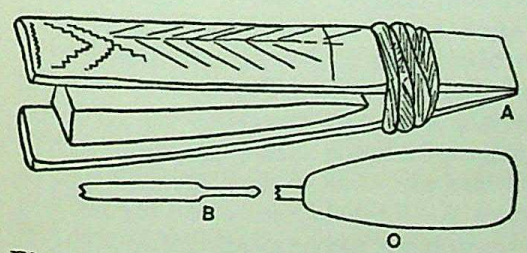

Fig. 97. Horn-comb-maker's tools.
A, Vice, length $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Bandāravela District).
B and C, Pattern-marking tools.

The vice (Fig. 97) consists of two pieces of wood tied together near one end, and having a wedge inserted at the other, which, when it is driven in, causes the short ends to grip very tightly whatever is placed between them.

* *For another, with nāri lata design, see Pl. XL.*, 13.

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Ivory

The vice is usually ornamented with a little primitive carving. The teeth are now cut, first on one side, small teeth with a fine saw, then on the other, coarse teeth with a thicker saw; these teeth are cut very regularly and with astonishing quickness. Each tooth is next filed back and front to make its edges smooth. Finally the comb is taken out of the vice and a simple pattern incised with a chisel-shaped or with a two- or three-pointed iron tool. Last of all the comb is polished by rubbing with wood ashes and horn shavings.*

The use of conch shell (*śaṅkha*) is very limited. There is still a large trade in chanks or conch shells obtained in Jaffna, and exported to India, but this has no connection with the Sinhalese districts. The only objects of Sinhalese manufacture made of conch shell that I have seen are bracelets, and the entire shells used as trumpets. In the case of bracelets, what is generally found are pieces of shell, ornamented with lac-filled incised dots and circles, and mounted in brass.

The beautiful shell trumpet (*hak-geḍiya*) of Pl. XLI., 1, is said to have been given by Narēndra Siṃha to a temple in Uḍa Nuvara; it is certainly as old as the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and is one of the finest pieces of Sinhalese craftsmanship illustrated. The shell is engraved and the incisions filled with red lac, and is mounted in brass, damascened with silver. The metal mounting terminates in a complete *śṛapēṇḍiya*, with clasped legs and an extension of the tail passing round the mouth of the shell and ending in a large scroll.

Dēvāles had tenants whose service it was to blow these chanks during the *perahṛa*. Thus at Alavatugoḍa, the tenant of the *hakgeḍi paṅguva* had to blow the chank for fifteen days of the *perahṛa* and the four festivals, to weed a part of the compound, and to decorate the dēvāle for the *perahṛa*, and to give the *vidāne* a basket of sweetmeats once a year. These services were commutable for Rs. 5·85 (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 14).

Another conch shell trumpet is shown on Pl. XLIIIA, 4. This is one known as the Jaya Śaka, or Chank of Victory, and it is said to have been dedicated by Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha to the Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy (where it still is) after a victory over the Dutch at Gurubẹbile. It is mounted in gold, the mounting covering the mouthpiece, in order, it is said, that none other than the royal lips should ever be applied to it.

* *This account is taken from the description by the author and Mrs. Coomaraswamy, Spolia Zeylanica, Vol. III., part X.*, 1905.

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CHAPTER XI. METAL WORK: IRON, BRASS, COPPER AND BRONZE; GOLD AND SILVER; JEWELLERY.

'*The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work.*'—ECCLESIASTICUS.

A KNOWLEDGE of iron is of great antiquity in India; the metals gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, and tin were known in the Vedic period, and are mentioned in the Vedic literature. Megasthenes at a later period noted the occurrence of these metals, and states that they were "employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war." There is abundant evidence that the ancient Hindus were skilled in manufacturing and working iron and in making and tempering steel. "Indian steel has been celebrated from the remotest antiquity, and the blades of Damascus, which maintained their pre-eminence even after the blades of Toledo became celebrated, were in fact of Indian iron. . . . The ondanique of Marco Polo's travels refers originally, as Colonel Yule has shown, to Indian steel, the word being a corruption of the Persian *Hundwaniy*, *i.e.*, Indian steel. The same word found its way into Spanish, in the shapes of *alhinde* and *alfinde*, first with the meaning of steel, and then of a steel mirror, and finally of the metal foil of a glass mirror. The ondanique of Kirman, which Marco Polo mentions, was so called from its comparative excellence, and the swords of Kirman were eagerly sought after, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the Turks, who gave great prices for them. . . . Arrian mentions Indian steel, as imported into the Abyssian ports; and Salmasins mentions that among the surviving Greek treatises was one 'on the tempering of Indian steel.'"*

Of monuments remaining in India, the most famous is Chandragupta's wrought-iron pillar near Delhi, which weighs ten tons and is about fifteen hundred years old. Of this pillar, Ferguson† wrote that "it opens our eye to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. . . . It is almost equally startling to find that after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago." There are other monuments, such as the huge iron girders at Puri; the ornamental gates of Somnalli; and the 24 ft. wrought-iron gun at Nurvar, that bear witness to the metallurgical skill of the Hindus.

Iron and steel are still made in India, but the industry is dying out. In 1880 the Duirdusti mines on the Godāvari were still worked; the iron sand being "melted with charcoal, without any flux, and is obtained at once in a perfectly tough and malleable state, superior to any English iron, or even the best Swedish. . . . Excellent steel is also still fused for gun barrels and sword blades." A more detailed account of iron and steel manufacture in India in still more recent times is given by V. S. Sambasiva Iyer in a lecture on "Iron Smelting in Mysore," published in Madras in 1902. Mr. Iyer thinks it possible that with improved methods it may be possible to continue and revive the industry in Mysore, where there is still some market for the local iron and steel, though these cost rather more than imported materials. Even in Ceylon there is a decided preference for the local product,

* *Sir George Birdwood*, '*Industrial Arts of India.*'
† '*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*'

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Metal work

while for making steel, the country-made iron is said to be altogether superior, probably on account of its freedom from phosphorus.

Iron smelting

Seeing that a knowledge of iron is so ancient and widespread in India, it is not surprising to find it also in Ceylon, which is, strictly speaking, no more than a part of India. The oldest specimens of iron in Ceylon are probably those found by Mr. Parker at Tissamahārāma.* Heaps of slag which are found in every district show how widespread an industry this smelting of iron has been. At present the industry survives only near Balangoda, where a certain amount of iron is made as a service rent, and where there still live two very old men who understand the method of conversion to steel. With these two men the latter craft will become a thing entirely of the past. One can hardly help regretting the decay of so ancient and interesting a craft; nor is the change quite unmixed gain, for comparatively little of the European iron is of the fine quality of Indian. But with Mr. Vredenburg,† "I doubt whether the iron industry can ever be revived in India by smelting according to the native methods. . . . To try to smelt iron on a small scale at the present day is probably equivalent, from an economic point of view, to attempting to prepare galvanized or corrugated iron, or lead pipes, or soda water bottles on a small scale or by manual labour." The steel industry in Ceylon is already dead, for steel has never been made of late years in the ordinary way of trade, and the old men who make it cannot live many years more; a few families, however, are still partially occupied in iron smelting, and though it is likely that even by them it will be abandoned sooner or later, I see no reason why the smelters should be discouraged or laid under any unnecessary disability in connection with obtaining wood for charcoal, or otherwise.

The methods‡ of the few remaining smelters are unchanged. Iron is still smelted at Hatarabāge, near Balaṅgoḍa, by men of low caste (*yamannu*). The photographs reproduced on Pl. LIII., Figs. 1-3, show the workshop of an old man named Kiri Ukkuva, and his sons. The furnace is beneath the thatched roof of a shed open on all sides; it is quite close to the house occupied by the smelter and his family; for it is generally more convenient to collect and bring the ore to the furnace, than to establish the furnace near the ore. But smelters used also to erect the furnace near the ore, as in the case of those who used to visit Nuvara Eliya to work the iron ores there found. The ore is generally the nodular hematite or limonite which arises as a decomposition product of the country rocks, and is widely distributed in small quantities. Before smelting, the ore is broken into small pieces, and roasted to drive off water. In some districts it appears that the ore used has been magnetite. The analysis§ of a typical hematite is as follows:

	Per cent.		Per cent.
SiO_2	9·14	S	Nil
Al_2O_3	9·85	P_2O_5	·05
Fe_2O_3	72·30	P	·022
FeO	·22		99·96
H_2O	8·40		

* *Journal C.B.R.A.S., Vol. VIII., No. 27, 1884, p. 153 (61).*

† *Rec. Geol. Surv. India, Vol. XXXIII., p. 313.*

‡ *Further accounts see Robert Knox, 'Historical Relation of Ceylon'; W. C. Ondaatje, Government Calender, 1884; Sir S. Baker, 'Eight Years in Ceylon'; Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon'; Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon, Reports for 1903, 1904, etc.*

§ *Analysis made at the Imperial Institute.*

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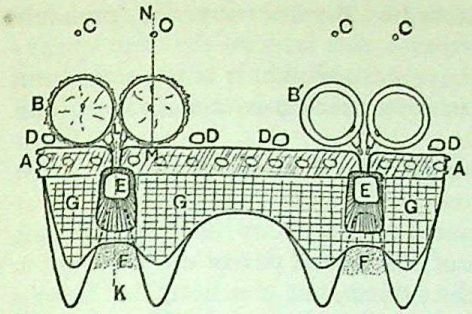

Fig. 98. Plan of iron furnaces at Hatarabāge, Balaṇgoḍa; $\frac{1}{4}$ inch = 1 foot.
AA, wattle and daub wall between furnace and bellows.
B, bellows in use; B′, bellows uncovered.
C, sticks acting as springs to raise cover of bellows.
D, stakes supporting strap for blower.
E, well of furnace.
F, bank of sand closing opening.
GG, flat surface, about 2 feet 9 inches above the ground, at level of III in Fig. 99.
KLMN, line of section of Fig. 99.

The essential parts of the furnace are the well or furnace proper; a wall of wattle and daub protecting the bellows blower from the heat of the fire; and the bellows behind this wall. The well has two openings, one in front, from which the slag runs out, and through which the bloom of iron is ultimately extracted; and a smaller opening behind, through which a blast of air from the bellows is forced into the well. The bottom of the furnace is covered with sand, which also fills up the front opening. A charcoal fire is started at the bottom of the well and covered with layers of ore and charcoal until the well is filled, a continuous blast of air from the bellows keeping up the fire meanwhile. Additional ore and charcoal are added as the work proceeds, the stoking with charcoal, together with the occasional letting out of slag, being sufficient occupation for one man.

The bellows, from which a continuous blast is kept for three hours or more, are worked by two other men, who share the work by turns; they are of a primitive but ingenious type. Behind the furnace are embedded vertically in the ground two logs of wood, about 17 inches in diameter, and hollowed out above to a depth of three or four inches; over each of these a piece of deer skin is tied, having a small hole near its centre, and at the centre a piece of cord attached, which latter is fastened six or seven feet above to a springy stick, the lower end of which is embedded in the ground. From each of these two sections of the bellows a small pipe conducts the blast into the hole leading to the well of the furnace. The bellows blower stands with his feet, one on each of the deer skins, facing the wall and lifting and putting down his feet in turn, drives a continuous blast of air into the furnace; for as he puts down his foot to press out the air from one skin, he covers the hole in it with the sole of his foot; and meanwhile the other skin is filled with air through the hole, which is uncovered when he lifts his foot, the skin being pulled up by the tension of the bent stick upon the string. On either side of the blower is a stake which he grips hold of, and to which a strap is fastened that passes round behind him and supports his back.

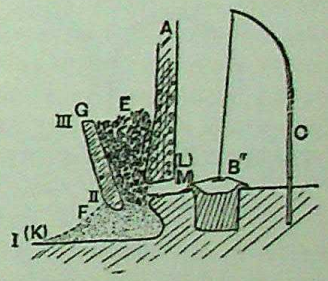

Fig. 99. Section of iron furnace shown in plan in Fig. 98; $\frac{1}{4}$ inch = 1 foot. The well is filled with ore and charcoal. Lettering as in Fig. 98.

After three hours or more, when the iron is found to be ready, the sand is cleared away and the bloom pushed out through the opening, and then follows the process of "cutting the iron." The bloom of iron is taken up in long tongs made of greenwood sticks tied together near one end, and it is then beaten a little into shape with thick sticks; then while it is held down on a log with two of the wooden tongs a third man takes a kęṭta and cuts the lump

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Metal work

Iron smelting

of iron nearly half through; the gash so made is widened by the insertion of a green log, which is beaten in so as to force the edges further apart; this is done that the quality of the iron may be examined, for the outside is spongy, and the whole texture far from homogeneous. The bloom is then thrown into water and afterwards taken out and left to finish cooling.

The bloom thus made is soft and malleable, and weighs about 6 lb.; it is sold to the blacksmiths for 50 cents.

It is of interest to note that there was evidently associated with the iron smelters' furnace, as with all agricultural and craft operations, some idea of ceremonial purity and of religion. I have not been able to obtain any songs relating to the subject, but it is noted by Lawrie (Gazetteer, p. 686) that in 1811 when some villagers had gone, as they often did, to Nuvara Eliya to smelt iron, that one of their companions fell sick, whereupon he was at once carried away, lest by death he should defile the furnaces. Some hint of a survival of primitive religious ideas is also found in the two cobras which may be seen moulded on the wattle-and-daub wall of the steel furnace, Pl. LIII., 5 and 6.

Steel manufacture

The manufacture of steel, even as a service rent is quite extinct; but two very old men at Alutnuvara still keep up the tradition, and are able to demonstrate the process when required; with these men a knowledge of the process will be gone, so that a record of their methods is of much value. The steel makers are smiths (*navandannō*), thus of much higher caste than the *yamannu* from whom they buy the iron required. The process of steel making is more delicate than that above described. The furnace (Pl. LIII., 5 and 6, and Fig. 100) is smaller, and at the ground level, instead of being raised three feet above the ground; it is a semi-circular hearth filled with charcoal, into which air is conducted from the bellows, which rre identical with those of the iron furnace. The hearth is defined by a low clay wall, rising about six inches above the ground. The steel is made in clay crucibles, each about eight inches long, two inches in diameter, and a quarter of an inch in thickness. Into the crucible is put a piece of iron, with some chips of *ranavarā* (*Cassia auriculata*); in the proportion of 12½ oz. iron to 5 oz. wood,* in the case examined. The crucible is covered with a lid, having small holes pierced for the escape of gas; six crucibles thus prepared are embedded in the charcoal, and a fire started. Very soon the gases burn off, and while this goes on the blowing is stopped. Then the blast is kept up continuously, while the tubes are turned about and more charcoal added, the great object being to keep up a constant and even distribution of heat. When the steel is likely to be ready, a hole is opened in the front part of the hearth, so that the blast goes right through the furnace, and the tubes are lifted up one by one in long iron tongs and shaken to see if the steel is quite liquid. Any which are not quite ready are returned to the furnace

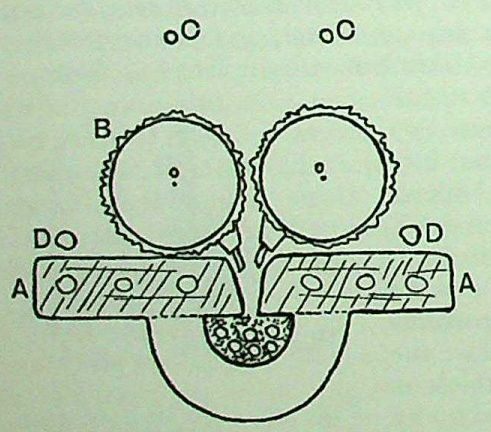

Fig. 100. Plan of steel furnace, Alutnuvara, Balaṅgoḍa: ½ inch = 1 foot. Lettering as before.

* *Ondaatje (loc. cit.) gives seven parts of iron to three of dried wood as the proportion producing the best steel. He states also that the wood of kuḍu-miris (Toddalia aculeata) is also used, and the proportions are then three of iron to one of wood, or better, five of iron to one of wood; but the steel so made is of inferior quality.*

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for a time. The others are laid down to cool and subsequently broken open and the bar of steel removed. The steel is highly crystalline, and is used for the best cutting tools. The bars, which weigh from 12 to 15 oz., are worth from 75 cents to a rupee each. *Metal work*

A specimen of the steel has been analyzed at the Imperial Institute, with the following results:—

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Iron	99·77	Sulphur	0·07
Manganese ...	0·07	Phosphorus ...	0·02
Silicon	0·07	Carbon (combined) ...	1·97

The steel is thus very free from sulphur and phosphorus and very rich in carbon. It is stated to resemble somewhat the older forms of Sheffield tool steel, which, however, seldom contained more than 1·5 per cent of carbon. The high percentage of carbon is characteristic and interesting, for it has been pointed out by Ritter Cecil von Schwarz* that "it is well known by every manufacturer of crucible cast steel how difficult it is sometimes to get the exact degree of hardness to suit certain purposes, especially with reference to steel for cutting blades, &c. With the ordinary process endeavours are made to reach the required degree of hardness by selecting such raw materials as on an average have the required contents of carbon in order to correspond with the required hardness as far as possible. The natives [of India] reached this degree by introducing into their cast steel an excess of carbon, by taking this excess gradually away afterwards, by means of the slow tempering process, having it thus completely in their power to attain the exact degree by interrupting this decarbonising process exactly at the proper time in order to cast steel of a quality exactly suitable for the purpose." *Steel*

The work of the blacksmith falls to be considered next. The general duties of a smith are enumerated above, on p. 25. We have seen that he purchases iron from the smelter. This rough bloom he prepares for use by repeated heating and hammering; or makes steel from it in the manner already described. But the chief part of his work is the manufacture of tools and implements. We have seen that for each royal manor, a smith was appointed whose duty it was to make the tools required by the tenants; and certain fees and perquisites were due to the smith for this work, viz. a certain rate of corn in harvest time, according to ancient custom, and extra presents in the case of special work. These smiths were 'protected,' for the tenants of each manor were compelled to go to their own smith, and none else; and any smith working out of his own district was liable to pay damages to the smith whose rights were thus infringed. *Smiths' services*

Beside the smiths of the royal manors, who should probably be included under the *Koṭṭal-badda* group of state craftsmen (p. 55, above), there were the king's craftsmen working in the Four Workshops; and the smiths who were tenants on private manors, or tenants of religious foundations. The last named owed service rent to the proprietors, of which services examples may be quoted. Thus, at Nāyakuṃbura, Mātale North, tenants held lands from the Dambulla Vihāra; the services, commutable for the considerable sum of Rs. 54·20, were to supply the vihāra with nails and keys at the Nānumura Maṅgalya; to give one *vahun-kęṭta* and five *hiramana* (kitchen knives and rasps), iron being supplied; to give thirty days' work in iron; to appear before the incumbent at the Old and New Year and eat each time, to give him six arecanut slicers and chisels or some such small articles, and the same to the Vidāne; to give fourpence as *śvurumila*; to contribute one day's share to the *dan-kada* in common with the other *paṅgu* of the village (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 638).

* *Quoted by P. C. Ray, 'History of Hindu Chemistry,' ed. 1905, p. 55.*

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Metal work

Smiths' services

At Pāldeṇiya, Mātale North, Dullęve Adigār owned a blacksmiths' *paṅguva*, of one acre two poles and two *amuṇu* garden, the service for which, commutable at Rs. 15, were twice a year to give a *peṇuma*, each time an arecanut-slicer or a good knife; yearly to pay two ridīs as *ganpandura*; to accompany the proprietor on important occasions not more than twice a year, and carry the *mura-āvudha*; to work as a blacksmith for thirty days a year, the proprietor supplying the iron.

The blacksmith tenants of a *navan-paṅguva* of 1½ acres at Alatuvagoḍa had to give yearly a billhook, a coconut scraper, an arecanut-slicer and a pair of scissors to the dēvāle; to repair the locks and keys when required, and to nail laths; to appear before the Basnāyaka Nilame with two arecanut slicers to the *kaṅkānama* (overseer) and to the *vidāne* (headman). These services were commutable for Rs. 19·40 (Lawrie's Gazetteer, pp. 14, 15).

The blacksmith's forge is somewhat similar to the smelter's hearth, having a wattle and daub wall between the hearth and the bellows. The latter may be of several kinds, either like the English form, or the iron-smelter's bellows already described, or consisting of two bullock-hide bags, with a bamboo nozzle, and at the other end a wide slit with wooden lips; air is admitted through these lips, which are then closed and the bellows compressed; the blower sits between the two bellows and works each in turn so as to keep up a continuous blast. The blacksmith's tools consist of hammers, tongs and pincers, files, punches, etc., beside the *gal-torapaṇaya* (Fig. 91), or instrument for boring holes, shown in use on Pl. V., 6.

Agricultural implements

The chief work of ordinary smiths consisted in making agricultural implements—mamoties (*udalu*), billhooks (*kęti*), sickles (*dę-kęti*); and knives (*pihiyā*), arecanut-slicers (*girā*), and betel pounders. Their other work consisted in making tools for carpenters, ivory-workers, etc.; palanquin fittings, surgical instruments, elephant goads (*aṅkus*, *heṇḍu*), writing styles, (*ulkaṭu*, *panhit*), locks, keys, key-plates, hinges, bolts, handles and handle roses, swords, guns, spears, arrow heads.

Some of these may be referred to in greater detail. The sickles (Pl. XLV., 14) are provided with a sharply serrated edge, and the blade ends in a fine point, easily inserted between the stalks of the grain. Punched ornament is commonly applied (Fig. 101). In rarer cases the sickle may be damascened and have an ivory handle. A special smaller form is used for reaping *kurakkan* (Pl. XLV., 13). Somewhat similar in appearance are *pan-kęti*, grass mat-weavers' knives, of which one end is adapted for cutting, the other is lance shaped, for purposes of insertion between the strands of plaited grass (Pl. XLV., 11, 12). Knives are, of all Kandyan 'curiosities,' perhaps the best known to collectors. The simplest are of plain steel, but

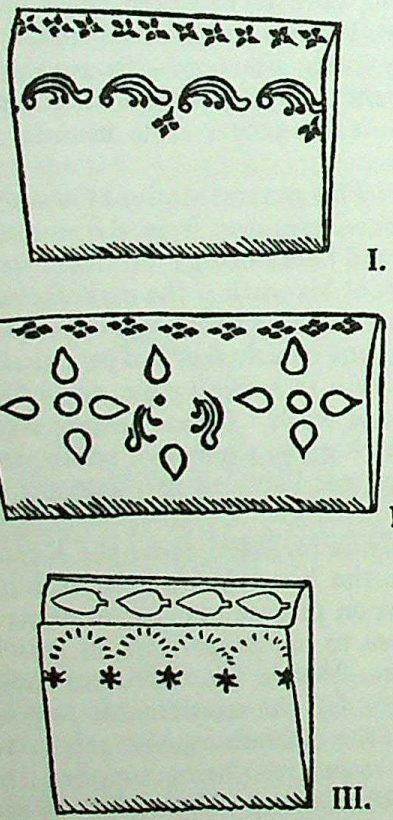

Fig 101. Stamped ornament of iron sickles. × 1.

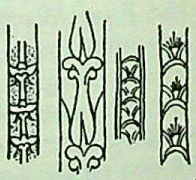

Fig. 102. Details of ornament from damascened knives.

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very graceful form, with wooden or horn handles, and carried in the belt by every villager, to lop off inconvenient branches as he passes through the jungle, to open coconuts, or cut jungle ropes. From these knives there are all transitions to the most elaborate and costly of silver or gold inlaid and overlaid knives worn by the greatest chiefs as a part of the costume, and never intended for use. The workmanship of many of these is most exquisite, the mounting and sheaths being equally beautiful (Pl. XLVII., 1-8); but this fine work is done rather by the higher craftsmen, the silversmiths and ivory carvers, than by the mere blacksmith. Many of the best knives were doubtless made in the Four Workshops, the blades being supplied to the silversmith by the blacksmiths. Folding knives are rarely seen (Pl. XLVII., 9, and XL., 18). *Metal work* *Knives*

The blacksmiths' almost invariable *peṇuma* to the proprietor consists of a *giraya* or arecanut slicer. The nature of these most indispensable of personal possessions will be understood from the illustrations on Pl. XLVI., 1-9; these represent a few of the more elaborately ornamented forms, but the variety and number is so great as to make it impossible to do this adequately. The *killoṭaya* or lime box is but rarely made of iron or steel, but generally of copper, brass, or one of the precious metals. Betel pounders (*bulat-vaṅgeḍi*) are small iron mortars with a brass-mounted pestle working through a screw lid, used by old and toothless persons for grinding up the ingredients of a chew (betel leaf, lime and spices). Elephant goads are often elaborate and beautiful, and even if of plain iron are well shaped and graceful. They are said to be formed after the model of the claw of the *ęt-kanda-lihiṇiya*, the great elephant-devouring roc (Fig. 16). They are mounted on lacquered sticks and used as indicated in Pl. I., by the rider and the keeper of the elephant; the name *aṅkusa* is applied to the rider's goad, *heṇḍuva* to the keeper's. *Arecanut slicers*

Palanquin fittings are of damascened iron, often beautiful and elaborate; good examples may be seen at the Kandy Mahā Dēvāle and the Vishṇu Dēvāle, Haṇgurańketa. Generally of plain iron are the two *kontęru* or iron palanquin-rests, which are mounted on lacquered staffs carried by the bearers, to support the pole of the palanquin whilst resting.

Surgical instruments appear to have been made. Sinhalese medicine is stronger on the side of drugs and applications than in practical surgery; at any rate not much is known of medical instruments in use, but Mr. Bell states that the Gęṭaberiya family of Gopala Moors are in possession of 'some implements of surgery made of iron, steel and brass, for excising wounds, cauterization, etc.' (Kęgalla Report, p. 100). The Gopala Moors referred to were hereditary medical practitioners, much favoured by the Kandyan kings. *Surgical instruments*

Of writing styles, referred to above on p. 49, the majority are of steel, and all have at least a steel point and cutting edge. The common form is that of the gold style of Fig. 129, but variously ornamented styles are also found. The essential point is that the style should be long and heavy enough, and well balanced, so as to form the rounded letters well. The leaf to be written upon is held in the left hand, and the point of the style is set in a notch in the left thumb nail, while it is moved with the other hand. *Writing styles*

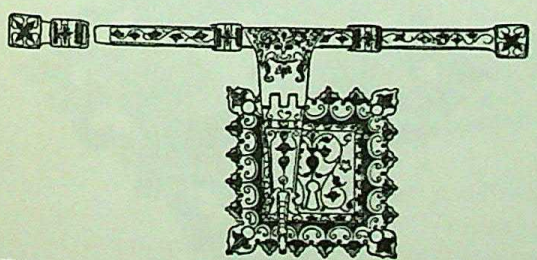

Fig. 103. *Narissa yatura*, 'bar-lock,' Degaldoruva Vihāra: from copy of the original made for the author by a Kandyan blacksmith. × about $\frac{1}{5}$.

Iron or steel locks, handles and door bolts are amongst the best types of Kandyan smithying. Locks are almost always of one form, the *narissa yatura*, or bar lock. The form of these locks will be understood from Fig. 103. It will be seen that in this instance the bar is square in section, and *Locks and bolts*

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the hasp hinged; more often the bar is round in section, and with the hasp moves in one piece on its own axis. Plate XLIIIA, 7, however, shows another lock-bar, which is also flat and provided with a hinged hasp, not seen in the picture. The great variety and excellence of the workmanship of these locks, which are best seen on the doors of old vihāras, makes them a source of perpetual interest; one regrets the more that all demand for such work is now extinct, and if locks are used, they are either of European manufacture, or so poor design (as at Kẹ̄galla Ambalam) as to be contemptible.

The bar locks have large and beautiful keys, brass and silver mounted (Pl. XLIIIA, 5, and XLIV., 8). Noteworthy also are the key-plates, often of brass, as in Pl. XLIIIA, 5, but also of iron or steel. Fig. 104 shows a fine example from Danagirigala Vihāra, having the form of a *bhēruṇḍa-pakshaya*. In many cases the key-plates are much plainer, but still of very elegant outline; a large series is shown in Fig. 107, including some of iron and some of brass. Another iron key-plate is shown in Fig. 105, having the form of a *bō*-leaf.

Fig. 104. Iron key-plate, Danagirigala Vihāra. × ⅔.

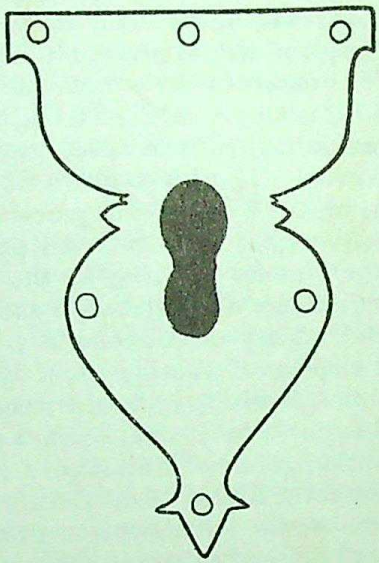

Fig. 105. Iron key-plate, × ½. Malvatte Pansala.

A form of lock much more rarely met with is the *aṁbaraṇa yatura* or ratchet lock; here the bar is moved by a toothed turnkey, and the form of the key-hole is correspondingly modified (Fig. 106).

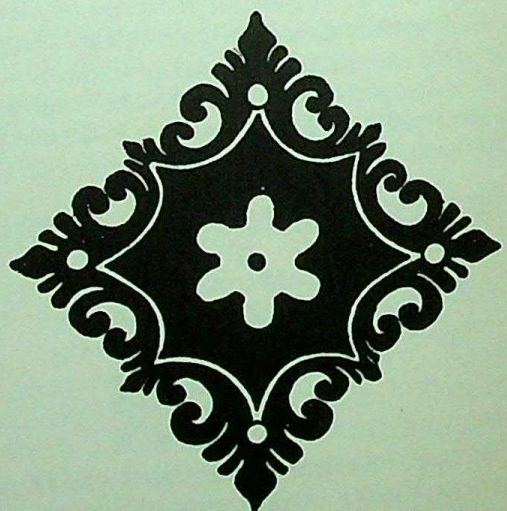

Fig. 106. Key-plate of *aṁbaraṇa yatura*, Ridī Vihāra, × ½.

Bolts, as we have seen, are in most cases of wood. Iron bolts are less often seen. Fig. 108 represents such a bolt from a window in the *pohoya-gē* at Malvatte Pansala. The bolt is in the form

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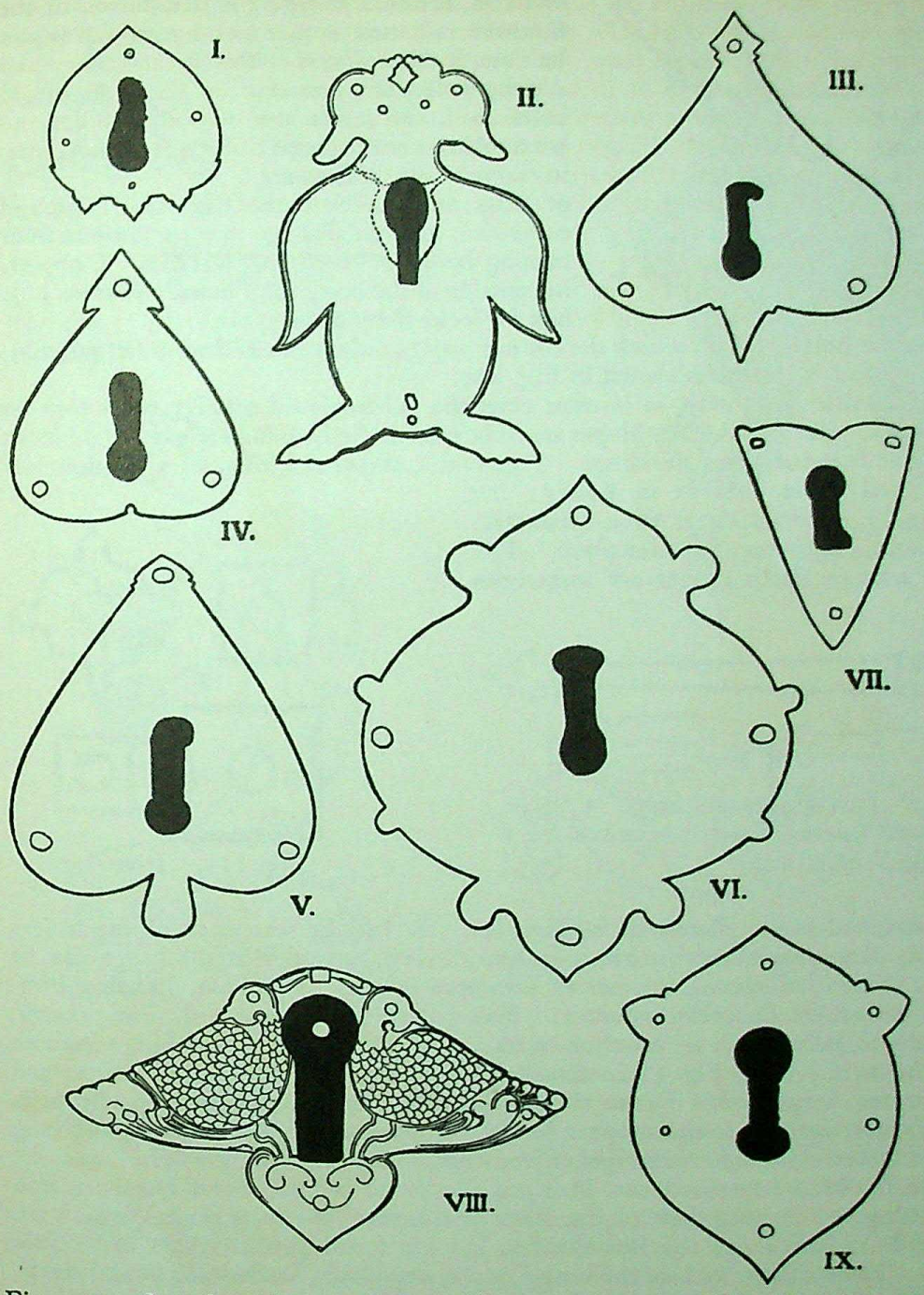

Fig. 107. Iron key-plates. × ½. II. Horagone Dēvāle; III., VI. Malvatte Pansala; IV., V. Asgiriya (?); VIII. Gaḍalādeṇiya. I. (Mahāvalatçnna) and (?) VI. are brass.

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Bolts

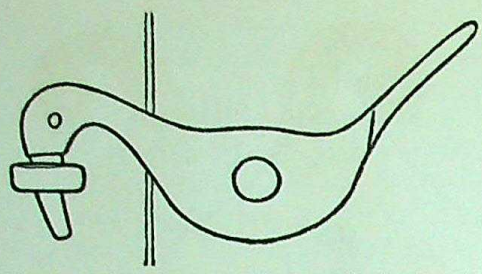

Fig. 108. Iron window-bolt in the form of a bird, Malvatte Pansala, × ½.

of a bird, the beak engaging with a staple, and the flattened tail used as a lever to turn the whole bolt about the nail that fastens it.

A great variety of ingenious bolts are found inside the brass tobacco boxes (*heppu*) in common use. They are of brass or iron, or both combined, manipulated by turning bosses or rivets on the outside of the box; the box is 'locked' by turning the two annular holdfasts with which the bar can engage only when in the correct position. An example of such a catch is shown in Fig. 109.

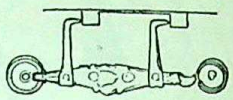

Fig. 109. Catch of a brass box, seen from within. Copper, brass, and iron. × ⅓.

Hinges

Hinges are not often met with, as in most cases the old-fashioned massive doors turn on wooden tenons. But massive iron hinges are to be seen at the Daḷadā Māligāva, and hinges are sometimes found in other buildings. Fig. 110, I, shows the hinge of a window leaf from the Girihāgama Valavva in Kandy; the same figure, II., shows a hinge from Doḍantale Vihāra, and III., a hasp from the same place. The iron rivets used to fasten hinges are sometimes

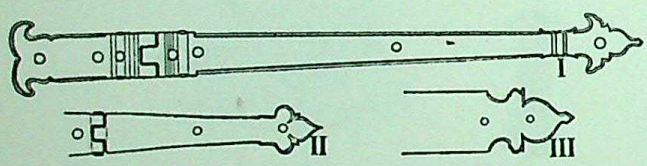

Fig. 110. Iron hinges and hasp. I., from Girihāgama Valavva, Kandy; II. and III. from Doḍantale Vihāra. × ⅕.

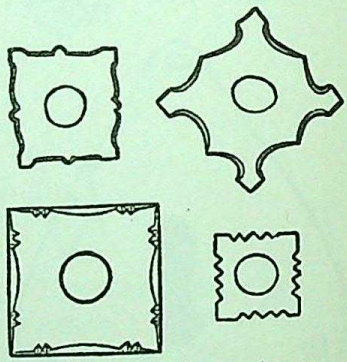

Fig. 111. Iron rivets.

of good form; a few are illustrated in Fig. 111. It will be seen that all the hinges are distinctly Kandyan in details, but it is, nevertheless, uncertain if the hinge can be regarded as strictly indigenous, and not of European origin. Tamil and Sinhalese iron-work show undoubted European influence. This is more clearly seen in the low-country, and especially at Jaffna, than in Kandyan work. Fig. 117 shows a brass hinge from an old Dutch house at Jaffna; Fig. 115 a detached brass hinge, also obtained in Jaffna; and Fig. 113 an iron hinge from a Dutch almirah in Jaffna, evidently of local manufacture, but unmistakeably deriving from European forms. These may serve to illustrate the strong European influence evident in such types of ironwork. The same thing will be seen quite as clearly in the brass key-plates described and illustrated below. Semi-European iron and brass fittings are characteristic of the 'Indo-Portuguese' chests or presses, which are most abundant in Jaffna and the low-country, but are found also in vihāra and devāle storerooms. These fittings include the hinges, locks, key-plates, handles and bossed rivets. Pl. XLIIIA, 3, shows a small example of such a box with brass fittings.

Handles and handle roses of plain or damascened iron or steel are like the bar locks, necessary parts of the furniture of a vihāra door. Such handles consist of three parts, the ring, the staple, and the handle-rose. The rose is almost always domed. In most cases the whole

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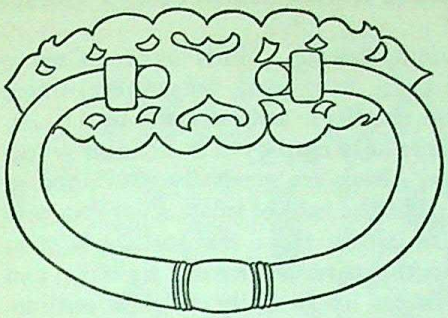

Fig. 112. Iron handle of large press, *pohoya-gĕ*, Malvatte Pansala.

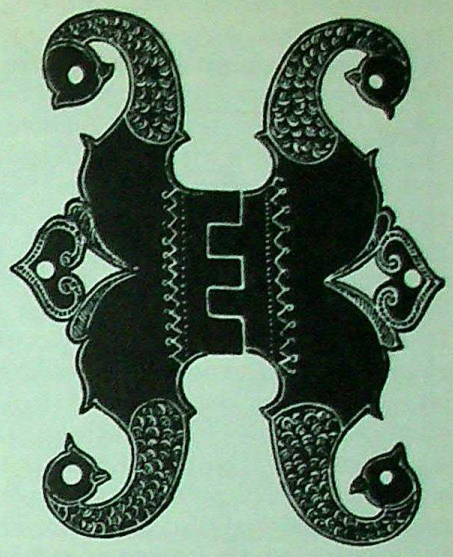

Fig. 113. Metal hinge of almirah, Jaffna. Adapted European form. × ½.

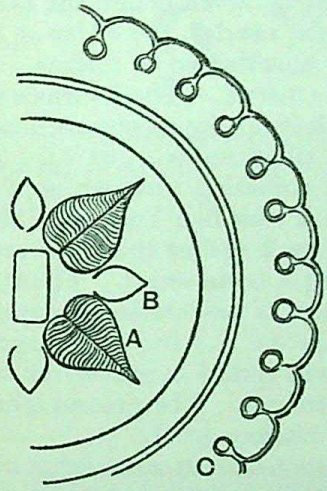

Fig. 114. Part of a handle rose, Bisŏvela Vihāra, Kĕgalla Dist. A, brass overlay in form of *bŏ*-leaf; B, silver wire inlay.

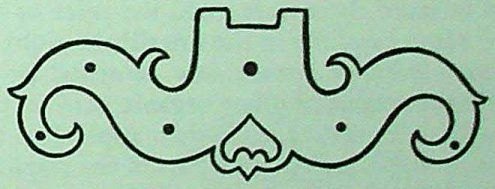

Fig. 116. Brass hinge, from old house at Jaffna. European form. × ⅓.

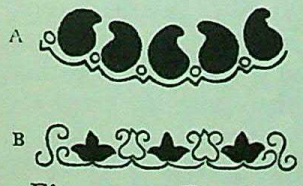

Fig. 115. Details of damascening.
A. Brass on steel.
B. Silver and brass on steel.

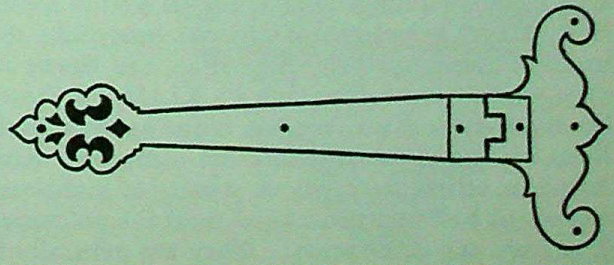

Fig. 117. Brass hinge, Jaffna. European form. × ¼.

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Metal work is elaborately damascened. Pl. IV., 3, shows a blacksmith at work damascening a handle-rose with silver wire.

Damascening A digression is made here to explain the nature of the damascening. This takes in Ceylon three forms; the simplest is that known in Northern India as *koftgari*, where the surface of the iron is roughened by fine crossed scratching, and the silver wire pressed into these, engaging firmly with the rough surface. This method is only employed in inferior work, and is not very often met with. The two other forms, which are generally combined in the same piece of work, are those of inlay and overlay. In the case of inlay, a very narrow groove is cut in the steel, and the silver or brass wire laid in this; the surface is then hammered, causing the two sides of the groove to grip the silver wire very tightly; and when the surface is smoothed and filed, the design shows up brightly in clear outline. In the case of overlay, the surface to be covered is first slightly excavated, and round its circumference a groove is undercut in the matrix; then the brass or silver plate is fitted into the groove, and the overhanging edge of it beaten down so as to hold the overlaid plate quite firmly. In most cases the surface of the matrix is carved before the overlay is applied, and then the design appears in relief through the overlay, the silver or brass being beaten down on to the carved matrix until closely moulded to its surface. The overlaid metal may also be chased after its application to the matrix. These various ways of damascening are known as *ridī-kęṭayan-vęḍa*. The work is for the most part done by blacksmiths; but the finer knives and boxes are made by silversmiths.

Colouring iron Kandyan blacksmiths frequently make use of a method of colouring their wrought iron work, the effect of which is to darken the surface and make it look like European 'blued' steel; the process is adapted to show up damascened work well against the dark surface, and also to check rusting. The process is by way of being a trade secret. The recipe is as follows:—Take three parts of *sīnakkāran* (alum), one part of *pal-mānikkan* (copperas), two parts of the leaves of (*hīn-*) *ęṃbul-ęṃbiliya* (*Oxalis corniculata*, L.) and grind together and allow to stand three days; add the juice of one lime, and spread over the iron to be coloured; place carefully in the fire till the right colour is attained. The process is called *yakaḍa pāṭa gānavā* or *yakaḍa kalu karaṇavā* (to colour or blacken iron).
Apparently the oxalic or other organic acid in the preparation reduces any higher oxide of iron to the ferrous state, and when applied to the steel and heated, slight etching takes place and a probable reduction of part of the sulphate to sulphide of iron. The temperature employed would affect the amount of reduction and oxidation. The blue colour is probably due to an uneven distribution of oxide and sulphide of iron.

Brass work Brass wares fall into two groups, the wrought and the cast. In a general way, the hammered and chased work is done by silversmiths, the cast work by the *lōkaruvō* or founders, who belong to the lower group of the craftsmen. The wrought work includes, as has already been partly indicated, hinges, key-plates, boxes, trays, lanterns, lime-boxes, arecanut slicers, and mountings of all kinds, as well as some of the cheaper kinds of jewellery.
Brass hinges are characteristic and beautiful; they show, however, as above suggested, traces of European influence. Fig. 122 shows several hinges and a catch, from various *vęvęl-peṭṭi* or cane baskets, and Pl. XLIIIA, 8, shows one of these baskets with the hinge and handle *in situ*. Another brass hinge appears on the wooden *ābharaṇa-peṭṭiya*, Pl. XIII., 3.
Brass key-plates (*muna-tahaḍu*) are common; many show in their design strong European influence, others are partly or wholly of Sinhalese design. The appearance of these key-plates will be better understood from the accompanying figures (Figs. 118, 119, 120, 121) than from any description. They are generally both pierced and chased. The pierced key-plates are sometimes mounted over red cloth to show up the pattern the better.
Brass boxes are found in great variety, and here again there is strong evidence of European

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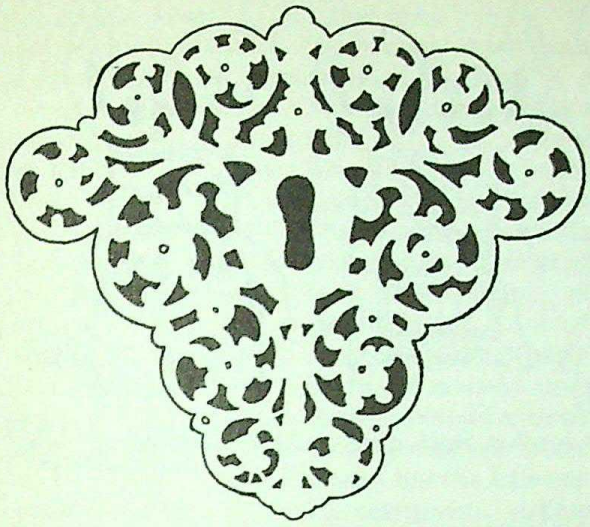

Fig. 118. Brass key-plate, from large press in *pohoya-gĕ*, Malvatte Pansala. × ½. Slightly restored.

Fig. 119. Brass key-plate with *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*, Malvatte Pansala. × 1.

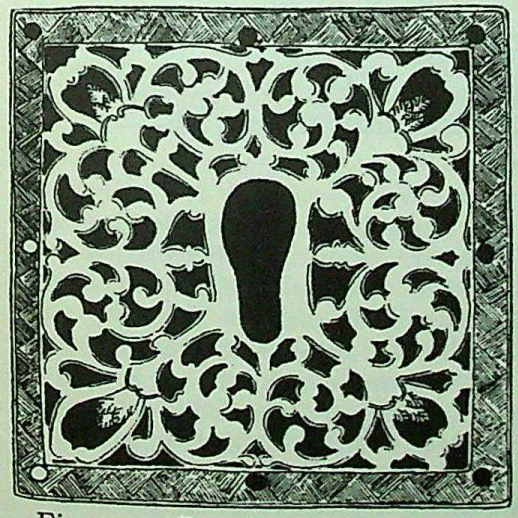

Fig. 120. Brass key-plate, Malvatte Pansala. Original mounted over red cloth. × ⅔.

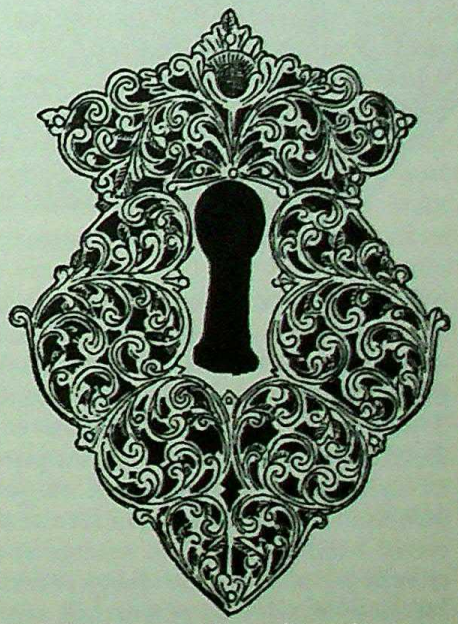

Fig. 121. Brass key-plate, Maḍuvanvela, Sab. × ⅔.

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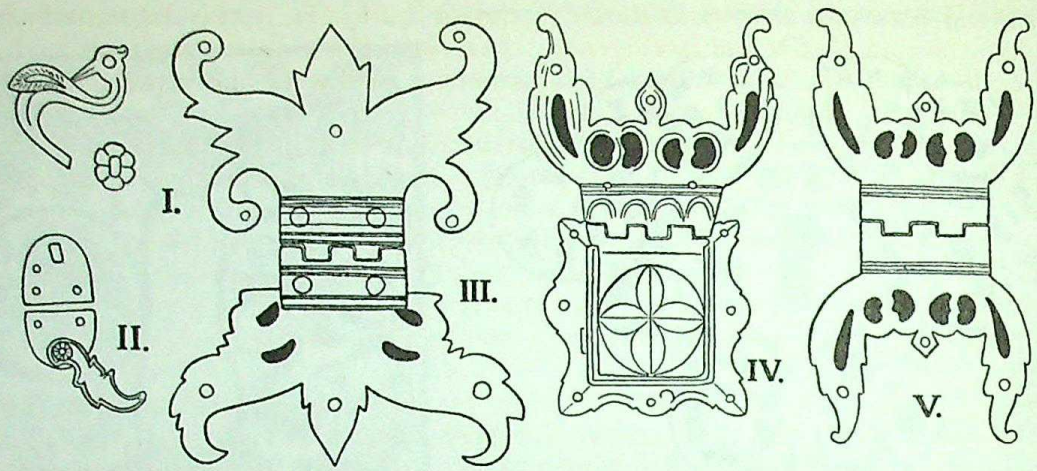

Fig. 122. Brass hinges, lock, and catches from cane baskets (*veṟṟel-peṭṭi*).

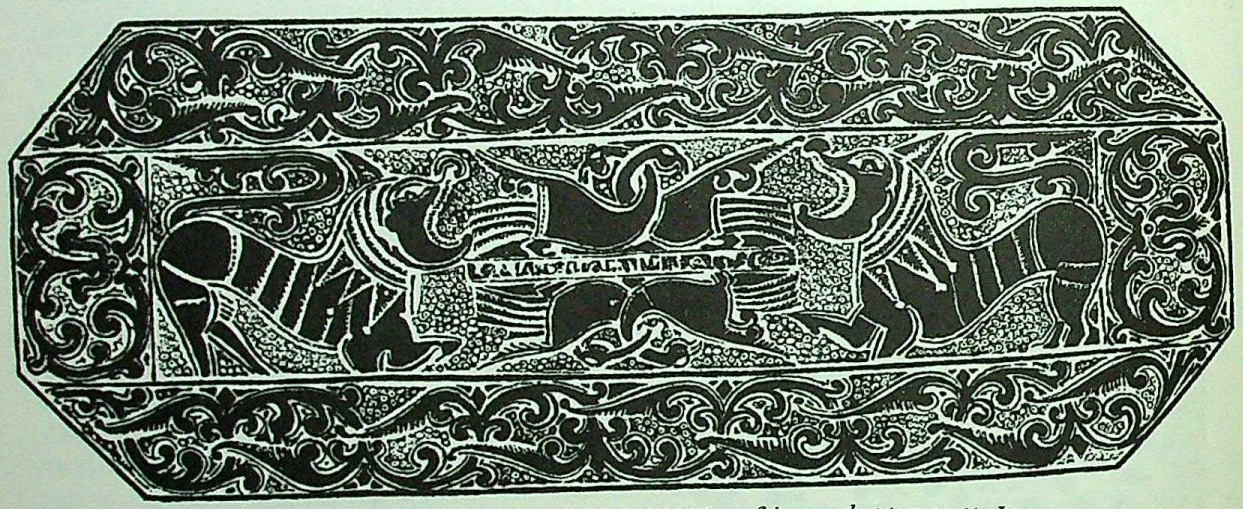

Fig. 123. Decoration of underside of brass *heppuva*, × 1.

influence. The flat oval Dutch tobacco boxes (*heppu*) are still quite commonly distributed in the Kandyan provinces; and still more common are the locally made betel boxes of the same form but engraved with purely Sinhalese designs. Examples of these have been given in Figs. 11, 28, and 68; another is here illustrated in Fig. 123.

The large brass trays still made at the Kacceri under the auspices of the Kandy Art Association, are amongst the few purely Kandyan manufactures which continue to be made in considerable numbers and of good workmanship. They were used for offerings of flowers or food at temples, or for the presentation of gifts to king or chieftain, or for handing round betel leaves at an entertainment such as a wedding. The trays still made are a storehouse of Sinhalese design, remaining almost entirely traditional in treatment; but a Japanese motif, a large peacock with tail outspread is often introduced as a centre. The Kandyan brass work thus still made is of better quality than almost any Indian brass ware made for sale to tourists; that of Benāres is about the worst,—and the best patronised. The

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English and American tourists in search of Indian 'curios' is, it may be remarked, as a rule almost devoid of taste and intelligence. In Ceylon this defect is made up for by the help of the Kandy Art Association, which guarantees good work and generally secures it, at any rate in brass, if not always in silver. *Metal work*

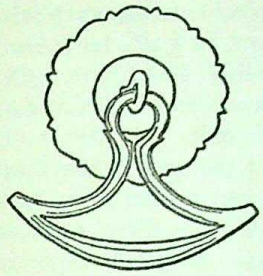

Fig. 124. Brass handle, Mahāvalaṭenna.

Door handles in brass are illustrated on Pl. XLIII., 3 and 7, and Pl. XLIIIA, 6. Fig. 124 shows the smaller handle of a cupboard. The handles of all small boxes, *heppu*, etc., are also generally of brass, sometimes of silver (Pl. XLIIIA, 3 and 8).

Dishes of brass, sometimes bronze and rarely silver, were used for eating rice, a leaf being laid on the dish, and the rice itself on the leaf. These dishes, or *ṭeṭi*, for serving or taking rice are very common.

Arecanut slicers (*girā*) are commonly made of brass, the cutting blade, of course, excepted. Pl. XLVI., 9, shows a very fine example, inlaid with silver wire; Nos. 4 and 8 are also of brass.

Brass casting is a craft as important or more so than that of wrought brass; but the *lōkaruvō* or founders belong to the lower division of the craftsmen. A brassfounder's workshop is shown on Pl. V., 6. Three furnaces with crucibles are seen in the foreground, and some moulds on the left hand at the back. The method of casting is that known as *cire perdue*. In the case of solid articles such as images, a mould is first made in wax, then covered with fireproof clay prepared from white ants' nests and other ingredients; the wax is then melted out through a hole in this covering of clay, and replaced by molten metal. In the case of hollow vessels, a solid model of the fireproof clay is first made, and a wooden rod being driven through the centre of the mass, it is turned smooth on a lathe. The model is then covered with wax, again turned smooth, and covered with clay. When dry, the wax is melted out through a hole in this outer layer, and replaced by metal. Objects so cast in brass are afterwards turned smooth, or carved or repoussed or damascened. *Brass casting*

Various vessels are cast in brass and bronze. Perhaps the commonest of these is the *kotalaya*, or water vessel found at every vihāra, where it contains the water used to sprinkle flowers laid upon the altar; these are open spouted vessels, and are also used for drinking from, the water being poured from the spout to the mouth, with the hand held below the lip to form a cup, thus avoiding contact of the vessel with the mouth; but the vessels so used are generally made of earthenware. A vessel much less often seen is the *tel-kulava*, with a narrow grooved spout; these are used to hold coconut oil for replenishing lighted lamps. Another kind of water vessel is the *keṇḍiya*, a spouted vessel with a lid; I have seen only three examples, one in copper, and two in silver, but there can be little doubt that they were also made in brass. A common form of brass water vessel in domestic use is the *gurulettu* or 'goglet,' usually with a hinged lid. These are large below, with a tall narrow neck. Another vessel not rarely seen is the wide-mouthed *sembu*, or *lota*, but these are generally importations from India or the north of Ceylon. The same applies to the great brass water vessels carried by women on the hips, which, however, are not often seen in Sinhalese districts, where earthen vessels are in general use. Many or most of the large brass lamps, and rivetted copper cauldrons, are rather the work of Indian craftsmen settled in the low-country, than of actual Kandyan smiths. *Brass vessels*

A common piece of cast brass is the *serak-kale*; this is a low stand for a plate or leaf of rice, used at meal times, or sometimes to hold the ingredients and accessories of a betel chew. The typical *bulat-taṭṭuva* or betel tray, however, differs from the *serak-kale* in having a more or less basin shaped, instead of a nearly flat surface. The ornamentation of the *serak-kale*

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Metal work

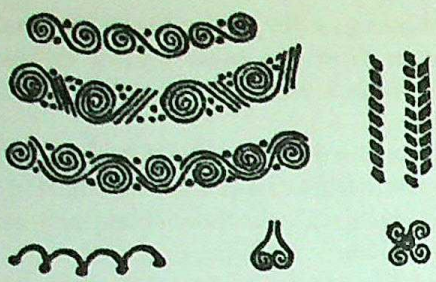

Fig. 125. Ornament of cast brass, produced by application of string wax to the surface of the wax mould.

is often interesting, consisting of spirals and double spirals (Fig. 125), obtained by applying 'worms' of wax to the surface of the original mould; 'cable,' in imitation of twisted wire is similarly produced.

Bronze

Bronze is less commonly used than brass for casting; but some objects, such as elephant bells, cymbals, moulds for beating up brass, silver, or gold, tools used by repoussers are almost invariably of bronze. Pl. XLV., 7, shows a bronze camphor burner, perhaps of Indian origin. Bronze elephant bells are shown on Pl. XLIV., 3, and XLV., 8. An example of the kind of mould referred to is seen in the model of a shoe represented on Pl. XLV., 1. This was the mould for the gold Shoes of State (*miri veḍa saṅgala*) worn by Narēndra Siṃha; it is still in the possession of the Maṅgalagama *galaddō* who made the shoes. In recent times a model has been made in copper and placed in the Colombo Museum. Moulds for small boxes, such as that shown in Pl. XLIII., 5, are similarly used by gold and silversmiths, but such moulds are also made of wood.

Lamps

Lamps are made of brass, less often of bronze; there are two main types, the standing lamps and the hanging. Of the latter, the variety is very great. Perhaps the most interesting are those in the form of birds, shown on Pl. XLIV., 4, and Fig. 126. A common type is barrel-shaped; another kind has the form of an elephant. In almost all cases the mouth of the lamp is fashioned as a *ṣṛapēṇḍiya* head; sometimes a small bird is perched above, as on the lamp shown in Pl. XLIV., 4. Fig. 5 on the same Plate shows a small standing lamp; like most of its kind this lamp is of Indian form, and, indeed, probably of Tamil manufacture. Similar lamps with five or more wicks are also made to hang.

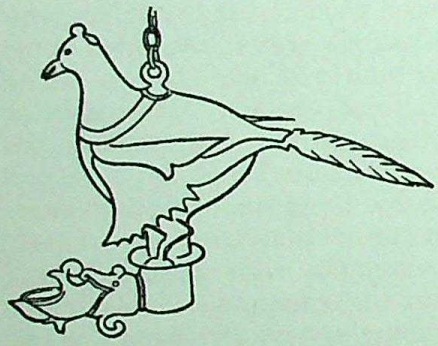

Fig. 126. Brass hanging lamp. Laṅkātilaka Vihāra. Length $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Cressets

Generally made of bronze are the cressets (*at-pandam*). These have the form of hafted cups, for attachment to a lacquered wooden handle. The Daḷada Māligāva has one of silver with an ivory handle. Bronze cressets are illustrated on Pl. XLV., 2, 3, and 5, and in Fig. 127 representing a specially beautiful form, with lotus petal motif. These cressets are used at night, to burn oily tow and resin, the bowl being held low so as to light the ground. Less often seen are double or triple cressets with long handles for carrying erect in processions.

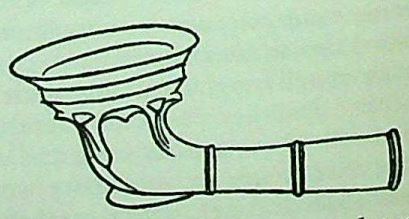

Fig. 127. Bronze cresset, lotus form. Handle missing. Diameter of bowl, 4 inches.

We find that some dēvāles had tenants whose duty it was to carry these cressets on *perahera* nights. At Vallahagoḍa, for example, a '*pandan-allana*' tenant had, beside other duties, to 'carry a *pandama* supplied by himself and steeped in oil supplied by the dēvāle for fifteen nights of the *perahera* at Vallahagoḍa.' Dhoby tenants (washermen) had to supply the rag balls for burning with oil in the hand cressets. Thus at Palipāna, the

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tenant of a *radā paṅguva* belonging to the Palipāna Vihāra had to offer to the Diva Nilame and to the *kāriya-karaṇa-rāla* (bailiff) of the Maligāva soon after the New Year a white Kandyan hat each, and to supply for the *perahera* fifty rag balls called *pandan-uṇḍi*; these services were commutable for Rs. 8·80 (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 686). *Metal work*

Copper is more sparingly used than brass; but in the case of lime boxes (*killoṭa*) we find, perhaps, more examples in copper than in any other metal. The finest example is that shown on Pl. XLVI., 10. This very old specimen is of copper filigree set with cabochon glass over foil in lieu of garnets. The design and workmanship are bold and romantic, and the form unusual. Copper *killoṭa* of the more usual form are shown on the same Plate in Figs. 11 and 12; it will be observed that inlay of silver wire on copper has a specially clear and good effect. On Pl. XLIIIA, 1, is shown a very handsome copper *keṇḍiya* or water vessel from the Ridī Vihāra. The neck and lid are set with cabochon garnets, and the neck, base and spout are beautifully chased with *liya pata* scrolls. Fig. 2 on the same Plate represents a horn powder flask mounted in silver-plated copper filigree. *Copper*

Clepsydras or water clocks (*pē-teṭi*) were of copper. These instruments were used only by the king and by the astrologers. "They have," says Knox, "no *Clocks*, *Hour-glasses*, or *Sun-Dials*, but keep their time by guess. The King indeed hath a kind of Instrument to measure time. It is a *Copper Dish* holding about a Pint, with a very small hole in the bottom. This Dish they set a swimming in an Earthen Pot of water, the water leaking in at the bottom till the Dish be full, it sinks. And then they take it out, and set it empty on the water again, and that makes one *Pay*. Few or none use this but the King, who keeps a man on purpose to watch it continually. The people will use it upon some occasions, as if they are to sow their Corn at any particular hour, as being the good lucky Season, then they make use of the *Copper Pan*, to know the time exactly." The *pēya*, or '*Pay*' as Knox calls it, is an 'hour' of twenty-four minutes, thirty making a day; the *pē-teṭiya* usually measure one *pēya*, but there are others larger and smaller. *Water-clocks*

The tragic story of Lilāvatī, the learned daughter of the great Indian astronomer, Bhāskarācārya, is called to mind by these water clocks. It had been foretold that Lilāvatī would lose her husband soon after marriage, unless the ceremony were performed at a certain auspicious moment. Her father prepared the wedding ceremonies accordingly, and set the water clock to sink at the auspicious moment and so give the signal for the ceremony to be performed. The child, however, in her play, found the dish, and leaning over the basin in which it was floating, a pearl fell from her necklace and blocked the hole by which water was filling the bowl; and it was not till long after the set time that the distracted father found that his precautions had been taken in vain; and it was after this that he determined that she, even if widowed, should at least be the great and learned woman she afterwards became. *Lilāvatī*

A remarkable alloy, used as a niello, and also in the manufacture of certain small articles such as nails used in superstitious ceremonies, is *pas-lō* or 'five metals.' It appears to have consisted of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron. The following couplet details its composition in the above sense: '*Pañca lohan hema raupyan, tāmrāyah sīsakan matam.*' It is said that *lōkada* (bronze or bell-metal) is sometimes used instead of lead.

Silver and gold articles, other than jewellery, are naturally rare. The country was not rich in specie, and it is said that even the revenue paid to the last king, who has the reputation of an extortioner, did not exceed 15,000 Rupees, the then equivalent of £1500. The finest examples of gold and silver plate remaining are to be found in temples, the king's own property having been for the most part looted and removed in 1815. Pl. XLII. shows a number of silver and gold articles from Kandy temples. The silver lamp, the gold fan (*ran-vaṭaha-pata*) and betel stand (*dalamura taṭuva*) are of exceedingly fine design *Gold and silver plate*

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Metal work

and workmanship. The silver *keṇḍiya* from the Mahā Dēvāle is also very beautiful, and noticeable for its simplicity and restraint. The little *pacca-kusalāna* or sandal wood paste cup, gold mounted and set with rubies and sapphires, is said to have been dedicated by Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha, with the *jaya saka* and the *Algama sannasa*, after a victory over the Dutch at Gurubębile; it was no doubt used at Royal inauguration ceremonies, when the sword of state was first girded on a new king. On such occasions, the sword having been girded on the prince by a member of the Pilima Talāva family, whose privilege this was, the Kapurāla "presented a pot of sandal-powder, in which the prince, who may now be called king, dipped his fingers and touched the sword; and this ceremony was performed in the Maha as well as in the Nāta Dēvāle" (Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' p. 168).

Kandyan throne

"The royal throne," says Davy, "was of plated gold, ornamented with precious stones." The throne thus referred to is now at Windsor Palace, where, by the kindness of Mr. Fortescue, I have had an opportunity of examining it. It is a large arm chair, covered with repoussé gold plate, set with gems, amongst which are a few turquoises, the only ones I have seen in Kandyan work. The other gems are mainly amethysts and crystal. The arms end in characteristic lions. The back has a sun-face in the centre, flanked by dēvas on lotus thrones. The detail of this work is very beautifully executed. The remainder of the gold plate is chased in somewhat florid style with designs of the pine-apple, sun-flower and acanthus foliage type, suggestive of European influence. On the top of the back are three cut crystal balls.

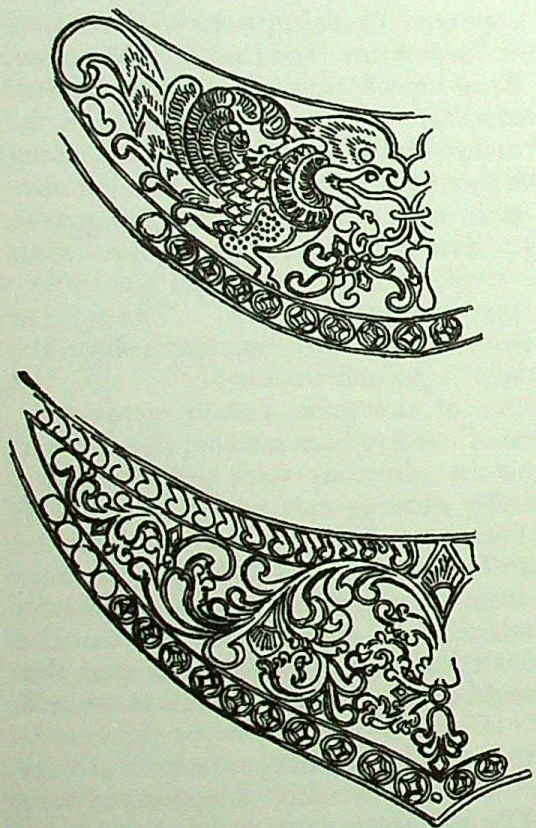

Fig. 128. Brass palanquin fittings. Vishṇu Dēvāle, Haṇguraṅketa.

Palanquins

Palanquin fittings are of iron, brass, or silver. Fig. 128 shows details from the brass fittings of a palanquin at the Vishṇu Dēvāle, Haṇguraṅketa; Knox remarks of Royal palanquins (*randoli*) that they are "nothing so well made as in other parts of *India*. The ends of the *Bambou* it is carried by, are largely tipped with silver, and curiously wrought and engraven: for he hath very good workmen of that profession." Ceremonial pingoes may also be silver tipped, as in the case of a beautiful example at the Ęmbękke Dēvāle (Pl. LII., 2).

Begging bowls

Begging bowls were generally made of iron, rarely of precious metals. There is a gold bowl, if I remember rightly, at the Daḷadā Māligāva. A copper gilt *pātra* is mentioned in a *sannasa* as having been given by Narēndra Siṃha to the Māniyaṅgama Vihāra. The copper bowl has the royal sign manual, *ŚRĪ*, upon it (Bell, Kęgalla Report, p. 66).

Royal patronage

The king took great delight in cunning workmanship. We may picture him going about the Four Workshops and keenly criticising all that was going forward there, just as Akbar the Great and other Eastern rulers have ever been wont to do. This royal interest in art and craft must not be regarded as the mere amusement of an idle monarch; the proper comprehension of such matters belonged to ideal of kingly state. The destruction of the state

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patronage of craft which followed upon the British occupation, struck one of the many blows at the national culture, which have so impoverished the outlook of the Sinhalese people during the last hundred years, inflicting injury which it will take a great deal of 'compulsory education' to cure. *Metal work*

Knox relates of Rāja Siṃha that he took great delight in the crafts: "he will try his Guns, and shoot at Marks, which are excellently true, and rarely inlay'd with silver, Gold, and Ivory. For the *Smiths* that make them dare not present them to his hand, not having sufficiently proved them. He hath Eight or Nine small *Cannon*, lately taken from the *Dutch*, which he hath mounted in Field-Carriages, all rarely carved, and inlay'd with Silver and Brass, and coloured Stones, set in convenient places, and painted with Images and Flowers. But the Guns disgrace the Carriages. He keeps them in an House on the Plain. Upon some Festival times he useth them. I think, they are set there chiefly for a Memorial of his late Victories: For he hath many, and far better Guns of *Brass* that are not so regarded. *Royal patronage*

"In his Palace he passeth his time with looking upon certain Toyes and Fancies that he hath, and upon his arms and Guns, calling in some or other of his great Men to see the same, asking them if they have a Gun will shoot further than that: and how much Steel such a Knife, as he will shew them, needs to have in it."

The *ran-āvudha-lēkam-mahātmayā*, or keeper of the armoury, had charge of the royal arms, of which he kept a register, and it was his business to see that they were kept in good order by the different smiths attached to the department. Attached to this department were forty-eight young men of rank who assisted the *lēkam-mahātmayā* (Davy 'Travels in Ceylon,' p. 153).

Sannas or charters are generally engraved on copper, less often on silver or gold. The Mahā Dēvāle possesses a gold *sannasa*, which is kept in a silver-mounted ivory box (Pl. XL., 7). Copper *sannas* are much commoner, and are to be found in the hands of temple representatives, and lay grantees of lands or villages. In some cases they are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, as may be seen from the reproductions of *sannas* in Bell's 'Report on the Kēgalla District.' The Molligoḍa *sannasa*, for example, is a silver-mounted copper plate, $19\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, smooth and polished, the letters small, close and beautifully engraved. The royal sign manual, *ŚRĪ*, which heads every such grant, is inlaid in gold, within a plain space, having an embossed fluted gold framing raised upon the surface of the plate. This *sannasa*, dated Śaka 1736 (A.D. 1814) was perhaps the last *sannasa* obtained from a Kandyan king; in workmanship it must be one of the most beautiful. *Sannas*

Another fine *sannasa* is the Gęṭaberiya *sannasa* (A.D. 1760). It also is a copper plate with ornamental silver framing; the *ŚRĪ* is inlaid in gold, with a sun and moon face, sixteen stars and fourteen flower ornaments. These and other *sannas* are figured by Mr. Bell.

Religious books, especially *sūtras*, or sermons of the Buddha, were also sometimes engraved on metal plates and dedicated to a temple, as an act of merit, sometimes especially intended for enshrinement in a dāgaba.

A beautiful piece of goldsmith's work is the gold writing style (*panhiṇḍa*) of Fig. 129. It bears the royal sign, *ŚRĪ*, and is said to have been given by Narēndra Siṃha to Dehigama, who held the office of Mahāgabaḍā Nilame (Second Treasurer) and was also Diva Nilame of the Māligāva. *Writing style*

There is a reference in the Mātale Mahā Disāvē *Kaḍa-im-pota* to a golden writing style (*ran-panhiṇḍa*), given as a badge of office to a public official: "Niharepola Alahakkon Mohaṭṭāla was appointed Lēkama (Secretary) of Tun Kōrala, and also received the *ran-panhiṇḍa* and the flag" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 552). It will be remembered also that before the Mahā

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Metal work

Writing style

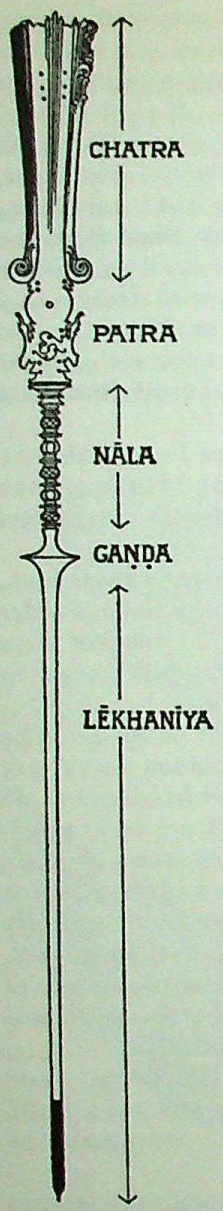

Fig. 129. Gold writing style (*ran-panhiṇda*), length 14½ inches. Black parts are steel. Author's collection.

Lēkama (First Secretary, or Treasurer) were carried in the *perahĕra*, the 'great record' (*maha lekammiṭiya*) and the writing style, emblems of his office (p. 38, above). The gold style figured is therefore a badge of office of a Lēkama.

The style is of the most usual and best form, similar to those commonly made in steel. In this case only the point and knife edge are of steel. The style has a beautifully carved wooden case, silver mounted and ivory tipped. The names of the different parts of a style are indicated at the side of the figure; beginning from the top these names translated mean: the 'umbrella' (so called from the resemblance to the talipot-leaf umbrella, seen on the right and left of the lower illustration on Pl. XXII.), the 'leaf,' the 'pipe,' the 'knop,' and the 'pen.' The right proportion of these parts is laid down in a corrupt Sanskrit verse of the *Vaijayantaya*, of which text and translation follow:

Chatra patra nāla gaṇḍan, Catur dvi tri eka maṅgalam,
Lēkhanīya daśaṅgaca eva, Sarva vīsati maṅgalam.

"The propitious (measurements) are for the *chatra* four, the *patra* two, the *nāla* three, the *gaṇḍa* one and the *lēkhanīya* ten, and the whole, twenty *aṅgal* (inches)." The value of tradition in preserving the right measurements in the case of a tool of this kind, where the relative weight and balance of the parts are of so much importance, will be easily understood.

Tools

The tools used by goldsmiths are very simple. The *gini-kabala* is a low earthen vessel or dish, generally a common *nĕmbiliya*, filled with chaff, covered by a little charcoal fire (see Pl. VI., 6). With this fire is used a small bamboo or metal blow-pipe, and a short earthen nozzle, which is set in the fire and through which the blast is directed; also small crucible made of the clay of white ant hills. The other tools are tongs and pincers, hammers and anvil (a square of steel or bronze embedded in a heavy log, before which the jeweller squats), files, gravers and chasers, doming blocks, bead punches, and sometimes one or two bronze moulds for special purposes. The heat obtainable in the simple furnace is very great, more than enough to melt silver or gold pretty quickly. It is remarkable that with such a rough blow-pipe such fine work can be done; for the work to be soldered is placed on the fire and covered with charcoal and heated through, instead of directing a fine flame to one part alone. Different solders are used, melting more or less readily; and parts which must not be disturbed are also covered with a resistant preparation (powdered china paste) before the object is laid in the fire. The loose pieces to be soldered are kept in place by a sticky paste of olinda seed rubbed down on a rough stone.

Certain special weights are used by goldsmiths, just as special measures are used by the carpenters. The weight chiefly used is the seed of the *madaṭiya* (*Adenanthera pavonia*, L.). The average weight of these seeds, which vary but little, is 3·6 grains. Twenty-four of these seeds make a *kalañji* or *mañjaḍi*.

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A *naḷalpaṭa* is a gold or jewelled forehead plate, worn by the king, or others, chiefs or even craftsmen, who have been honoured with *paṭabẹndi* names. The frontlet is in the latter case called *paṭatahaḍuva*. Pl. XXIII., 3, shows a design for a jewelled *naḷalpaṭa*, for the king. Those worn by others consist of a plain gold plate of similar outline but smaller and without the pearl pendants indicated in the design. The ceremony of naming, and assuming the royal sword at the inauguration ceremony of a king, are thus described by Davy (p. 163): "it was that of choosing a name and putting on the regal sword. It was the duty of the royal astrologers to ascertain a fortunate period for the ceremony, and invent fortunate names; each individual being required to write a name on a plate of gold, set with precious stones, and deposit it in the Nata-dewalē. On the day fixed, which was sometimes a year or two after the election, the prince went in great state to the Maha-Visnu-dewalē, where he presented offerings and made prostrations to the god. Thence, he passed to the Nata-dewalē, and having gone through the same religious ceremony, he inspected the plates, chose the name that pleased him, and read it to the first Adikar, who proclaimed aloud,—'This is the name that the gods have chosen for the king to bear.' Then the gold plate, the Nalalpate, on which the name was inscribed, was tied to the prince's forehead by a member of the Pilamē Talawē family, which being of royal descent, enjoyed this privilege and that of putting on the regal sword, which was attached to a belt that passed over the shoulder and came round the waist. The sword having been girded on the prince, the Kapuralle presented a pot of sandal-powder, in which the prince, who may now be called king, dipped his fingers and touched the sword; and this ceremony was performed in the Maha, as well as in the Nata-dewalē."

Metal work

Jewellery

A short chapter of the *Bṛihad Saṃhita* (Part II., Chapter II.) deals with royal forehead plates. They are doubtless also referred to in the *Vaijayantaya*, the *śastra* used by Sinhalese jewellers. In this work are described the sixty-four kinds of royal ornaments and many other kinds of jewellery and metal work, as in the verse quoted above (p. 208) detailing the measurements of writing styles. The translation of this work, which Mudaliyār E. R. Goonaratne kindly undertook to prepare for me, is unfortunately not available at the time of writing the present chapter.

The general character of Sinhalese jewellery may be gathered from Plates XLVII.—LI. The examples illustrated belong for the most part to the finer kind of jewellery worn by the ladies of rank. But a good deal of jewellery was also worn by men, and especially by the king. "When the king," says Davy, "appeared on state occasions, he was either dressed in the most magnificent robes, loaded with a profusion of jewellery, or in complete armour of gold,* ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds." He almost always carried a jewelled cane. A special officer (*lẽkam-mahatmayā*) had charge of the jewels which the king wore habitually. Davy states that but few others were permitted to wear ornaments of gold: "those only who have been honoured with presents of the kind from the hand of royalty, to whom, according to their sumptuary laws, this precious metal is peculiarly confined." All gems were also reserved to the use of royalty. But splendid jewellery was also worn by the chiefs and their families, and even the ordinary *govi-vaṃsa* families had generally one or two gold chains and rings, and a good many of silver.

Gems were almost invariably cut 'en cabochon,' never facetted. Coloured gems so cut produce rich colour effects, rather than the flashy brilliancy characteristic of so much European jewellery. Many a ring or pendant set with rubies of comparatively small value, has all the glow of an enamel; whereas facetted stones reflect a much larger proportion

* *The Maṅgalagama galladdō still possess old designs for such gold 'armour.'*

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Metal work of white light, and cannot be used in the same way to produce a generally decorative and harmonious effect. The Sinhalese lapidaries are very skilful in turning the smallest speck

Jewellery of colour in a stone to good advantage, so that a good effect when set is produced. Stones are also sometimes set over coloured paste or foil to enhance the colour effect; glass and crystal are sometimes similarly treated.

The decorative principles so well understood by the old Sinhalese and Tamil jewellers are now generally abandoned, and almost all make use of European trade catalogues as the sources of their designs, to meet the demand of the 'educated' Sinhalese who want 'improved jewellery,' and the demand of tourists, whose only idea of unfacetted stones is that they are 'uncut' and 'barbaric.'

Degeneration At one time it occurred to me to lay considerable stress in this volume upon the degeneration of modern Sinhalese craft; but it would have been a thankless task, and it will suffice to say that nowhere is it more conspicuous than in jewellery, and in general, it could hardly be more complete. It is a compliment to true Sinhalese art to say that the jewellery now made has nothing characteristically Sinhalese about it. With the loss of the tradition of good design, has gone the capacity for fine work; not only is it impossible to get fine old work copied, but modern settings in particular are so insecure that the stones frequently fall out in a few days. Sinhalese jewellery to-day has indeed sunk "to the level of the extravagantly hard and vulgar trinketry of Birmingham, Paris, and Vienna."

Bezels It may be remarked that bezels with teeth or claws were unknown to Sinhalese jewellers until modern times. When first introduced they were not ineffectively used, but are now reduced to pin-like and hardly effective teeth which, as explained, fail to hold the gem firmly. Old settings rather resembled damascening, in that the gem was held by the undercut surface of the metal, as in a 'gipsy' ring. But the most characteristic setting was that known as *tahaḍu kola bemma*, where the gems are set in soft gold over wax, the gold being moulded and pressed into shape around the gem as the work proceeds. Work so done is extremely rich and decorative in effect, but difficult to repair.

Charms Not much is known of Sinhalese jewellery in relation to its talismanic and protective character. The children's pendant called *divi niya pota*, cheetah's claws ornament, consists of two cheetah's claws, mounted in silver, and suspended by a chain about a child's neck. Examples are illustrated on Pl. XLVIII., Figs. 9, 10, and 14-17. Many specimens have on the reverse side, representations of the 'Five Weapons' of Vishṇu (spear, sword, discus, bow, and chank). A *navaratna muḍuva* is a ring set with nine stones, said to be those associated with the influence of the nine planets. Amulets to hold charmed oil or written mantrams are worn on armlets and waist belts. An armlet carrying such an amulet is called *keccagama* (Pl. XLIX., 13).

It will be observed that gems are used not only in actual jewellery, but also in the decoration of copper, silver and gold plate (Pls. XLII., 2, 3, and 5, XLIIIA, 1), the handle of a staff (Pl. XXIII., 4), and even on furniture or on a door-leaf or jamb. The effects produced are decorative and harmonious.

A *dat-kaṭuva* (toothpick) and *kan-henda* (ear-spoon, Pl. XLVIII., 13), the former of silver or ivory, the latter of silver, are almost universally carried. In the low-country it is not

Low-country Jewellery unusual for women to carry silver chatelaines, based on European models, often consisting of a large bunch of sham keys. There is also a large group, comprising the Dutch forms made at Mātara, chiefly combs, brooches, buttons, rings. Mātara diamonds (white zircons) are largely used. Pl. XLIX., 1, shows a typical example of this work; Figs. 2 and 3 on the same Plate illustrate examples of a brooch and part of a hair pin set with facetted coloured stones. Though generally poor in effect, this low-country 'Indo-Dutch' or 'Indo-Portuguese' jewellery is sometimes beautiful, and it is possible to meet with ear-rings,

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brooches and buttons strongly reminiscent of seventeenth century Italian or Portuguese jewellery, and exceedingly beautiful. *Metal work*

It is, however, with Kandyan jewellery that we are specially concerned. As might be expected, much of it shows strong Tamil influence; but many forms are distinctive, and experience enables the collector to judge with some certainty of their origin. The jewellery worn by men consisted of gold chains, pendants, girdles, and especially rings; by women, ear-rings, chains, pendants, and girdles, bracelets, and finger rings. It will be found that much of the gold jewellery is of South Indian design; there is also much having a distinct local character. The principal forms have distinctive names. In the case of the chains, these are the names of flowers or seeds, as *pol-mal-mālaya* ('coconut-flower-garland', Pl. XLVIII., 1), *araḷu-mālaya* ('*araḷu*-seed-garland,' Pl. XLVIII., 4), *peti-mālaya* ('flower' or 'petal' garland, Pl. XLIX., 4 and 12), *geḍi-mālaya* (garland of fruits). These names are reminiscent of the garlands of real flowers which play so important a part in Indian festal dress, and which are the origin of the more permanent garlands wrought by the jeweller, in gold and silver. It is highly characteristic of Indian art that these 'garlands' should be in design entirely suggestive, and in no way imitative of the forms suggested. The naïve realism which is so characteristic of all modern Western art, in jewellery producing the wholly unimaginative elaborate imitations of flowers, leaves, and animals by the school of Lalique, is never apparent in Indian design. The passion for imitation may be taken as *prima facie* evidence of the lack of a true artistic impulse, which is always a desire, conscious or sub-conscious, to express or manifest Idea. Why, indeed, imitate, where you can never rival? Nor is it by a conscious intellectual effort that a flower is to be 'conventionalised' and made into applied ornament. No Indian craftsman sets a flower in a vase before him and worries out of it some sort of ornament by taking thought. If the flower has not meant so much to him that he has already a clear memory picture of its essential characters, he may as well ignore it in his decoration; for a decorative art not intimately related to his own experience can have no intrinsic vitality, nor would the appeal of some rare plant conventionalised as ornament be strong for others. It is true, of course, that the original memory pictures are now handed on as crystallised traditions; but the force of their appeal is thereby strengthened by association of ideas—artistic, emotional or religious. The traditional forms have thus a significance not merely foreign to any imitative art, but dependent on the fact that they represent rather race conceptions than the ideas of one person or one period. They are a vital expression of the race mind; to reject them, and expect great art to live on as before, would be to sever the roots of a forest tree and look then for flowers and fruits to appear upon its branches. And so the goldsmith's chains are not like real flowers; but they mean flowers to himself and to the wearers of them. *Jewellery* *Design*

The same principles apply to the treatment of birds in jewellery. The bird pendant of Pl. L., 1, is pure ornament, without that descriptive character which would be as much out of place as a didactic motif. To wear a real bird, as this pendant is worn by a Kandyan girl in Pl. II., would be barbarous; to imitate a real bird very closely in the manner of Lalique would be idle; but all that is beautiful in the general idea of a bird, colour, form and poise can be suggested.

Lastly we have wholly imaginative forms, such as the *makara* and *bheruṇḍa* used as chain and pendant motifs. On Pl. XLIX., 11, is shown a beautiful *makara mālaya*; on Pl. XLVIII., 6, a *bheruṇḍa* pendant.

The bird pendant (*kurulu-padakkama*) of Pl. L., 8, is of special interest. It is said to have been made for Molligoḍa Adigār. It has a Sinhalese inscription on the reverse, the translation of which is as follows: "In the month of Duruta in the year 1861 of Śaka, the *padakkama* made by Maṅgalagama Muhandirama at Doḍantale." Doḍantale is a village

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in the Four Kōrales, and was then the residence of Molligoḍa Adigār, at whose *valavva* the goldsmith was doubtless working. The pendant has passed into the hands of the Pānabokka family, and now by marriage to the Halaṅgoḍas. I am indebted to Mr. T. B. Pānabokka for a copy of the inscription, in which, however, there must be some mistake about the date. Śaka 1761, however, would be A.D. 1839, well within the lifetime of the second Molligoḍa Adigār, who died in A.D. 1845.

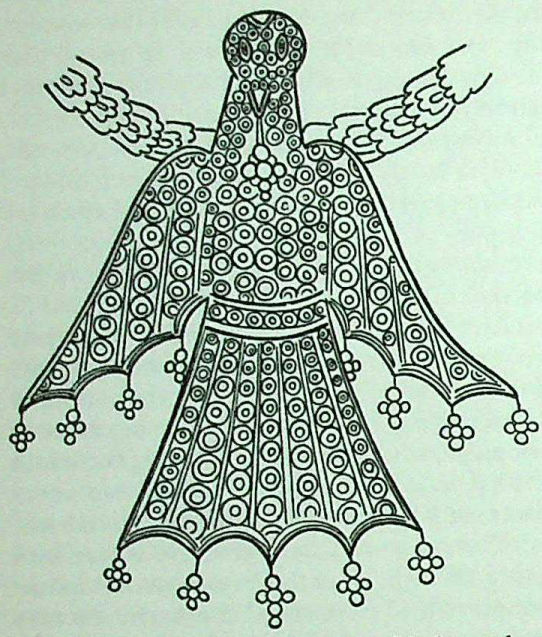

Fig. 130. *Kurulu padakkama*, bird pendant, from picture of Kīrti Śrī at Doḍantale Vihāra.

A similar *kurulu padakkama* is amongst the beautiful jewels dedicated to the tooth-relic, and kept at the Daḷadā Māligāva, hung upon the outer casket. A story connects this jewel with the father of Piḷima Talāva: Piḷima Talāva in 1815 stated that "In the reign of Kīrti Śrī, my father Kapuvatte, Disāva of Saffragam, went as ambassador to Batavia, and received as presents a gold chain and a diamond ring. He died on the passage, and before his death desired that the ornaments might be presented to the king. I myself, then eleven years of age, presented them, and the king observed: 'I bore great love to the Disāva; that merit may attend him, this diamond shall be set in the forehead of the bird which is now being made for dedication to the Daḷadā Māligāva.'"* This, or a similar pendant, was worn by the king himself, and it is shown in his likeness painted on the vihāra wall at Doḍantale (Fig. 130).

The goldsmiths usually made careful designs or working drawings, intended for the approval of the king or other patron. But in many cases the forms of jewellery were so constant, and varied so little, that it would be quite sufficient to order them by name only; this applies, for example, to the various chains named after flowers or fruits, to the different kinds of bracelets, ear-rings, etc. Finger rings, pendants, jewelled canes, and the like might differ more; on Pls. XX.

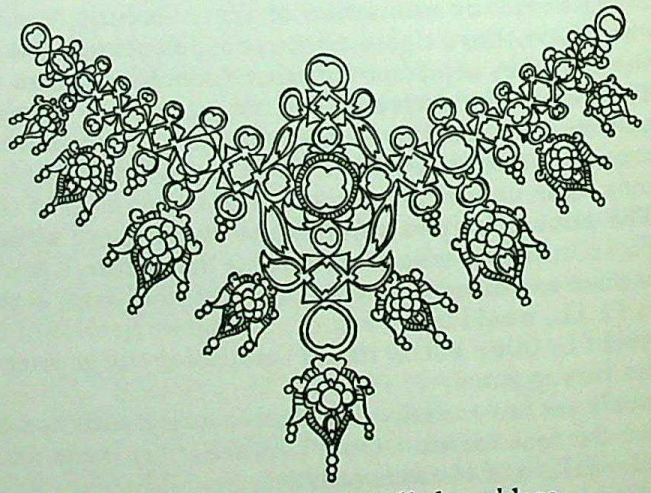

Fig. 131. Design for jewelled necklace, Maṅgalagama.

* *Resident's Diary, 25th March, 1815, quoted by Lawrie, Gazetteer, p.* 419.

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and XXIII. are reproduced a number of old designs, still in the possession of the Maṅgalagama *galaddō*. Another is shown in Fig. 131. Designs of this character are usually drawn with a brush in black or red. *Metal work Jewellery*

The king was in the habit of making presents to the chiefs of jewellery, swords, etc., from the royal workshops as rewards for service. Thus, we find it stated in the Paḷiṅgupāna *sannasa*, that Paḷiṅgupāna Mudaliyār was sent to attack the Dutch at Mātara, where they had distressed the inhabitants. When he returned victorious the king was highly pleased, and "bestowed on him an *eta* (tusked elephant), an *aliya* (a female elephant), a cutlass inlaid with gold, a knife and a gold chain and many other honourable rewards," as well as valuable landed property (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 684). It is recorded also that Rāja Siṃha II., when one of the Dutch ambassadors entered his service for love of a Sinhalese woman, "sent to both of them rich Apparel, and to her many Jewels and Bracelets of Gold and Silver" (Knox, p. 181). *Royal presents*

On one occasion we read of the Sinhalese king sending valuable presents to an Indian prince, who had been restored to his throne by the Sinhalese general; the latter sent "a letter to Laṅkā, to the great king thereof, telling him that the prince had arrived destitute. And when the great king had heard thereof he sent unto him gifts: vessels of gold and silver meet to set food in for the king's table, and lamps of gold and silver in great number, and raiment of great price such as kings wear, and earrings, and chains for the neck, and bracelets set with jewels. These and other gifts did the king, in his great delight, send as tokens of his good-will and pleasure" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXVI).

When Kirtī Śrī, after the return of his embassy to Siam, received the three Siamese ambassadors, "the audience hall was adorned with awnings and hangings of silk and gold embroideries. And here our mighty king, the lord of kings, seated on his throne, received with all graciousness the three Siamese ambassadors who brought the letter and presents from their king. They were at the same time presented with three embroidered *tuppoṭi*, three red and three yellow, an extra one being given to the ambassador who carried the king's letter; various presents were also given to the attendants."*

Metal and other objects were sometimes given by the king or by private persons as a sort of token or *sannasa*. Thus, in a transfer deed, dated Ovisa, Śaka 1728 (A.D. 1806), the wife of 'Adikārigē Mudiyānse' states: "I have thus confirmed this transfer by giving to Siyatu the *paṭa-tahaḍuva* (forehead-plate) which the Mudiyānse had received from the king, and a tooth of his mouth as a *keta sakshiya* for these lands." Again, one Diṅgirāla of Mẹḍamahā-nuvara, having been sent away on king's service to Tamankaḍuva, died before his return; before his death he sent home his arecanut slicer and a lime box and a silver-mounted gun "in token of bequest of land" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, pp. 670, 574).

We have seen already how lavish were the king's gifts to vihāras and pansalas on the occasions of temple restoration or foundation; but gifts were also made to temples on special occasions. Thus it is related that when Rāja Siṃha (II.) was once on his way to Balana to give battle to the Portuguese, the pole of his palanquin snapped, and he had to alight at Doḍanvela. "He enquired what the place was, and they told him, 'It was the Nahamige Kōvila.' Then the king made a vow that if he succeeded in the expedition he would present his crown and jewels to the *kōvila* on his return. The king was victorious, and the promise was kept. Thus the crown came to the possession of the *kōvila*, which was afterwards called Doḍanvela Dēvāle. The crown is now in the possession of Girāgama Diva Nilame. It is of thin plain gold. In the dēvāle are pieces of silk, part of the king's dress. In the inner room of the dēvāle there is a large collection of curious old swords,

* '*Kīrti Śrī's Embassy to Siam*,' by *P. E. Pieris*, *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, *No.* 54, *Vol. XVIII.*, 1903, *p.* 22.

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Metal work Rāja Siṃha's and others, and Portuguese, &c., and two pictures of kings" (Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 175.

Jewellery Many references are made to jewellery in the Mahāvaṃsa. One description may be quoted: "And then on the day of the full moon the king adorned himself with all the grace of a god, with a diadem and a chain of gold and bracelets and precious ornaments of such kind thickly set with divers gems. And many hundred women of the queen's chamber, whose forms, beautifully attired, were like those of goddesses for elegance, accompanied him, and many chieftains also, of great fame, clothed with divers robes and jewels and glittering ornaments. And the earth sunk, as it were, with the weight of this great multitude, and of the troops of horses and elephants in their trappings of shining gold, and of the worshippers who honoured the Cetiya with offerings of lamps which they carried on their bodies. And every quarter thereof was covered, as it were, with parasols and banners and chowries; and the caverns seemed to burst asunder with the sounds of divers instruments of music; and the eyes of all the people were filled with tears of joy by reason of the exceeding great beauty of the sight; and the caskets and flags and vases and fans and pots and other utensils of gold sent forth rays which made all the place to seem yellow." (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXVI.) There are also numerable references to offerings of jewels and ornaments to the Māligāva and other temples.

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CHAPTER XII. LAC-WORK.

THE lac-workers, or *Ī-vaḍuvō*, literally *arrow-makers*, belonged to the lower division of the *ācariyō*, being essentially turners. They generally did both the wood-turning and the ornamentation necessary for the work expected of them, such as bows, arrows, spears, staves, bed-legs, handles of cressets, banner poles, etc. Some idea of their relative numbers may be gathered from the fact above mentioned (p. 55) that amongst ninety-eight craftsmen forming the *Koṭṭal-badda* contingent of the Four Kōrales there were fourteen *ī-vaḍuvō*, of whom two worked in the armoury, presumably as assistants to the regular craftsmen of the *paṭṭal hatara*.

Ceylon lac* is the product of two species of the lac insects, both different from the Indian. One called *kęppiṭiyā* or *kōn-lākaḍa* (*Tachardia albizziæ*, Green) occurs on several trees, amongst which are the *kęppiṭiyā* (*Croton aromaticus*), *kōn* (*Schleicheria trijuga*), and *hīnguru* (*Acacia cæsia*). The other species (*Tachardia conchiferata*, Green) is called *telakīriya lākaḍa*, and is found on an euphorbaceous plant called *telakīriya* (*Excœcaria agallocha*); this is a rarer species, but produces lac of a brighter and clearer quality. Beside these, small quantities of imported Indian lac are sometimes used.

Lac-work is now carried on in Kandyan districts at Hapuvida (South Mātale), Pallēkaṇḍa, near Balaṅgoḍa, and Hūrikaḍuva in Pāṭa Dumbara, and in the low-country at Aṅgalmaḍuva, near Taṅgalla.

The Mātale work is by far the most distinctive, and may be described in detail, after which the Hūrikaḍuva and Aṅgalmaḍuva methods will be referred to.

Both types of lac-work differ fundamentally from painting in that brushes are never used; in this respect the work differs entirely also from the lacquer *varnish* work of Japan, with which it is sometimes compared and confused. Plain lac is, however, occasionally used as varnish, especially for painted wood (see p. 167, above). The technique differs also from that of the Maldive Islands, where the lac applied by turning is afterwards incised, a process also characteristic of the well-known Sindh boxes.

The Mātale work is called *niyapoten vęḍa* or finger-nail work; this name is given because the work is done chiefly with the finger or thumb nail, and no lathe is employed. The lac pigments are prepared as follows: the freshly collected twigs bearing the lac insects are dried in the sun; the resin is then removed, pounded, and winnowed or sifted. The crushed lac is enclosed in narrow bolster-shaped bags of thin cloth; the bags are heated over charcoal fires and twisted till the melted lac oozes through the cloth. The lac is scraped off; a part of it is next softened over a fire and attached to the point of a small stick, and then again warmed and a second stick attached. The softened lac is then drawn out between the two sticks, worked about, doubled up, and redrawn many times until it assumes the form of a long stout ribbon of glistening fibrous lac of a bright golden brown colour. The pigments are now mixed into the lac by softening it and pounding the coloured powders into it. The four colours used are red, yellow, green and black; of these the red is vermilion (*sādiliṅgam*); the yellow, orpiment (*hiriyal*); the green is yellow with the addition of "dhobies' blue," formerly '*pānil*' (indigo); and the black is prepared in the same way as the black used in painting.

The lac thus prepared is used for the decoration of a large variety of articles, especially wooden sticks of various kinds, such as staffs (*hęrimiṭi*), handles of ceremonial spears, banners, fans, &c., ceremonial pingos, &c., and also to many other things such as powder horns

* *This account of lac and lac-work in Ceylon is partly based on Mr. E. E. Green's article on Lac, Annals R. B. G., Pērādeṇiya, Vol. I., Part V., Supplement*, 1903.

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Lac-work

(*veḍibehet kāraka*), oboes (*horaṇē*), book covers (*pot kaṁbi*), &c., and it is also used as an inlay in ivory, horn, and chank work. For the last purpose the ivory is incised with lines and circles which are filled up with the coloured lac. In the case of turned ivory or horn, this is effected by holding a piece of lac against it, while revolving on the lathe; the lac, heated by friction, is softened and fills up the incised grooves. Such ornament in Kandyan districts is almost invariably confined to incised lines and circles similar to work from Jodhpur in India*; but flat plates of ivory inlaid with scroll and floral ornament are used in the fittings of calamander boxes made in the low-country, particularly at Mātara, and this style reminds one of the similar methods of decorating ivory used on the musical instruments still made at Tanjore. Examples of lac-work are illustrated in Pl. XXIV., and of lac inlay in Pl. XXXVI, 8; XXXVII., 1, 6-9, 11; XL., 3; XLI., 1.

Returning to a consideration of the ordinary *niyapoten veḍa*, it will be best to describe the process in its simplest and commonest form, namely, in the decoration of a staff. The stick having been shaped and smoothed, the workman squats on the ground, having before him a chatty (*giṇi kabala*) containing a charcoal fire. The lac-worker's tools consist of short sticks with a lump of coloured lac at one end of each and a short strip of *puskola* (talipot leaf, *Corypha umbraculifera*). The stick is first coated with the ground colour, usually red. To effect this, the stick is warmed over the fire and lac applied, which lac is pressed and smoothed out with the piece of talipot leaf, while still kept warm over the fire; in this way the whole stick is gradually covered with a coating of red lac. It now remains to add the pattern, which may be very elaborate. For this it is needful to draw out the lac into strips of the desired thinness. To do this, the lump of lac is well warmed, and then, a small piece being held between finger and thumb, the rest is pulled away, leaving a long thin connecting thread which is wound round the bent knee, into a skein. After passing four or five times round the knee the lac becomes cold and must be warmed afresh.

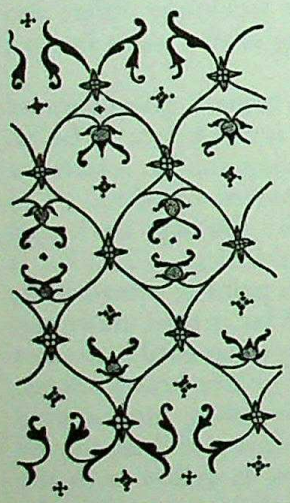

Fig. 132. '*Kalas-daṅgaya*' pattern, from lacquered spear stave, Colombo Museum.

Now to apply a narrow band of coloured lac to the stick, the stick is warmed gently, while kept continually turning by a small boy who squats behind the operator, and one end of the string of lac is attached to the stick by pressure, and the rest likewise as the stick turns; the thread of lac is nipped off by the thumb nail when a revolution is complete. The stick is then warmed again and smoothed with the leaf. For more complex patterns (and some are very elaborate) string lac is applied in just the same way, and nipped off with the nail; dots are thus formed by applying the end of the thread of lac and cutting off a tiny piece with the nail; such dots are consequently square or diamond-shaped.

The lac-work is usually limited to a small number of good conventional patterns admirably adapted to the nature of the material; when, as occasionally happens, these are departed from, and an endeavour is made to represent some more ambitious subject, such as an elephant or lion (as occasionally on book covers), the result is necessarily not quite so satisfactory. Most of the work, however, is from a decorative point of view thoroughly sound, and the colours pleasing.

Sinhalese lac-work is characteristic by great brilliancy and gaiety of colouring. The objects decorated are usually small; and even when somewhat larger, as in the case of bed-legs, the small amount

* *Watt, 'Indian Art at Delhi,' p.* 179.

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of furniture used at all, and the simplicity of the interior, made such bright spots of colour perfectly appropriate.

The following are many of the names applied to patterns formed in finger-nail work:—*veḷpota* (Fig. 133), *adara-koṇḍu* (plain lines), *biṇḍu* and *galbiṇḍu* (diamond-shaped spots), *kola veḷa* (an interlacing 'branch' or 'vine' pattern), *pala peti* (petal pattern), *lanu geṭa* (plait patterns), *patura* (elongated isosceles triangles), *bō-kola* (*bō*-leaf), *dḗla* (net pattern), *suli veḷa* (another vine pattern). For illustrations of these see Pl. XXIV., and Figs. 132 and 133.

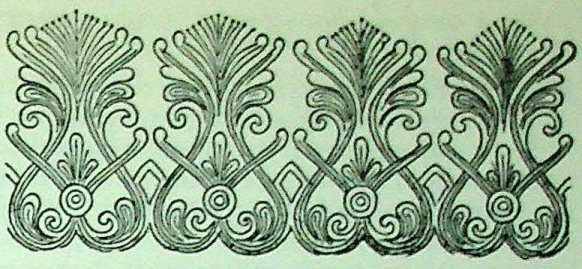

Fig. 133. *Veḷpota* pattern, from lacquered staff.

The Aṅgalmaḍuva and Hūrikaḍuva process differs from that above described in that the lac is applied to the wood while revolving on a turning lathe, the heat of friction softening the lac and causing it to adhere. This process is more limited, being only applicable to objects which can be turned on a lathe, and it does not admit of the delicate pattern work of the finger-nail process. In fact, the ornamentation can only consist of concentric bands of colour applied to the different parts of small, usually ricketty, tables, chairs, tom-tom frames, and walking sticks. The old Kandyan lac-striped round boxes (*abharaṇa heppu*), bed legs (*eṇḍa kakul*), betel stands, &c., were handsome and substantial.

Hones (*kana lḗlla*) were also made by lac-workers, and consist of lac mixed with powdered *kuruṇḍugala*, properly corundun, sometimes garnet.

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CHAPTER XIII. EARTHENWARE.

THE rather simple types of earthenware made and used by Sinhalese for ceremonial, architectural, and domestic purposes are more varied than might at first sight be supposed, and, apart from any question of painted pottery, will be found to possess much excellence in respect of beauty of form and adaptation to the end in view. This last consideration it is which determines the primary form of the vessels. Hardly any work of a merely ornamental character falls to be considered in the present paper. It is, however, this primarily utilitarian character and aim which give so much charm to the elegance of form and very simple decoration which accompany it; it has been said, indeed, that ugly pottery can only be made by an exertion of the cultivated intellect, and has only been so made in comparatively modern times. Much the same is true of India, where unglazed pottery is everywhere made for domestic and other purposes. Says Sir George Birdwood: "Truest to nature in the directness and simplicity of its forms, and their adaptation to use, and purest in art, of all its homely and sumptuary handicrafts, is the pottery of India, and the forms of it shown on ancient Buddhist and Hindu sculptures, and the ancient Buddhist paintings of Ajanṭa, are identical with those still everywhere thrown from the village hand-wheels." We do not, however, find in Ceylon the more elaborate types of glazed pottery made in some parts of India; but it will be found that Sinhalese pottery fulfils the requirements of good workmanship in earthenware: viz., first, the vessel must be of a shape convenient for its purpose; secondly, that shape must be one that arises naturally from the mode of manufacture and exhibits to advantage the plastic properties of clay, without becoming weak or fanciful; thirdly, ornament should not interfere with usefulness and should be appropriate in amount and character in relation to the purpose of the vessel and the material it is made of; fourthly, smoothness of surface and elaborate refinements (however good in their right place) are not to be thought of as ends in themselves, and may appear unsuitable if striven for in vessels meant for ordinary daily use and made of a material not over fine. Nevertheless, the application of some simple glaze would not be out of place, and it is perhaps rather strange that it is never met with in Ceylon.*

The Sinhalese potters (*baḍahẹlayō*) are found all over the country in every village affording the necessary clay, but often aggregated in greater numbers in places where an especially good supply of suitable clay is available. Thence the potter carries his pots for sale to more remote districts in huge pingo loads. Nowadays a good deal of pottery is taken in carts along the cart roads; in this way the fine red pots made by a settlement of Tamils at Nikapata near Haputale travel down the road to Balaṅgoḍa, and the Kẹlani pots with their white incised patterns come up to Ratnapura and Kẹ̄galla and even Kandy. Some pottery is also imported from Southern India.

The general duties of potters have been enumerated on p. 25, above. Like other craftsmen, potters held land either directly from the Crown, from the proprietor of a *nindagama* or the grantee of a royal village, or from a vihāra or dēvāle. Every manor had not only its smith to make and mend the tools of the grantee, a washer to wash the clothes, and other service tenants, but also a potter, 'to fit them with Earthen Ware.' He, like other tenants, supplied the king or lord with earthenware as service rent, but was paid for work done for others. The *baḍahẹla-badda* formed one of the 14 Departments of Public Works; the contingent from the Four Kōrales is described as follows:—

"In Galboḍa Kōrale and Paraṇakūru Kōrale are eight potters under the orders of a *vidāne* of their own caste appointed by the Disāva. In Kiṇḍigoḍa Kōrale and Beligal Kōrale

* *Enamelled tiles are found at Anurādhapura.*

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are fourteen under another *vidane*, but sometimes one *vidane* is appointed over the potters of these three kōrales. *Earthenware*

"The potters of the first division attend on duty in Kandy during one month at the *Mahā Gabaḍāva*, and are then relieved by those of the second division, who serve one month more. During this period they are obliged to furnish as many earthen vessels (*valan*) as are required for the *Mahā Gabaḍāva*, and to make tiles and bricks and perform any other potter's work required for the king's service. At their departure from duty each division supplies one hundred earthen vessels to the Disāva's house.

"This two months' duty is performed in rotation with the potters of the upper districts, the Seven Kōrales, Uva, and Mātale, and recurs once in ten months.

"In the Disāvanaya they are bound to furnish tiles, bricks, and all kinds of pottery for the Disāva's use, and earthen vessels to the different resthouses (*vaḍi*) when the king or ambassadors come into the Disāvanaya."*

The following are examples of potter's services due to the proprietor of *nindagam* and to dēvāles or vihāras:

At the village of Kinigama in Mātale North, Dullęve Adigār owned seven *ninda paṅgu*. The services due from the three tenants (Āracci Paṇḍitayalāgē, Badde Vidānayalāgē, and Upāsaka Paṇḍitayalāgē) of six of these were "at the old and new year to give a pingo (yoke load) of earthenware consisting of twelve small pots or a proportional number of large pots, and a separate *peṇuma* such as a goblet or jug, if the tenant is expert enough to make them, if not he brings forty leaves of betel; he repairs the roof of the *valavva* with tiles provided by the proprietor; on great occasions, weddings, or devil dances he brings cooking vessels."

In Koṭagēpiṭiya a potter named Paṇḍitagē owed the following services to the Haṇguraṅketa Pattini Dēvāle for two *pęḷas* of field and two *kuruṇis hēn*: "yearly to give two *valankat* (pingo loads of pottery), one for the *perahęra* and the other for the *Alutsāl*; to present a *valankada* to the Basnāyaka Nilame at the *perahęra*; to make tiles when required (clay and firewood being supplied); to shift the tiles of the Dēvāle." These services were commutable for Rs. 5.85.

The Kuṇḍasāle Vihāra has one *valandena paṅguva* in Valala. "Tenants: Paṇḍitagedara Komali. Services (commutable for Rs. 16·20): to supply for the four festivals eight pingos of earthenware, two for each festival, each pingo consists of two *tāli*, two *kaḷagęḍi*, two *koras*, two *nęṃbili*, two *bat-valan*, three *loku-appalla*, six *appalla-poḍi*, one *ęṭiliya*, and one *dummala kabala*; for the *Alutsāl Maṅgalya* to give four large *muṭṭi*; for the *Kārti Maṅgalya* fifty *karti-pān*; for the *Nānamura Maṅgalya* two *ęṃbul muṭṭi*; after the New Year to offer the incumbent six *appalla-poḍi* and two *puñci muṭṭi* as a *peṇuma*."†

These extracts will show what sort of services were rendered by the potters in respect of the lands held by them. They worked also for themselves and their neighbours, receiving payment from the latter in money or, more often, in kind.

The potter may be found at work in the verandah of his house, or sometimes in a separate shed wholly devoted to the work. His appliances are, as may be supposed, simple enough. His wheel (*pōruva*) is a circular board about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter mounted on a stone pivot which fits into a larger stone socket embedded in the ground, the horizontal surface of the wheel itself standing not more than six inches above the ground (Fig. 134). The wheel is turned by a boy (Pl. V., 1) who squats on the ground opposite the potter and keeps

* *Sir John D'Oyley's 'Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom'* (*T.R.A.S., London, Vol. III., Part II.*, 1833).

† *Lawrie, 'Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon,' p.* 441, 476, 495.

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Earthenware

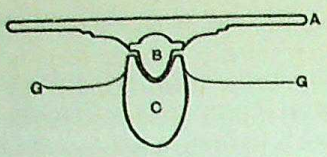

Fig. 134. Section of potter's wheel *in situ*.
A. Wheel (diameter 28 inches).
B, C. Stone pivot and socket.
G, G. Ground level.

it going with his hands. A lump of clay is dumped on the wheel, enough for half a dozen or more pots, and they are moulded one by one under the potter's hands, cut off, and set aside to dry. To finish off the rims, a strip of wet cotton is used; with this the potter smooths off the edges as the wheel turns, and pressing through it with his nail, he makes the little mouldings at the top. As removed from the wheel the pots are bottomless and have to dry for a few hours or a day or two before they can be finished; when they are ready the potter takes a smooth stone in his left hand and a sort of wooden bat (*valantaḷana lęlla*) in his right hand, and holding the stone inside the vessel he beats and pats its sides till finally they meet across the bottom (Pl. V., 2); the vessel is rubbed smooth with the bat.* Occasionally the surface is polished by rubbing with a smooth seed. Any ornament required is now added, and the pot is ready for the fire. Firing is done in a low kiln with stone sides and a domed covering of wet clay and sticks. The kiln is square in plan, and has three or four openings along one side for the insertion of fuel, and on the other sides smaller openings for the escape of air. Long sticks are used for fuel, pushed through the openings by degrees as they burn away. The kiln is usually protected from the weather by a rough shed.

The clay used is alluvial material such as is obtainable in most valley rice fields. The best kind is very dark and stiff; the colour after firing varies from a fine terracotta red to a rather unpleasant yellowish gray.

As Knox observed so long ago, the Sinhalese are apt at making "all sorts of earthenware to boil, stew, fry, and fetch water in." Generic terms for all pots are *heḷiya*, *kaḷasa*, and *walaṇḍa*. They may be classified according to form into *kaḷageḍi*, *muṭṭi*, *appalla*, and *ęṭili*; the *kaḷageḍiya* approaches a complete sphere, the others are successively shallower. The *kaḷageḍiya* is a water-carrying vessel indispensable to every family. Four examples are shown in Pl. XXV., 1—4. It is carried by women on the hip, the arm passing round the neck. A favourite dance of the *alatte* women (women of a *gikiyana*—a *naṭana paṅguva* holding) is the *kalageḍi nęṭima* (dancing with new pots); the pot used becomes the dancer's perquisite, but such *kaḷageḍi* are, I think, smaller than those in general use. The *muṭṭiya* has a wide mouth and is a vessel used for boiling rice. Pl. XXV., 5, shows a decorated *muṭṭiya* used for new rice at the *Alutsāl Maṅgalya* at the Kuṇḍasāle Vihāra. An ordinary *muṭṭiya* is seen on the worker's right hand in Pl. V., 2, also against the wall, Pl. V., 3. *Muṭṭi* are used for other general purposes; pots used to collect kitul syrup are, for example, called *uga-muṭṭi*. *Ęmbul muṭṭi* are pots made to hold the medicinal preparation of the juices of plants used at the *Nānamura Maṅgalya*.† *Appalla* are shallower vessels used for cooking curries; these are (larger) *loku-appalla* and (smaller) *appalla-poḍi*. *Ęṭili* are shallow pots for cooking curries (see Pl. V., 1, between the potters). A larger sort of broad shallow pan is used for cooking sweetmeats or other special purposes; a variety with handles (called *kanbola ęṭiliya*) is shown on Pl. XXV., 12.

* *For use of stone and mallet in India, see 'Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. VII., Pl. 58 and accompanying article.*

† *The astrologers, at New Year, "had to superintend the preparation of a thousand small pots of the juices of wild medicinal plants at the Nata devale, from whence, carefully covered and sealed, they were to be sent to the palace, and distributed with much ceremony to the other temples" (Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' p. 168).*

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Beside the above-mentioned four types there are other vessels, of which the *nęmbiliya* (= *nāmbu* + *hęliya*) is the most important. This is a shallow dish with a rim projecting inwards and completely covered inside with an elegant arrangement of deep furrowings (Pl. XXV., 10). These are scored before firing by means of a rough wooden comb (*irigahana kaṭuva*), a process illustrated in Pl. V., 4. The *nęmbiliya* is used for washing rice to remove stones and dirt, very much as a gemming basket is used to separate the heavier gem minerals from the common lighter constituents of the gravel. The fragments of grit, &c., remain behind in the grooves of the *nęmbiliya*, or are held back by its inwardly projecting rim, as the rice is stirred up in the water and gently poured over the edge; this vessel is in daily use in every household. A similar vessel made to stand by the addition of a ring foot is called a *koraha*; the ring foot is not made in one piece with the rest of the vessel, but is added after the completion of the underside of the vessel as if for a *nęmbiliya*; this vessel in this stage is inverted on the wheel and the ring of fresh clay added to form a foot.

Earthenware

Nęmbiliya

A more typical *koraha*, however, is the larger type sometimes called *polkoraha* and shown on Pl. XXV., 7. These large pots are used for various general purposes, but especially by dhobies for washing clothes, and by mothers for washing their children. A *vil-koraha* is a large vessel used for soaking seed paddy.

Koraha

A shallow dish with a ring foot (thus resembling the smaller type of *koraha*, but without internal furrowing) is sometimes used for eating rice from, and is called a *batvalaṇda*.

A vessel rarely seen is the *pōrnuva*, or oven (Pl. XXV., 6), a large three-legged affair with a big lid; the interior is half filled with sand, and the oven is said to be very efficient; the sand (as in the "sand bath" of the chemical laboratory) both retains the heat and preserves an even temperature.

Pōrnuva

Large wide-mouthed vessels with lids, formerly used for storing cloths and garments, are called *piḷi-hęliya* (Pl. LII., 4), or if smaller *halu-hęliya*. Clothes in such vessels were better protected from white ants than if stored in wooden boxes.

Piḷi-hęliya

The name *kaḷaha* (*kaḷasa*, *kaḷaya*), equivalent to Sanskrit *kaḷasa*, is strictly applicable to all vessels with only one opening, especially those of the *kaḷageḍiya* type; but it is more specially applied to a kind of vase open at both ends, but otherwise resembling a *kaḷageḍiya* with an extended neck (Pl. XXVI., 12), and used for holding sprays of coconut flower on auspicious and ceremonial occasions (weddings, *maṅgalya*, &c.) a pair being placed on the two sides of the doorway, or as lamp stands, especially at festivals.

Kaḷaha

A *taliya* is a large wide-mouthed vessel similar to a *pātra*. A *pin-taliya* is such a vessel of water set by the wayside for the use of travellers. Such vessels are to be seen everywhere, usually supported in a forked branch, often roofed over. The vessel has usually a wooden lid, and a ladle (*kinissa*). It is not customary in the East to apply the lips to the rim of such a common drinking vessel, but the water is poured from the bowl of the ladle (or from the spout of a *kotalaya*) into the hollow of the left hand held against the mouth. This admirable sanitary precaution might with advantage be adopted in the West.

Taliya

A particularly interesting piece of earthenware is the *bummęḍiyā* (which may be translated "bullfrog"). This is a vessel open at both ends like a *kaḷaha*, but the difference of diameter between the two ends is greater; there is a large belly as in a *kaḷageḍiya*; the large end is covered with a *talagoyā* skin (attached with paste made from *habaralissa*, or from rice and plantain), and a strap is added for hanging over the shoulder. The drum so made is used at harvest times and for *līkeliya*.

Bummęḍiyā

Money boxes are made at Kęḷaṇiya in the form of a *mamma*. This is a world-wide and very old form for a money box, the idea being the suggestion of abundance and plenty. It is, in fact, sympathetic magic.

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Earthenware

Earthen spittoons (*paḍikkam*) and one-handled mugs (*pākuru*) are occasionally seen. Earthen stills are used in preparing arrack from the fermented juice of the coconut, and in making dummala oil.*

A piece of earthenware only used locally is the *lipa* (Pl. XXVI., 7). This is a low cylindrical earthen stand replacing the three stones (*liggal*) which are usually used to raise the cooking pot above the fire upon the ground. Finally we have the elegant *gini kabala* or fire dish (Pl. XXV., 11), which is a form rarely met with, but suitable for use as a small hearth, or to provide a fire for the goldsmith's blowpipe; but an ordinary *koraha* is more commonly used as *gini kabala*, as in the picture, Pl. VI., 6. A narrow-necked water vessel or goglet (*gurulettu*), generally rather rough in execution, is also sometimes met with. The list of domestic pottery is thus exhausted. It will be seen that it faithfully reflects the simplicity and lack of luxury characterizing the typical old-fashioned household. The vessels are few, and each serves some simple purpose for which it is specially adapted. The ordinary price of a *kaḷageḍiya* is about 20 to 25 cents, of a *nĕṃbiliya* 6 to 15 cents, of a *koraha* 25 to 50 cents. The value of this rough earthenware is thus so small that breakages are not of very serious consequence. Pieces of earthenware may remain in use for many years, and are occasionally even found to be mended. On the other hand, Davy stated that there was an 'extraordinarily great' consumption of earthenware amongst the Sinhalese inasmuch as "after a feast at which people of different castes have been entertained, all the earthenware vessels used on the occasion are destroyed.†"

Ecclesiastical

The vessels used especially in connection with vihāras and dēvāles may be spoken of collectively as ecclesiastical earthenware. Of these vessels the most common and most characteristic is the *kotalaya*; this is a spouted vessel for holding the water with which flower offerings are sprinkled. Either an earthen or a bronze *kotalaya* may be found in every vihāra; the bronze *kotala* are smaller and more elegant than the earthen. Earthen *kotala* are also in domestic use as drinking vessels. Pl. XXV., 8, shows a decorated *kotalaya* from Doḍantale Vihāra. A curious variety of the *kotalaya* is the *valalu kotalaya*, which must be inverted and filled from below. The same arrangement is sometimes found in the case of a *kotalaya* of the common form, but closed above, and then called *yatura kotalaya*, 'secret jug.'

Very large wide-mouthed earthen vessels called *pātra* are found in most vihāras and are used to hold water or to receive offerings of rice, &c., from worshippers. A very fine painted example is to be seen at Doḍantale Vihāra, but most specimens are plain or with very simple decoration of simple lines or of *bō*-leaves in red. Besides the big *pātras* used in vihāras, smaller earthen alms-bowls are made, though the alms-bowls actually used by priests are usually metal. Some potters (at Kĕlaṇiya) make an alms-bowl for presentation to a priest, with every batch of pots turned out. Earthen incense burners (*dummala kabal*), often of very elegant form and skilful execution, are used in dēvāles and vihāras, the incense (powdered *dummala* resin) is sprinkled on burning charcoal carried on the *dummala kabala*. Two of these incense burners are shown on Pl. XXVI., 4 and 5.

Wide-mouthed vessels decorated with moulded cobras, are used in Pattini Dēvāles to hold the *halaṃba*, and are called *halaṃba-hĕliya* or *nayi-hĕliya*. Similar vessels without cobra ornament are also made for betel leaves and thence called *bulat-hĕliya*.

Specially small vessels (Pl. XXVI., 7) were made for the *kiri-uturaṇa maṅgalya* or ceremony of boiling milk at a dēvāle, generally after the New Year and after a *diya-kepīma*. The boiled milk is sprinkled about the premises as an auspicious emblem of prosperity.

* *Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' p.* 243; "*Ceylon National Review*," *No.* 2, 1906, *p.* 238.
† '*Travels in Ceylon,' p.* 125.

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Other ecclesiastical earthenwares include lamps (*meṭi pahan*) chiefly the small plain shallow dishes for burning cocoanut oil with a cotton wick, and used in great quantities on festive occasions, being placed round the vihāras or dēvāles compound in niches provided for the purpose in the walls. They are also set up on lampstands (*pānkaṇḍu*, Pl. XXVI., 9 and 10) or protected from the wind in a lantern or cage (*pānkāḍuva*, Pl. XXVI., 8). Occasionally very handsome and elaborately ornamented *pānkaṇḍu* are met with, bearing a larger lamp above with notches for three wicks. These tall stands are made in several pieces, fitting one on to the other, the whole tapering slightly towards the top (Pl. XXVI., 11). A *meṭi pandama* is an earthen cresset used like those of metal as a torch, being filled with tow and oil and carried in processions. *Earthenware*

The *pānāva* or *pānā-kaḷaya*, used in devil-dancing ceremonies, is a remarkable vessel resembling a *kotalaya* with twelve spouts.* It is decorated with cobras and elaborately painted (Pl. XXVI., 6).

Of architectural earthenware, the chief forms are tiles. The most characteristic and oldest types are flat. Such tiles are of nearly oblong form, but taper slightly upwards, where a projection on the under side serves to keep them from slipping off the reepers. Other flat tiles are pointed at the lower end, and very beautiful roofs are often seen in which the pointed and square ended tiles are arranged on patterns or in alternate rows, giving great variety. Tile hangers are very clever in covering all sorts of awkward angles and steep slopes (Pl. VI., 2), and good old Kandyan roofs are consequently very picturesque, an effect which is greatly enhanced by the change of slope which is usually found and which corresponds to a structural feature of the timbering. We sometimes, but not very often, meet with especial bent coping tiles of the flat type, but semi-cylindrical tiles are more commonly used. Flat tiles of the above types are usually ornamented with very simple parallel incised lines (Fig. 135); these seem to be a survival of the much deeper grooves which are to be seen on the old tiles so common at Sīgiriya and Anurādhapura; the grooves were doubtless originally intended to facilitate the flow of rain water, but the simple incised lines found on Kandyan tiles are of no practical use for this purpose, and thus represent merely vestigial ornament. *Tiles*

The roofing tiles most commonly seen at the present day are semi-cylindrical in form, tapering slightly upwards. They are often associated with flat tiles on the same roof, and are generally

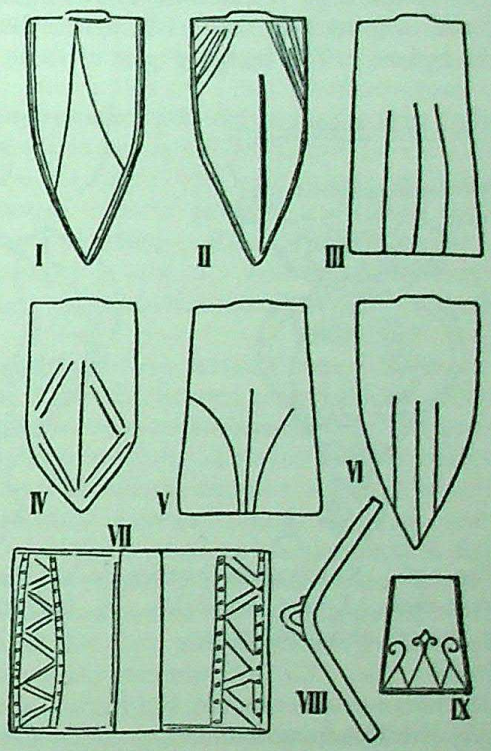

Fig. 135. Kandyan roofing and coping tiles. I.-VI, Flat roofing tiles; VII., VIII., Plan and section of coping tile; IX., Plan of ornamented semi-cylindrical coping tile.
Scale of figs. I.-VIII., $\frac{1}{3}$ cm.=1 inch.
Scale of Fig. IX., $\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{4}}$ inch=1 inch.

* *According to C. J. R. Le Mesurier (Nuvara Eliya Manual) the pānāva must have also seven rims or tiers. This appears to be the case in the example figured (Pl. XXVI., 6).*

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Earthenware

used also for ridge or coping tiles. These semi-cylindrical tiles are less characteristic than the flat ones, but, nevertheless, quite pleasing and satisfactory. When used four or five thick they are a very efficient protection against heat, owing to the layers of air which occupy the spaces between the tiles; they are generally so used in the northern districts. The new-fashioned Basel Mission and Mangalore tiles are perhaps slightly more convenient, especially in respect of leakage, but of course far less cool; in addition to which their rigid form and mechanical effect are distinctly unpleasant. Instead of the slight curves and irregularities of a roof covered with ordinary tiles, we see what is practically a plane surface crossed by strictly parallel lines which are wearisome and uninteresting. The ordinary tiles if well burnt and well laid are much to be preferred in respect of appearance and comfort; though requiring slightly more attention, for in the services due to temples we see regular provision made for the annual shifting of tiles.

Eaves tiles

A special variety of tile is the eaves- or hanging tile, used on dēvāle and vihāra roofs to fringe the eaves. These tiles have a plain flat upper portion which passes under the last row of tiles at the edge of the roof, and is inclined at an angle of about 110-120° to the visible down-hanging part of the tile which forms the roof fringe and which is alone shown in the figures. The hanging part of these tiles is sometimes approximately square in form (Pl. XXVI., 1 and 2), but they have more often the shape of conventionalized *bō*-leaves (Fig. 136). Animal figures, usually those of the lion (*siṃha*) and goose (*haṃsa*), are embossed on both the outer and inner surfaces of the hanging tile, but sometimes the inner less easily seen surface is left plain. This relievo decoration is effected by pressing down the tile on to a wooden mould on which the lion (found usually on the obverse) is engraved, the clay being pressed well into the mould from behind by the action of the fingers. The addition of ornament on the reverse is more difficult. The figure, usually a *haṃsa*, is prepared in the same way by pressing soft clay into a suitable mould, but instead of the whole tile being so pressed against the mould, only the actual animal form is made, and when this is lifted off the mould it is applied to the back of the tile (the obverse of which has already been ornamented). The result of this pressing of both animal forms into hollow moulds is that when they are applied together back to back on the obverse and reverse of the tile there remains a hollow space within the tile, and between the two animal shells. It is usual to pierce a small round hole on the animal's body on the reverse side to admit of the escape of heated air when the tile is fired. The decorated tiles so made stand out in high relief, and show up well in brilliant sunshine. A simpler method results in the production of similarly decorated tiles with less relief. This result is attained by merely pressing the clay tile between the two wooden moulds. It is obvious that equally high relief cannot be obtained in this way, as there is no way of pressing the clay into the hollows of a deep mould.

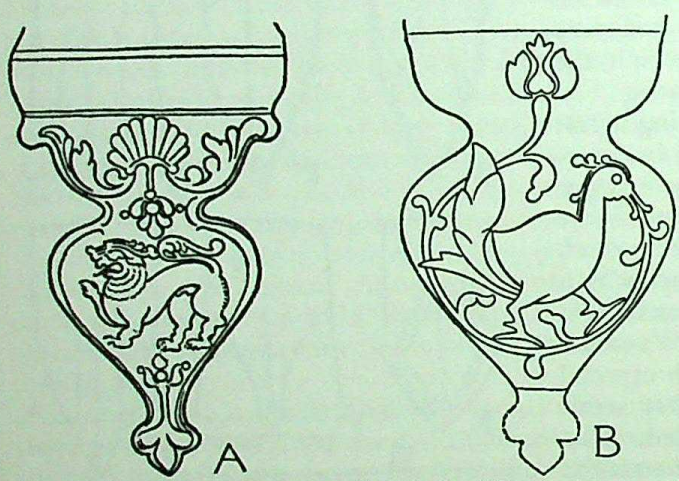

Fig. 136. Kandyan eaves-tiles, *bō*-leaf form, decorated with *siṃha* (A) and *haṃsa* (B). A., Length 15½ inches. B., length about 8½ inches.

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Rectangular tiles with lions or geese are used for the decoration of wall surfaces, and are then often painted to enhance their effect. Examples are to be seen at the Daḷadā Māligāva and at the Old Palace, Kandy. *Earthenware*

The handsome earthen finials, often decorated with cobras (Pl. VII., 2), which complete the effect of a Kandyan roof must also be mentioned here. They are found on *ambalams* and on dēvāles and vihāra roofs, where, however, the earthen finials are often replaced by more pretentious ones of gilt bronze. It should be remembered that in the old days only chiefs of the rank of a Disāva were allowed to build tiled houses; much less was it generally permitted to make use of finials on domestic roofs. *Finials*

Bricks (*gaḍol*) must also be briefly mentioned, though not very widely used, except in the erection of dāgabas and for some other special purposes. It may be remarked that they are of the rather flat narrow form which is so much more satisfactory in appearance and makes a stronger wall than the bricks of more nearly equal dimensions which are now more generally used. *Bricks*

Mr. F. H. Modder has described the earthen rings (*ūrākeṭa*) used for lining Kandyan wells called *ūrā liṅ*. He says: "These wells are very common in the Kandyan district.* They are circular in shape, about three feet in diameter, and instead of being built up with stone, earthen rings made by the village potter, and each about a foot and a half broad, are inserted and fitted in from the bottom of the well, increasing from two feet in diameter as they come up to the top to three feet. The earthen rings are called *ūrā-koṭṭa* (*-keṭa*), and the wells are known as *ūrākeṭa liṅ*, abbreviated into *ūrā liṅ*. The *ūrā-koṭṭa* (*-keṭa*) help to keep the water cool, and if they could be made of larger dimensions so as to get into wells of all sizes, they would certainly be a useful and cheap substitute for stone. Each of the rings used at present can be made at a cost of about 37½ cents, and the cost of a well thus built would not exceed a couple of rupees."† *Ūrākeṭa* well-rings are more often made of wood, generally the hollowed segment of a tree. *Well-rings*

In describing the ordinary methods of ornamenting earthen vessels, I refer only to such decoration as is applied before firing. What is ordinarily known as 'painted Kandyan pottery' is painted with oil colours (formerly with water colour varnished) after the pots are fired, and this work will not be referred to in the present section. Leaving that oil-painted pottery aside, the decoration of pottery may be classed as incised, stamped, and slip-painted. The simplest form of slip-painting is the application of concentric bands of red, to apply which the vessel is inverted on the wheel, which is revolved slowly while the brush is held against it (see Pl. V., 3, where a *kaḷageḍiya* is being thus treated). The red paint is made by grinding up with water certain ferruginous nodules and concretions called *gurugal*, while white paint is similarly made from kaolin. Beside the plain stripes, simple geometrical ornaments in red or white is sometimes seen, as on the *pōṇuva* (Pl. XXV., 6). Black stripes are sometimes done with graphite. *Ornament*

Incised ornament, if more than a mere concentric line, is usually combined with the red striped painting. The pot is allowed to get very hard and dry and the pattern then engraved on the red bands with a sharp tool. Pl. XXV., 2, shows a *kaḷageḍiya* so treated. This vessel is ornamented with alternate concentric stripes of red and gray; the incised ornament (Fig. 137, A) is cut on the red bands, of which the uppermost has geometrical forms only, *Incised Ornament*

* *I have not myself seen such a well. Mr. Parker (J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. VIII., No. 27, 1884, p. 32) describes ancient earthen well-rings from Tissamahārāma, and indicates that similar ones were in use in the South and East of Ceylon. For other forms of ancient earthenware, see further the same article by Mr. Parker.*

† *J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIII., No. 44, 1893, p. 38.*

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Earthen-ware

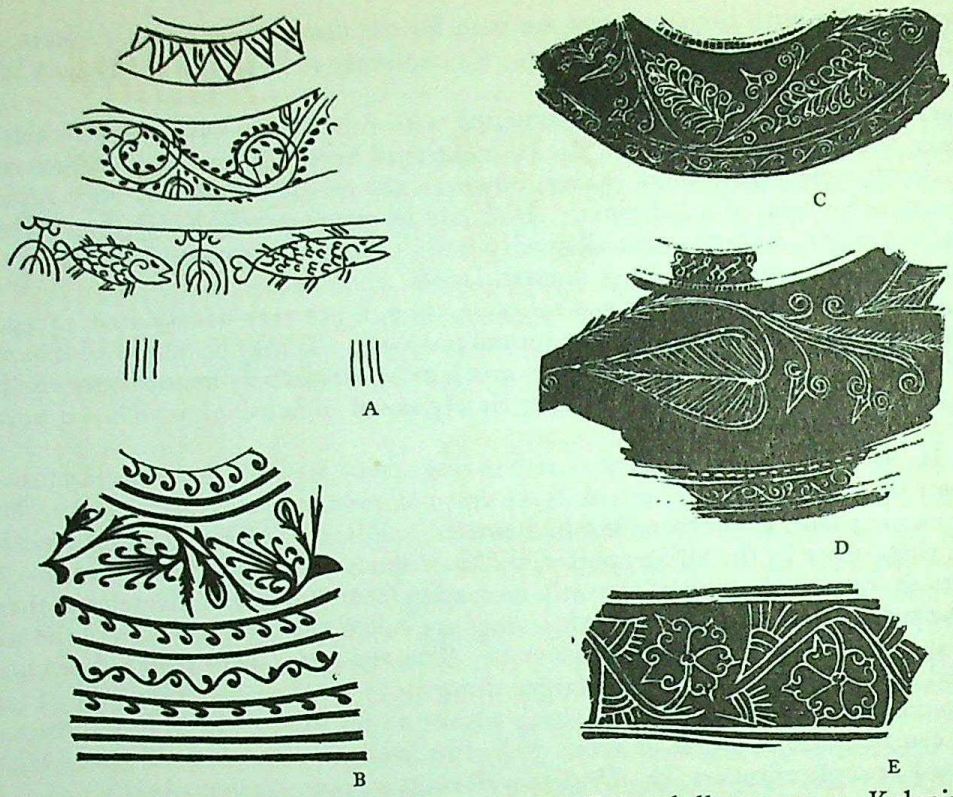

Fig. 137. Incised ornament of earthenware. A. Pęlmaḍulla; B., C., D., Kęlaṇiya; E. Mātara. A.—D. from *kaḷageḍi*; E. from a goglet. Variously reduced.

the middle a conventional branch or vine (*vęla*), and the ornament on the lowest red band consists of fishes alternating with a sort of inverted trident; on a still lower zone, a few upright lines appear in widely separated groups. The pattern after burning stands out on the lighter colour of the plain clay, against the darker red due to the *gurugala* paint.

Highly finished water vessels (*kaḷageḍi*) are made at Kęlaṇiya, and on these the incised decoration reaches its highest level of design and execution. It is usually made conspicuous by an infilling of kaolin after firing. Fig. 137, B.-D., shows part of the incised ornament on such pots. The remarkably Greek appearance of these designs will be remarked. The Kęlaṇi pottery is much appreciated, and as already stated travels far and wide. There is also made a great variety of grotesque animals, toys, money boxes, &c., which hardly call for further notice on the present occasion.

One special form of incised ornament has already been referred to, i.e., furrowing inside *nęmbili*. The utilitarian object of this grooving has been indicated, but, nevertheless, the arrangement of the groovings will be found to differ much in various specimens, and always to be elegant and decorative.

The incised ornamentation of tiles has also been referred to above; examples are shown in Fig. 135, where Nos. 1-6 represent flat roofing tiles, Nos. 7 and 8 a coping or ridge tile in plan and section, and No. 9 a semi-cylindrical ridge tile with incised ornament,—such as is only very rarely met with, however, on the curved tiles.

Stamped Ornament

The most beautiful decoration is put on with wooden stamps (*accu*), which are of varied form. The simplest are merely blunt wooden chisels with which simple various

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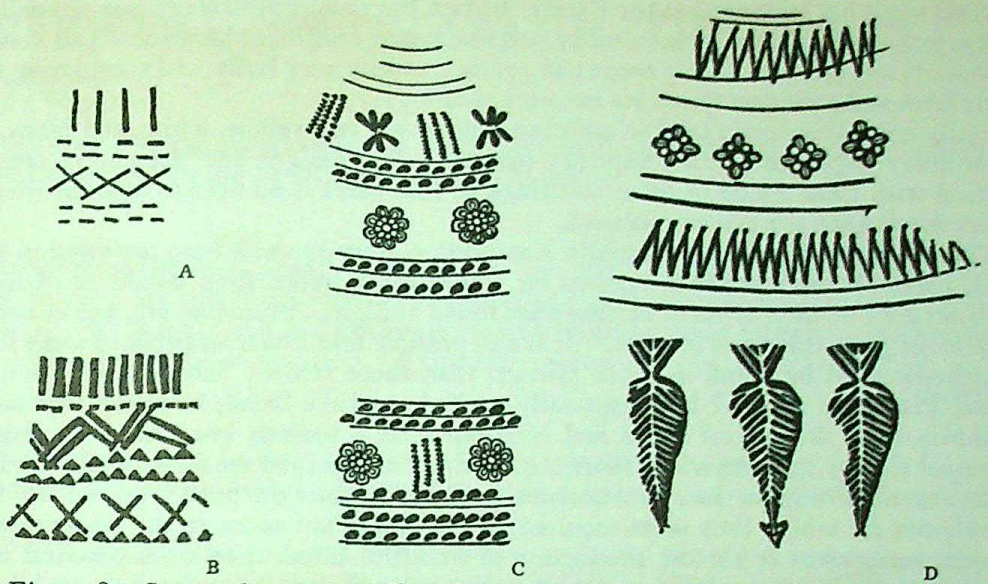

Fig. 138. Stamped ornament of earthen vessels. A., B., simple forms. C., with rosettes (lotus). D., with rosettes (lotus) and *bō*-leaves. A., B., and C., on *kaḷageḍi* from Kolonnā Kōrale; D., on *muṭṭiya* from Kuṇḍasāle Pansala. Reduced.

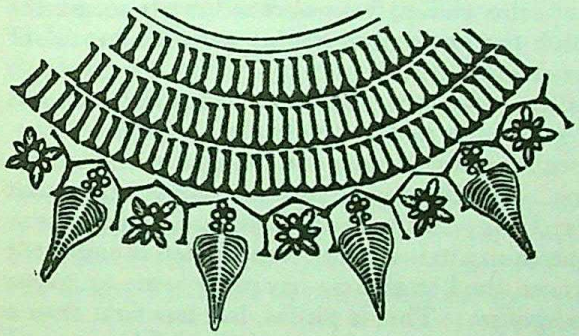

Fig. 139. Stamped ornament of *kaḷageḍiya* from near Balaṅgoḍa. Now in Kandy Museum. *Bō*-leaves and rosettes. Reduced.

Stamped ornament

arrangements of lines are formed, as in Fig. 138, A, B, taken from two pots from Kolonnāva; in one of these a small triangular stamp is also used. Fig. 138, C, is from another Kolonnā *kaḷageḍiya* which is shown in full on Pl. XXV., 3; we have here an elaborate rosette beside some other simpler forms. Fig. 138, D, from the *muṭṭiya* of Pl. XXV., 5 (from Kuṇḍasāle), and Fig. 139, from Pl. XXV., 1 (from near Balaṅgoḍa), show a still more excellent type of stamped decoration with conventionalized *bō*-leaf forms in addition to simple lines and rosettes. The *kotalaya* of Pl. XXV., 8, is also ornamented with *bō*-leaves and rosettes. The constant application of the *bō*-leaf decoration in all sorts of Kandyan work is very remarkable; its outline can be recognized sometimes only with difficulty; at other times it is exceedingly obvious. We have already seen certain hanging tiles of this form, and now find it again as a stamp.

Before leaving the subject of stamped ornament, brief reference must be made to the finger-mark decoration seen on the larger *koraha* of Pl. XXV., 7, a type of decoration often seen on the modern flowerpots also.

Painted pottery

The general subject of painted pottery lies somewhat outside the scope of the present chapter; for the painting is of the same character as that applied to book covers, woodwork, and other objects, and is applied to earthenware only after it has left the potter's hands.

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Earthenware

The best work has been done in the Kandy District, but comparatively little of real delicacy is now met with, while a great deal of careless gaudy stuff is to be seen. Tall classical amphoræ*, too, are now largely made and painted, usually very badly, and considering their exotic form and poor decoration are not very pleasing.

Painted pottery

The only colours properly used in painting pottery are red, yellow, white, and black, i.e., the ordinary pigments of the Kandyan painter. The designs and decoration are also identical with those found in other paintings, so that there is no need to describe them in further detail upon the present occasion.

The subject of Sinhalese (especially Kandyan) pottery has now been reviewed in some detail, although there are many points on which fuller information would be desirable. A full account of early types of earthenware found at Sīgiri, Anurādhapura, and elsewhere would be of great value and interest. It is also possible that I have overlooked some forms of earthenware to be found in other districts than those (chiefly Sabaragamuva and the Central Province) which I have especially studied. I have found, however, that once a familiarity with the typical forms had been obtained, I scarcely ever met with aberrant or unusual forms; in other words there is great fixity of type, and we do not find individual potters experimenting on their own account, probably because the fixed types exactly fulfil the purposes for which they were required, and it would not occur to the potter to work for mere amusement or for the production of beautiful forms apart from practical ends. Nor was the material available, or the potter's skill sufficient, to so interest the leisured or more wealthy classes as to lead to a demand for decorative pottery considered apart from ordinary household requirements.

The most elaborate earthenware we meet with is made for use in connection with religious buildings, for the needs of which the king or other rich patrons were willing to secure the services of all the best workmen, or for which the potter was willing to work unpaid, or to which he had to supply earthenware as a service rent.

The art of pottery has degenerated far less than the other Sinhalese industrial arts, and though there is nowadays little demand for good work in decorated finials, imposing lamp-stands or moulded eaves-tiles, the potter's ordinary wares have not changed much, either lately, or probably even for a very long time. We may congratulate ourselves then that Sinhalese pottery has so far degenerated very little; this is mainly because it is so cheap and so intimately adapted to local requirements as not to invite the competition of imported machine-made wares. Unfortunately, however, the kerosine tin has made some progress, and is commonly seen in use instead of a *kaḷageḍiya*. This is pitiful, but less fatal than a degeneration of form in the *kaḷageḍiya* itself. The growing use of Basel Mission and Mangalore tiles is more to be regretted, no less on the score of comfort than of appearance; an ancient building re-covered with such tiles, perhaps subscribed for at considerable cost by poor village contributors to some vihāra funds, is robbed of most of its distinctive character. Is it too much to ask those concerned to take a little trouble and exercise some thought in dealing with such buildings? Now that the old sumptuary laws forbidding tiled roofs to any but Disāvas are no longer in force, the builder of a new house might even, if he cared to do so, make it beautiful by giving due consideration to its roof. Unfortunately, the elements of beauty or dignity, which may enter into even such homely matters, are the last which are likely to influence him; and at the same time the capacity for good work in making and laying tiles is dying out, so that it is increasingly difficult to get it, and a majority of persons are scarcely aware that good work ever was done, or can recognize it when they see it.

* *I have sometimes wondered if these can possibly be indigenous, but have never seen old examples.*

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII. POTTER'S SONG.

The following is the translation of a very interesting craft song, the text of which was kindly forwarded to me by Mr. S. D. Mahavalatęnna:

1.

Waking before the dawn, carrying the basket, (the potter) fares to the place-of-clay;
After cleaning the basket and clearing the place-of-clay, he worships his guardian god;
Wearing (only) a loin cloth, and gladly taking (the basket) in hand he goes down into the pit;
Not breaking down the two sides (of the pit) he digs the clay from the middle and fills the basket.

2.

Breaking up the clay, he takes a yoke-load and heaps it in the potter's yard;
Separating the pieces of clay he breaks them to an equal size and spreads them on a big mat in the sun;
After having dried the clay, and removed the stones, he pounds it in a mortar and in a *kulla* winnows it;
Then taking up the powder, he adds an equal quantity of water and makes it into balls.

3.

Taking up the balls of clay and putting one upon the other, he covers them with leaves;
Three days afterwards he divides them into three and kneads them again,
Knowing the right proportion he adds the finest sand and sprinkling water kneads again;
After kneading, he makes them into rounded balls again, and makes a heap of them; and takes them up again after three days.

4.

After thus preparing it, he treads and kneads the clay again and again;
When it is like sticky wax he knows that it is ready;
Then according to the size of the vessels to be made he divides it into separate lumps;
The lumps thus made he stores near the workshop and covers them carefully.

5.

Next day with a split cane he separates the lumps of clay one by one,
And having duly divided them, again makes them up in balls and keeps them in a heap as on the previous day;
The next day, waking at dawn, he sweeps and tidies up the workshop,
And having all the balls of clay close at hand, he sits before the wheel.

6.

He takes with the right hand the balls of clay one by one and sets them on the wheel,
With the left hand he turns the wheel,* with the right hand he moulds (the vessel),
Knowing the size and shape, as required he presses down his hand;
Then when the right shape appears, he stays the form, and moulds the rim.†

* *Usually the wheel is turned by a young assistant.*
† '*Heḍagahasteyi*'; *i.e., he moulds the rim with a wet rag, turning it over.*

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7.

Having (thus) stayed the form and turned the rim, he turns the wheel very fast,
And looking now and then to see if it is smooth, he amends with the finger tip any unevenness,
Sprinkling a little water he polishes (the pot), then takes it carefully with open hand,
Duly keeps it standing by, and takes it up again after thirty hours from the time of making thus.

8.

(Then) taking the *galihęḍa** in the left hand and the *męṭi aluva*† in the right, holding the vessel tightly with the feet,
He beats it with the blade,‡ making it bigger as much as need be,
And after thus beating it to the required degree, and having polished it, he sets it in the sunshine,
After it is partly dried, he draws leafy branches (*liyavęl*), garlands and flower-petals round the vessel;

9.

Drawing round it lines, flower-petals, cocks, parrots, pigeons, *sęḷalihiṇi*,
And, each in turn, *bō*-leaves, bunches of flowers and dates, *nā*-flowers, *ōlu*- and lotus-flowers,
Making the orbs of sun and moon, *makara toran* and the golden *haṃsa*,
Elephants, horses, cattle, deer, lions, tigers, wolves, bears, cobras, and *poloṅgas*,

10.

Swimming *tisaru*, flying *lihiṇi*, fair *kiṇḍurō*, and honey bees,
Great boas, fierce serpents not a few, sharks, tortoises, and golden peacocks,
Beautiful damsels whose ever-waxing breasts are full-grown golden swans,
Forgetting not to draw dear delightful children.

11.

Drawing round it *nāri latā*, leafy branches, and eke the letters of the alphabet with vowel signs,
And inserting in the midst a trident with the signs *ōṃ hriṃ* as a talisman,
Drawing in the four corners *pāṭṭu*,§—peacock, cobra, swan, and serpent,
The signs of the Zodiac, the nine planets, and the twenty-seven asterisms,‖

** Stone held inside the vessel while the sides are hammered over till they meet, as described above.*
† Męṭi aluva, evidently another name for the bat, valantalana lęlla.
‡ Alla, lit. palm of the hand, doubtless means the blade of the bat or valantalana lęlla; the description previously given should be carefully read to make the meaning of this verse clear.
§ Pāṭṭuva, a symmetrical arrangement of two, three, or four animals with necks entwined.
‖ The poem mentions a long list of decorations, some of which could hardly be found room for on an earthen vessel. All the work referred to is of the kind done before firing, and does not include painting, which (except slip painting) is no part of the potters' art.

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12.

He takes good (red) *gurugala* and (white) *makulu* and mixes them with water to a thick consistency,
Mingling them with the right amount of oil, that they may shine:
Thereafter he sets them in the sun to dry them well,
And after that having stacked them in the kiln, on the first day he dries them in the smoke.

13.

On the second day putting only a certain quantity of firewood he lights a moderate fire,
On the third day he makes the fire fierce enough, and burns (the pots) till they are done;
Afterwards he draws* the fire and puts it out and leaves three days for cooling,
On the fourth day ascertaining that the kiln is quite cool, he takes out the vessels one by one.

PROVERBS.

The following are some Sinhalese proverbs connected with pottery:
"The devil broke the *koraha* as he went away" (Eng. 'The cat did it').
"Six months' labour of the potter, is one stroke to the man with the cudgel."
"A pot filled to the brim does not shake."
"The water in a half-filled pot shakes."
"When an elephant gets thin, it cannot be bathed in a *koraha*."
"Like a pot placed with its mouth downwards."
"One cannot put the hand even into a *koraha* in a hurry."

** The firewood is in the form of long sticks which are pushed in as they burn away; hence the expression "to draw away the firewood" when the fire is to be put out.*

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CHAPTER XIV. WEAVING.

WE have seen above (p. 54) that there were two groups of weavers in Sinhalese Ceylon, the *salāgamayō* from Southern India, who made fine and gold-woven cloths, and the *beravāyō*, or caste of indigenous weavers, who were also musicians, astrologers, etc. The history of the *salāgamayō*, or 'chalias,' is briefly as follows: Vijaya Bāhu III. of Dambadeṇiya, to revive the art of weaving fine cloth, sent letters and presents by a Muhammadan Tamil named Pati Mira Lebbe to Southern India; and he brought back eight master weavers, and these were given villages, wives and honours by the king. Their descendants incurred the disfavour of the Kandyan kings, and were ultimately compelled to leave the interior, and settle on the south-west coast, where they were allowed to occupy royal lands where cinnamon grew, on condition of peeling and preparing the same for the requirements of the king. They came thus to be cinnamon-peelers by trade, and were employed as such by the Portuguese and Dutch.

The Janavaṃsa records many previous importations of Indian weavers*; but in every case the industry decayed, and fresh blood had to be imported. With the detailed history of these weavers we are not here concerned, as they seem never to have become an integral part of the Sinhalese population as the imported Indian smiths have done.

The indigenous weavers, the *beravāyō*, on the other hand have probably made their plainer, homespun cottons, much as they are still made in one Kandyan village, from time immemorial, unaffected by changes of fashion at court or the influence of Indian weavers.† With their work the descriptions given in this chapter, and the pictures in the Plates, are exclusively concerned.

The weaving of homespun cotton cloths was once universal in the Kandyan provinces. It is now done only at Talaguṇe, Uḍa Dumbara, and perhaps occasionally near Vellassa in Uva; and not long ago near Balaṅgoḍa also. Remains of looms, ginning machines and other accessories may be met with in other districts. At Talaguṇe the industry still flourishes a little; two families have looms, and a number of the village women are skilled in spinning. The villagers themselves still use some of the cloth made, but the industry would hardly survive were it not for the demand for *ęṭirili* made through the Kandy Art Association.

The weavers, as we have seen (p. 25, 26), were of low caste, and had other duties to perform beside weaving. Their annual *peṇuma* consisted of a *taḍuppu* cloth or a *lēnsuva* or similar piece of woven cloth. I have not been able to find any mention of cloths given as a regular service rent, but this must have been quite usual; service at the loom was called *al-gē rājakāriya*.

It should be borne in mind that Eastern garments are not as a rule needle-made, but consist of whole pieces of cloth as woven on the loom; hence the necessity for making cloths of different shapes and sizes. The following different kinds of cloth were made: napkins or towels (*iṇḍul kaḍa*), wearing cloths for men (*tuppoṭi*) and women (*pāda*, *hēla*), aprons or bathing drawers for men (*diya kacci*), kerchiefs or shawls (*lēnsu*, *ura māla*), belts (*paṭi*), mats, quilts, or sheets (*ęṭirili*), carpets (*paramadāna*), covers for chatties as carried on yokes (*gahōni*),

* *Janavaṃsa, trans. by H. Nevill, Taprobanian, Vol. I., Pt. 3, and Sir A. Johnston, "Account of a flag representing the Introduction of the Caste of Chalias or Cinnamon-peelers into Ceylon."*

† *Kuvēṇi is described as having been found by Vijaya, 'seated at the foot of a tree, spinning thread' (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. VII.) Cotton weaving is no doubt amongst the oldest of Indian crafts. The similarity of methods throughout India and Burma is very striking: cf. Silberrad's description of the 'Cotton Fabrics of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh,' Journal of Indian Art, No. 82, 1903.*

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and pillow cases (*koṭṭa ura*); besides plain white, blue, or red material for other purposes, as to be cut up for priests' robes, jackets, caps, pillow cases and betel bags; a variety of narrow braids were also made on small looms. No fine muslins or cloths with gold thread were made by the village weavers. The plain material was measured as to width by the span (*lakaya*), and as to length by the carpenters' cubit (*vaḍu-riyana*). *Weaving*

Of these cloths, some may be more particularly described. A *tuppoṭiya* is a white cloth, eight or nine cubits long, made in two pieces neatly joined up the middle; single widths are called *pādaya*, and measure six or seven cubits in length, and four to six spans in breadth, which varied according to the owner's caste, persons of low caste being only allowed to wear narrow cloths. Women of low caste were obliged to substitute for the *ohoriya*, or the skirt and bodice, of the higher castes, two short cloths, one to be wrapped round the loins, and the other to be thrown over the shoulder. *Tuppoṭiya*

Pieces of blue cloth were called *kalu kaṅgan*; they were sometimes as much as twenty or thirty cubits long, and used as hangings on occasions of mourning; the material was also made into betel bags, etc. The cloths so far spoken of were usually quite plain white or coloured. Scarcely any plain red material was made. Except green (seen very rarely indeed) only the three colours, red, white, and blue are found even in the most ornamental woven cloths. The other cloths mentioned are usually woven in pattern work. The *ęṭirilla* is the equivalent of the Indian *dari*, and serves the same purposes, though thinner, and less often used as a mat. The greater part of the cloths made now at Talaguṇe are *ęṭirili*; they are usually entirely covered with pattern work, but old examples have plain centres and only a worked border; the largest I have seen measures about $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ cubits (11×5 ft.); a more usual size is about $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. or less. *Ęṭirili* are represented on Pl. XXVIII., in Fig. 1, showing different patterns; on Pl. XXIX., in Figs. 4 and 5; and in progress in the pictures of a loom on Pls. VI. and XXIX. *Iraṭṭuva* is a word of Tamil extraction, said to be occasionally used for *ęṭirilla*. *Plain cloth*

Diya kacci are undergarments or drawers made in one piece, having a large apron to hang down in front, a narrower flap with less ornament behind and a woven tape to tie round the waist. They formed the most essential undergarment of old Kandyans, and were also a bathing or running costume; *diya kacci* were worn also by watchmen and messengers; on Pl. V. will be found a photograph of a Sinhalese man dressed as a watchman or guard (*murakārayā*), showing the manner of wearing the *diya kacciya*. Some of these garments are quite plain, others most elaborately ornamented. *Diya kacci* are said to have been made on special looms with double heddles (*alu-vęl*). Such looms were called *aṭa-vęl-aluva*. There can be no doubt that special small looms were also used for making braids. The belt (*paṭiya*) of a *diya kacciya* was sometimes made in one piece with the rest. *Diya kacci* so cut as to be much narrower behind than in front were called *pat kapāpu* (leaf cut). *Diya kacci* are from five to six feet in full length, the apron averaging about one and a half by two feet. *Diya kacciya*

Gahōni are bell-shaped or skirt-shaped cloths used to cover baskets or pots of food or other offerings when carried on a yoke along the road for the king or any temple. The effect is that of a small three-flounced skirt, each flounce with a pattern border (Pl. XXIX., 6). The 'skirt' is really made of a single straight piece of cloth, joined up with one seam and left open at both ends; one end is turned over and gathered in upon a string, thus forming the waist and two of the flounces, and the third flounce is a separate piece of cloth sewn on between the two others. A wall painting at Degaldoruva (about 1786) shows a yoke (*kada*) and pair of *gahōni* suspended from a post in the royal kitchen. Every day the country people brought in such tribute of food, betel, sweetmeats, etc., to the king, the chief, or temple where their service was due; as, for instance, when bringing first fruits (*alutsal*) from the temple lands to the temple or pansala. Even nowadays men may be *Gahōniya*

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Weaving seen carrying such loads, covered with *gahōni* made up of plain or printed material, but I have never seen the woven ones in use, and there are very few in existence now.

Woven pillow cases (*koṭṭa ura*) are now very rarely met with. Embroidered examples

Belts are less scarce. Belts (*paṭi*) are also rare, by far the finest example being one belonging to the present High Priest of Malvatte, and shown on Pl. XXIX., 7. This belt is remarkable in many respects, not least in variety and type of design; it is said to be Uva work, probably eighteenth century. The belts more usually worn, over the voluminous folds of Kandyan costume, are more often of Indian origin, as in the case of the chief whose portrait appears on Pl. III. Napkins are usually plain and coarse, but sometimes patterned; if more elaboration is desired, it is obtained by embroidery of finer material (Pl. XXXIII., 4, 5; and XXVIII., 2, 3). Kerchiefs and shawls are usually covered with pattern work, but are rarely met with; the kerchiefs (*lēnsu*, Port.) were worn by men on the head, as a small turban, or used as the ceremonial covering of an offering; the shawl (*ura mālaya*) over the shoulder, as in India.

The loom So much for homespun cottons; the manner of their weaving is as follows: the loom (*aḷuva*) and the manner of working it are identical in all essentials with the looms and methods in use all over India and Burma. It is set up in an open shed (*al-gē*; sometimes used as a name for the loom itself), on a platform (*al-piḷa*) continuous with the outer verandah (*piḷa*) of the weaver's house, in one room of which are stored all materials and accessories. A reference to the pictures will explain the general appearance of the loom, and the manner of working it. For plain cloth, all that is needed is to throw the shuttle (*naḍāva*) to and fro, while alternate threads of the warp (*nūl-heḍa*) are separated by the heddles (*alu-veḷa*; or *aluva*,* the essential part of the mechanism, the loom itself) these are moved by pedals (*pā-meḍuma*) of coconut shell (*pol-kaṭuva*) which hang down into a hole (*al-vala*) beneath the loom, in which hole the weaver's feet move up and down. The heddles are attached to narrow slips of wood (*aḷu-kampaha*), resembling the beam of a scale, and these are suspended by the middle (about which they move) to a beam above. In the Sinhalese looms which I have seen, only two heddles are employed, to separate alternate warp threads; it is said that more were sometimes used formerly. The weft is pressed home by a sleay or reed-frame, suspended like the heddles from a beam above. The sleay (*rodu lḛlla*) consists of three parts, the upper piece (*poruvata*) held by the weaver, the lower piece (*yaṭṭinan gal lḛlla*) below the web, and the teeth (*aḷu-karala*), thin slips of cane, through which the warp threads pass.

Patterns To make geometrical patterns, the necessary warp threads are picked up (Pl. VI., 1) with a narrow lath or weaver's sword (*seṃa lḛlla*), and a wider lath is then inserted and turned up sideways so as to form a 'shed' for the passage of the shuttle. Before the sword is pulled out again, slips of cane are passed between the separated warp threads behind the heddles; there they accumulate and preserve the pattern, as seen on Pl. XXIX., 1, making it easy to pick up the threads again when the pattern is repeated or reversed.

The following are the names of the patterns still woven at Talaguṇe, and found on the *ṭirili* now obtainable: *mal-petta*, *hīn mal petta*, *maha mal-petta*, *aṭa-peti mala*, *para mala*, *deṭi mala*, *katura mala*, *pēhena mal-petta*, *hāli-daṇgaya*, *hīn ṇegi daṇgaya*, *de-pota lanuva*, *valalu lanuva*, *diya reḷa*, *bō-kola*, *iri koṇḍu*, etc. These are illustrated on Pl. XXVIII., 1. Other names which I have obtained are *pannan kūra*, *hīn raṭāva*, *maha raṭāva*, *gal-piyum*, *doṃba*

* *There is a tradition to the effect that in the time of the mythical King Maha Sammata, in the course of a great war, all looms were destroyed by fire; and the form of the heddles was only preserved in the ashes, which lay undisturbed in the form of them; and hence the name aḷuva, from aḷu, ashes, instead of the former name, umaṇḍāve. This popular etymology is quite fanciful.*

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mala, *bō-pata* (two triangles, apex to apex), *aṭa pota lanuva*, etc. The names of many patterns found on old cloths are now forgotten. *Weaving*

Irregular patterns such as birds, cobras, *bō*-leaves and large flowers are put in by hand work (*atē vęḍa*), i.e., tapestry. The whole is thus a combination of weaving and tapestry.

As the work progresses it is wound by quarter turns on a square cloth-beam (*on-kaṇḍa*) next the weaver, the tension of the warp being regulated by a cord which passes round a post (*mān-kaṇuva*) at the remote end of it, and thence to the weaver's right hand, near which it is fastened. This rope is passed through a bird-shaped block ('*kurulla*'), between the post and the web; this wooden bird bobs up and down while the work is going on. There is no thread-beam, only a rod on which the warp threads are strung, so that the warp must be stretched out at full length while work is going on (Pl. XXIX., 1). The web is kept tightly stretched at the near end by an arrangement of two crossed canes (*katumal-hęḍa*), of which the two ends next the weaver are connected by a tight thread, and the other two have pin points which pass into the web and keep it stretched; moveable thread loops regulate the tension. The warp is supported at a point not far behind the heddles, by a horizontal bar, called *alkaṇuvē lęlla*. A cloth fresh from the loom is called *alvala redda*.

We may now turn to the preparation of the thread and laying of the warp. Cotton was extensively grown on *hēn* ('chenas') or dry fields in Kandyan districts, so much that cotton yarn could be traded thence to Anurādhapura and those parts where cotton was not so much grown; as we gather from Knox, who himself traded in cotton yarn, on the occasion of his escape. The cotton is of two sorts, a large kind which lasts several years, and a dwarf, annual sort (*bāla kapu*).

An interesting tale of a cotton field is related in the Ummagga Jātaka, in a Sinhalese prose version of the early fourteenth century; it is a rather charming picture of a little village episode. A certain woman, watching in a cotton field, had spun some cotton into fine thread, and made a ball of it. On her way home she bathed in a certain tank, leaving the ball of cotton with her cloth on the bank. Another woman took it up as if only to admire it, but walked off with it altogether. The first woman followed, and as they passed by a certain pandit's hall, quarrelling, he sent for them. They agreed to abide by his decision. He asked one, around what she had rolled the thread, to which she replied that she had rolled it round a cotton seed; the real owner replied to the same question, that she had rolled it round a *tiṃbiri* seed; and when the ball was unrolled, such was found to be the case, and so the thief was discovered. The judgment of a Solomon. *Ummagga Jataka*

The cotton is not usually, however, spun in the field, but taken home and dried and cleaned in larger quantities. It is freed from seeds by passing through the rollers of a small machine (*kapu kapana yantraya*) resembling a mangle (Pl. XXIX., 3). It is next carded by whipping with a bow (*pulun-talanavā*), and lightly rolled into tufts ready for spinning from. The action of spinning is a charming and graceful one; it is woman's work, but weaving is done by men and women alike. A tuft of cotton is held in the left hand, and thread spun from it on to a long weighted spindle (*idda*), the end of which rests in a pod or coconut shell on the ground; it is kept turning by the motion of the right hand against the thigh, or by the fingers (Pl. VI., 3); the thread winds itself round the big end. *Yarn*

It is very usual for a number of women to meet together for a spinning bee, when the work is done to the accompaniment of songs, those most favoured being Vessantara, Magamāna and Vidhura Jātakas, Yasōdharāvata, Māra Yuddhaya, and Mahā-bhinishkramaṇaya, all religious songs.

The thread so spun is unwound on to a conical reel (*hulu dęva*) of split bamboo, thence on to another large reel (*mādāva*) made of bamboo and string (Fig. 140) and thence on to a bobbin (*harassala*), ready to be laid in the shuttles. The winding on to bobbins is accom-

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Weaving

Laying the warp

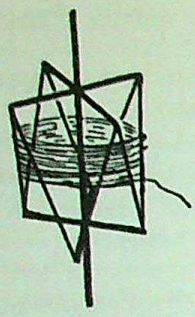

Fig. 140. *Mādāva*, spool for reeling cotton.

plished with the aid of a winding machine (*harassal aṃbarana yantraya*), consisting of a wheel, with a string connecting it to a small rod carrying the bobbin; when the wheel is turned, the bobbin revolves rapidly, and the reel is discharged on to it.

So much for the weft thread. That required for the warp is wound off the bamboo and string reel directly, to form a skein. This skein is laid (process called *dig-gahanavā*) on a temporary frame of sticks, and is the length of the warp required. The weaver walks up and down along this framework, disposing the thread upon it with the aid of a little forked stick (*paḍu kule*). When completed, the skeins are lifted off, and rods passed through the ends, the whole laid horizontally a couple of feet above the ground, and kept on the stretch by strings attaching the rods to posts at each end. Strung bows (*heṭ-lī*) are passed through the warp, to prevent tangling and to preserve the lease or plane in which it lies. The warp is next well sized on both sides with a starchy decoction (process called *nūl velanavā*), after which the threads are well brushed, and then carefully separated and arranged (process called *palal lanavā*). The number of threads, of course, depends upon the width of cloth required. Ordinarily, 120 threads are reckoned to the span. When finally dry, the warp is lifted up and re-adjusted on the loom itself, the cloth beam of which has a groove into which is laid the rod carrying the warp, which is held tightly when a turn is given to the beam. The most troublesome part of the process is passing the threads through the heddles and reed, for which purpose they have to be broken one by one, and rejoined after being threaded through the loops and teeth. The length of the warp is often made sufficient for two cloths in order to reduce this labour.

Kaṭhina robes

Spinning, but not weaving, was sometimes done by women of high caste. A particularly meritorious act is held to be the presentation to the Saṅgha, at the close of *Vas* or Buddhist Lent, of *kaṭhina* robes, i.e., priests' robes, spun, woven, and made up in a single day. Even kings frequently performed this ceremony, "employing hundreds of thousands of persons in all such work as picking the cotton, after it is extracted from the fruit, weighing, converting it into balls, spinning, weaving, washing, cutting into pieces, stitching, dyeing" (Rūpāvaliya, trans., p. 48). Thus on a certain occasion, Parākrama Bāhu II. offered no less than eighty such robes to the priesthood, in memory of the eighty chief disciples of the Buddha. "The learned king gathered together the inhabitants of Laṅkā—a great multitude of men and women—and set them all to work to prepare the cotton and other things, and speedily finished the work of the robes. And he caused the eighty *kaṭhina* robes to be given in the course of a single day" (Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. LXXXV.) And so he did on many other occasions, nor was he alone in this practice. Private individuals acquired merit in the same way; and it was on such occasions that the ladies of the household lent a hand in spinning.

No yarn is now dyed locally, except occasionally with an aniline green. It seems, however, natural to suppose that the red and blue dyeing, with madder and indigo, used to be done by the weavers themselves, but evidence to that effect is very scanty. Nowadays, the red and blue yarn are purchased in Batticaloa, where they are imported from India for use by the Tamil weavers there. The blue has been difficult to obtain lately and black has been substituted, but the effect is not nearly as good. Good blue yarn is obtainable in Jaffna, and I lately supplied a quantity of this to the Talaguṇe weavers. For further remarks on dyeing see Chapter XVI.

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CHAPTER XV. EMBROIDERY.

EMBROIDERY is one of the least known of Sinhalese crafts, or at least remained so until the publication of an account written by Mrs. Coomaraswamy in the "Ceylon National Review," No. 2, 1906. "This," says Mrs. Coomaraswamy, "is how I first came to hear of such embroidery. I was staying at Haldummulla; we had a visit from an ex-Āracci of a neighbouring village, who brought with him some of his household treasures to show us. Among them was a large bag, made of fine blue cloth with embroidered work on it in red and white cotton. He explained this was a precious possession which no money would make him part with, and that it had been in his family for generations. This was my first experience of this kind of work and I thereupon made up my mind to get to know more about it. Some months after this I saw another bag, and then found out that although this kind of work is now almost unknown, yet here and there in out of the way villages old men can be found who know the stitches, although they have almost given up making anything now. Many other things I also found out—how that it is owing to modern conditions of life that this fine art has fallen into decay; that now, even if people would work at it, they cannot; the cloth cannot be got, the colours cannot be got, the cottons cannot be bought, and the things that used to be made have gone out of fashion. The cotton was grown by the people themselves, they used to dye it with home-made dyes, and weave it into the cloth they wanted. Now all this is past; the fine blue hand-made cotton cloth that used to be universal, is now to be obtained only with the greatest difficulty, if at all. It is no longer made and dyed by the Sinhalese themselves."

There seem to have been, as in the case of weaving, two classes of work done, the first limited in amount, for the Court and aristocracy, and Indian in style, the second more strictly indigenous. The *hannāli*, or tailors proper, were few in number, and held lands in respect of which it was their duty to make "the splendid and barbarous dresses of the king and his court" (Davy). As tenants of dēvāles and vihāras they had to prepare sacred vestments, curtains, flags, etc., and to assist in decorating the car. As tenants of lay proprietors, they had to make up the *pacca heṭṭaya* (brocade jacket), gold embroidered *toppiya* (square hat of the chieftain), and to embroider jackets for the wives and daughters. The materials used by such tailors were largely of Indian origin, as red felt, velvet, tinsel, the brocades used for jackets, or the gold thread for embroidering hats and ceremonial fans.

The chief examples of the more elaborate 'tailor-made' embroidery now met with, are hats and ceremonial fans (*sēsat*). Mr. A. Ratvatte has a four-cornered *toppiya* worn by Migastęnna Adigār, made of red velvet, with gold passing. On Pl. XLI., 2, is illustrated a similarly embroidered large *sēsata* or processional 'banner' or 'fan' from the Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy. The basis is red velvet, with gold and silver thread passed over cords, and appliqué of green velvet in enclosed areas. The reverse is of blue velvet, with sun, moon and stars in metal. Diameter 34 inches.

The more purely Sinhalese embroidery, corresponding to the homespun cotton manufacture, and executed in the home-made materials, appear to have been done mainly by the dhobies (*radav*, washermen) who had charge of all matters connected with cotton cloth, not merely its washing, but also the 'getting up' of Kandyan hats, preparation of decorations (*reli-palama*), supply of cloths for use on special occasions, and embroidery of betel-bags, cotton jackets, handkerchiefs, etc. At the present day a few dhobies may be found who understand some of the old stitches, and who make small betel-bags out of such materials as they can obtain, but I have not met with any *hannāli* practising their craft even in a degenerate form. The following are specimens of dhoby tenancies: "Hēnayalāgē holds a Hēnaye Paṅguva (0*a*. 3*p*. 0*l*. fields and 0*a*. 0*p*. 4*l*. gardens). Services (commutable for Rs. 17·65): monthly

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Embroidery to give two *piruvaṭa*, one for the *multẹn-gē* and the other for the Kapurāla; for the *perahẹra* to make up for the two Kapurālas two hats and two jackets and to supply them with one *piruvaṭa* each; to give *piruvaṭa* for the people who carry the *randoli*; for the *perahẹra* to put up a *viyana* at the dēvāle; to spread *piyavili* and supply *dam̲bu*; when the Basnāyaka Nilame visits the dēvāle to prepare lodgings; to wash the *tira*, *haḷu*, and other cloths of the dēvāle; at the *perahẹra* to present a *toppiya* to the Basnāyaka Nilame."

At Mīvatura, a dhoby tenant held an acre of field. His services (commutable for Rs. 11·70) were: to wash curtains, hangings, and sacred napkins during two consecutive months, receiving food and two seers raw rice for starch and sixpence to buy blue and soap; to spread cloths supplied by temple at the elephant shed for the festivals and ten days of *perahẹra*; to present to the Diva Nilame a Kandyan hat (Lawrie's Gazetteer, pp. 660, 600).

Materials The materials used were the white, blue, and red cotton cloth made in the villages, and cotton thread of the same colours, also very rarely a small amount of coloured silk. The most characteristic work is entirely executed in the blue, red, and white cottons.

Things embroidered The embroidered objects most often seen are betel-bags (*bulat-payi*) of all sizes; less common are kerchiefs or napkins (*lēnsu*), caps (*ispay*), jackets (*heṭṭa*), pillow cases (*koṭṭa ura*), *pacisi* cloths, saddle cloths (*palas*). The betel-bags (Pls. XXX.—XXIII.) vary in size from small ones carried in the waist belt, to very large ones, four feet or more in length. The latter were carried by a servant in processions or on journeys, slung over the shoulder. Noblemen were never without an attendant carrying their betel-bag (see above, pp. 33, 34) and lime-box; less important personages carried their own. The large bags are exactly the same in construction as the small ones—a bag of oval shape made of blue cloth lined with undyed cotton cloth, which opens nearly half way down the whole length at the sides; the inner part is separated into two divisions. The inner division, again consisting of a double piece of cloth, is also used as a pocket, called *hora payiya*, 'hidden pocket'; it has a very small opening at the upper end, through which spices, money and other valuables are put. Larger things were carried in the two outer pockets. The handle is made of embroidered cloth, or of a band of plaited cord, and is finished off at the end with a beautifully and ingeniously worked, and very hard, ball (*vēgeḍi-bōrale*) and tassel (*pohoṭṭuva*). The outside of the bag is embroidered on both sides in red and white cotton with conventional designs, sometimes very elaborately. Bags of later make are often done in red cloth, probably because the blue hand-made cloth could no longer be obtained; some of these are equally good, the tradition both in design and stitches being for some time well maintained. Few or no good bags are now made, partly owing to the lack of proper materials. One of the most perfect small bags I have seen was of red hand-made cloth embroidered entirely with silk, the use of which is very exceptional. I have referred to the plaited cord of which the handles are sometimes made; for this, cotton cord of two colours is plaited into a thick stout flat braid which is very handsome and durable. It may be mentioned that similar plaited cord strings, but round, of two or three colours are made by priests for ola book strings (*pot-lanu*).

The embroidery of bags consists generally of a centre design, floral or otherwise, framed by three or more borders parallel to the edge of the bag. Of these borders the innermost is almost always *pala peti*, the largest *liya-vẹla*, the others a variety of *havaḍiya* or *gal-biṇḍu* pattern. A limited amount of coloured silk is sometimes used; the small bag of Pl. XXX., 1, is exceptional in having embroidery entirely in silk. It may be noted that silk is frequently mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, but never with any suggestion of its being an indigenous product. The edges of bags are either bound with woven braid, which was made in a great variety of designs, or stitched over with the peculiar 'centipede' binding stitch described below.

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Less common than the oval bags, are square ones. These are made from a square piece of material, the four corners of which are drawn together for the attachment of the handle, consisting of four cords instead of the two of oval bags. *Embroidery*

Jackets worn by *govi-vaṃsa* ladies were generally embroidered. The left-hand girl's dress on Pl. II. shows a bodice embroidered with flowers and parrots, probably in gold thread, and perhaps the work of the regular tailors. On Pl. XXX., 2, is shown a part of a jacket sleeve, copied from one said to have been worn by a queen in the eighteenth century; it is of particularly admirable design. In my own collection are two similar cotton jackets, each with a *mante*, the one embroidered with blue and red cotton, the other with red cotton and gold thread. The latter has at the back, an embroidered design of *bō*-leaf and two birds affronted. *Jackets*

Jackets worn by devil-dancers in Sabaragamuva and the low country are often well embroidered, either with thread in the style of the betel-bags, or with appliqué. On Pl. XXIII., 1-3, are illustrated a fine embroidered dancer's jacket, the '*Gara-yakshaya*'* costume. This consists of a red hand-made cotton cloth skirt and jacket, the skirt with three flounces. The jacket fastens behind. The whole is covered with very elaborate blue and white cotton appliqué embroidery, the edge of the applied cloth being turned in and sewn with white cotton. The design on the chest ('flower in vase') might almost be called 'braided,' as it is executed by sewing down very narrow strips of applied cloth following the pattern. In the photograph the blue appliqué hardly shows, but follows the white outline just inside it.

Appliqué work is also found on a larger scale, on flags and pillow cases. Appliqué flags are not often well made, and may represent an attempt to find a substitute for the more satisfactory dye-painted flags formerly used. The embroidered flags done for the Kandy Art Association recently, have been of very poor workmanship.

Very few pillow cases (*koṭṭa ura*) have remained to us, but those that have are generally of one type—a centre piece of blue cloth, embroidered with a design, and a border three or four inches wide, of a patchwork of red, white, and blue squares of cotton cloth. Probably an earlier type was one with an embroidered border instead of the patchwork, just as the later type is the kind completely made of patchwork; but I have never seen one. But as we find woven pillow cases of the same shape and size with patterns all over, it is very probable that the better examples used to be embroidered all over. *Pillow cases*

A saddle cloth (*palasa*) in red cloth, embroidered in white and blue cotton, was exhibited by Nikaveṣva Disāva at the Exhibition of Kandyan Art in January, 1906.

The only embroidered caps met with, are those known as *ispayya* (Pl. XXX., 3). These are the "Countrey Caps" described by Knox as resembling mitres (p. 34, above). The flaps are thinly quilted, and the cap finely embroidered in coloured silks. There is one of these caps in the Kandy Museum; the one illustrated was lent by Mr. T. B. Kęppiṭipola. *Caps*

'On occasions of ceremony,' says Davy, 'when full dressed, the men cover the body with a short jacket; and those who have the privilege, lay aside the handkerchief for a cap, and decorate themselves with gold chains and girdles.'

Embroidered kerchiefs, napkins and shawls are met with. The kerchiefs and shawls may have been worn on the head or thrown over the shoulders as an *ura mālaya*. The most elaborate shawl I have seen, indeed almost the only example, is illustrated on Pl. XXVIII., 4. This shawl, the property of the Daḷadā Māligāva, measures 49 inches square, the border two inches wide. The centre is occupied by drawn thread-work, the circles in blue, red, or silver thread. The inner border, a series of little trees, is done in gold thread, outlined *Shawls and napkins*

* *Garā yakā is a house demon. See D. de S. Gooneratne, J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV. p. 35.*

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Embroidery alternately in blue and red. The flowers of the outer border are red, with a gold centre; the leaves outlined blue. The shawl appears to consist of linen. Smaller kerchiefs or napkins are not so rare (Pls. XXVIII., 2, 3, and XXXIII., 4, 5); there are at the Māligāva a considerable number, ranging in size from 13 to 24 inches square. They are embroidered in red and blue. The material is usually cotton, occasionally linen. Fine drawn thread-work resembling lace is sometimes found, and round the outer edge there is sometimes a fringe of needlework 'lace' (Pl. XXVIII., 2 and 3). Very characteristic of these napkins is a peculiar style of embroidery in which both sides are made exactly alike (as in certain types of Kashmir shawl). The effect is evidently obtained by working in even stitches equal on back and front, with spaces between, which are afterwards filled when going over the work a second time. Many of the designs so worked resemble, and are perhaps copied from, the elaborate interlacing patterns of the woven cloth. The purpose of the small napkins was for use in covering offerings, and similar ceremonial purposes. On Pl. I., the left-hand figure represents an officer carrying some ceremonial object under an embroidered napkin, with tassels. So used, the napkin is called *pesa lensuva*.

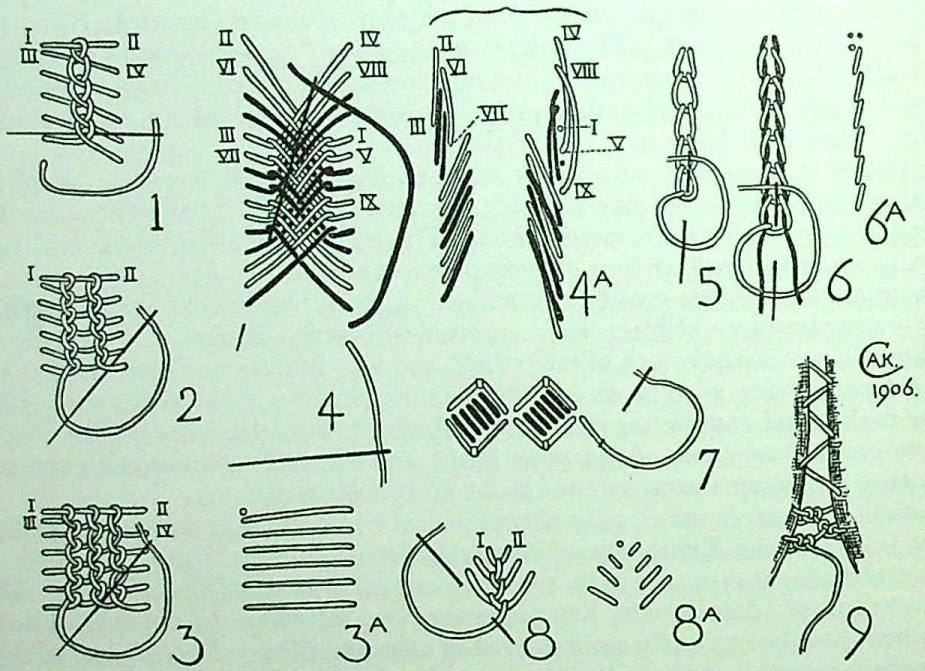

Fig. 141. Stitches used in Sinhalese embroidery: 1-4, Binding stitches: 1, 2, and 3 are single double and triple buttonhole stitches; 4, an elaborated herring-bone. 5, 6, Chain stitch, plain and elaborated. 7, Border pattern in two colours. 8, Herringbone or feather stitch. 9, Buttonhole stitch gusset. 3A, reverse of 1, 2, 3. 4A, 6A, 8A, reverse of 4, 6, 8.

Stitches The stitches most used are illustrated in Fig. 141. Most of the work is done with chain stitch. If the background is blue, the pattern is outlined in white and red chain stitch, the red inside, the white outside. The double outline is a very characteristic feature. The borders of betel-bags are also separated from each other by three rows of chain stitch, red or blue between two white lines. The stitch is often complicated by intertwining red or

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blue threads, or one thread of each colour, as the work proceeds, as indicated in Fig. 141, 6. *Embroidery*
Binding stitches are especially characteristic and well developed. Fig. 141, No. 1, shows a stitch used for binding together the outer cloth and the lining of the upper part of a betel- *Stitches*
bag, along the opening. It gives a firm edge, and is easy to work. The first stitch goes straight through the edge of the stuff; the second catches up the threads where they cross in the middle, as shown in the figure, without going through the cloth again. The stitches shown in Fig. 141, Nos. 1-4, are all binding stitches, and must be imagined as binding over the raw edges of cloth, or covering a seam; they are drawn quite flat for the sake of clearness. In these figures, small Roman figures indicate the order of making the stitches. Thus in 1, the needle, inserted at I., goes from I. to II. in front, then from II. to III. through the thickness of the material, and then between III. and IV. two buttonhole stitches are made, looping into the first stitch. Each loop of the succeeding stitches embraces the loop immediately preceding. In 2 and 3, the single loop is replaced by two and three loops respectively. The two last especially make a very firm and useful edge. They are sometimes strengthened and elaborated by intertwining a coloured thread along each side, below the edge of the material. No. 2 is called *amu karala*, '*amu* ear' (ear of corn).

No. 4 is the most complicated of all, and appears to be peculiar to Sinhalese embroidery. *Centipede*
It is called *pattēyā* (centipede) or *mudum mesma* (back-bone stitch); it is an elaborated *stitch*
herringbone. Two needles are in use together; sometimes even the three colours are worked together. This stitch is most often used for binding the outer edges of large and small betel-bags.

The method of working is as follows: at I. the white thread is brought to the front, the needle is again inserted at II. and brought out at III., on a line with I. on the other side of the seam; it then goes back to IV. on a line with II. on the right-hand side, and is brought out at V., at a little distance below I. VI., VII. and VIII. are the same repeated, but after VIII. the needle is brought out at IX. at some distance below V., leaving space for two other stitches between; these stitches are begun below V., with a different coloured cotton, generally red, and worked exactly the same as the first four stitches; after they are completed the first needle is taken up again, the thread of which comes out on the right-hand side, at IX., just below the two stitches of the red colour. The next stitch is a little different, in that the needle does not go back to the extreme outside on the left but catches down a stitch at about a quarter the width of the whole, as can be seen in the diagram. It then takes a slanting direction behind the material, coming out below the red stitches, still on the left side; the needle is shown in this position. Exactly the same is done on the right-hand side, and so on. The thread always goes back to its own colour, that is if the white thread is being worked it catches down a white stitch on the opposite side and so with the red. The backs of the stitches are seen in No. 4A. If three colours are used, then more space must be left for the insertion of four stitches between V. and IX. instead of two only.

No. 5 is the ordinary chain stitch which is used so much in this work. *Chain stitch*

No. 6 is also a chain stitch, but with coloured threads intertwined, one on each side of the needle as it is worked. Sometimes a red thread is used on one side and a blue on the other. No. 6A shows the back of Nos. 5 and 6.

No. 7 is a very usual combination of two kinds of stitches; it consists of two Y-shaped stitches held down by a stitch at the top and bottom, thus forming a square, this is then filled in with a satin stitch of a different colour. This satin stitch is often used for filling in small squares and other spaces.

A buttonhole stitch is often used for the conventional foliage when it needs filling in as can *Buttonhole*
be seen in the beautiful border of Pl. XXXII., 9. The design of this particular border *stitch*

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Embroidery is outlined in white and filled in with a red buttonhole stitch which widens or narrows according to the space needed to be filled. It has a very rich effect.

Seams No. 8 is a feather stitch used occasionally for filling in a space; 8A is the back of the stitch. No. 9 shows the method employed in joining the seams of a *tuppoṭiya*. The seams are sewn close together though not overlapping, and at each end the seam widens out into a kind of gusset, the space being filled up with a buttonhole stitch worked as shown, though often with much thicker and closer stitches. At the end of the seam this gusset may be one or two inches wide. It is a most satisfactory way of joining two pieces of cloth; there is no puckering and it is extremely strong. A simple cross stitch is rare.

In appliqué work there are two or three ways of stitching on the applied cloth: the edges are always carefully turned in, and may then be bound by hemming, by an even running close to the edge, or by chain stitch.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV. REVIVAL OF SINHALESE EMBROIDERY.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Coomaraswamy, there has taken place of late some revival of interest in Sinhalese embroidery. Mrs. Coomaraswamy has taught a class of Kandyan girls at the Clarence Memorial School in Kandy, and a class of Sinhalese ladies in Colombo. Great interest was shown, and some very excellent work resulted. Prizes were offered through the Ceylon Society of Arts, and a good display of work was shown at the annual exhibitions in 1905 and 1906. But the best evidence of the value of such work, was the interest awakened in old traditions and designs, as, for example, in the case of the daughter of a Kandyan chief, who brought to the class a highly valued memorial of the past, the jacket referred to above (p. 239), and made the very excellent copy of part of the sleeve, reproduced on Pl. XXX., 2.

At the same time, the Department of Public Instruction, through Mrs. Evans, the newly-appointed Inspectress of Needlework, has abolished some of the worst abuses in connection with the teaching of embroidery in schools. It may perhaps be hoped that the day of gaudy Berlin woolwork, and gold-embroidered mottoes to be framed under glass and hung on the wall, is now passing away, even in Ceylon, where all things Early Victorian linger still.

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CHAPTER XVI. MAT WEAVING AND DYEING.

1. MAT WEAVING BY KINNARAYŌ.

THE well-known Dumbara mats, called *kalālaya* (Pl. XXXIV.), are made by men and women of the Kinnaraya caste, practically the lowest of Kandyan castes, excepting the Roḍiyō. The fibre of which the mats are made is *niyaṇda*, the bowstring hemp, *Sansevieria zeylanica*. The rounded green leaves of this common xerophitic plant are gathered, and scraped against a log (*niyaṇda pōruva*) with a wooden tool (*gē-valla*) shaped like a spokeshave. This scraping removes the fleshy part of the leaf, leaving the white fibre, which is oiled and brushed, and then ready for use almost immediately. Part of the material is left white, the rest dyed red, yellow, or black in the manner explained below.

The warp thread (*kalāl heḍa*) is spun like cotton on a spindle (*idda*) (as shown on the right of Plate IV). The weft elements are not spun at all, but consist of parallel fibres, of the width of the mat.

The loom (Pl. IV.) is a low horizontal contrivance, something like the loom used in cotton weaving, but much more primitive. There is no *alvala*, or pit for the weaver's feet; the operator squats on the mat itself, supported by a few flat logs between it and the ground. The pattern is picked up with a weaver's lath (*vema*); this lath, having an eye at one end, serves as a bodkin * with which to draw the weft threads through the warp. A sleay (*alu karala*) similar to the cotton weavers', but not suspended, is used to drive the weft home. The raising and separation of alternate warp threads to form a 'shed' is effected by a very primitive type of heddles (*veḷa-kāḍḍuva*). The loops of the heddles, through which the warp threads pass, do not move. Every alternate warp thread passes through a loop. The separation of alternate threads to form the shed, is effected by the movement of two wooden rods, placed on the far side of the tripod; of these rods one (*uttara-pata* or *kontāliya*) rests on the warp, the other (*pannam-baṭe*) passes between alternate threads of it. Relative movement of these rods raises and separates alternate threads on the near side of the heddles. The warp is carried on two rods, *koṭṭa kūra* and *aṇdina kaṇda*. The first of these, on the left in Pl. IV., is tied to a stouter rod (*heḍa kaṇda*), and this is fastened to sticks firmly driven into the ground. At the other end, the *aṇdina kaṇda* is tightly strained by two cords (*kaḍu-pā-lanu*) attached to two posts (*kalāl-kaṇu*) in the ground. The heddles are supported by a tripod arrangement of sticks (*tun-pā kolle*), which is shifted along as the work progresses.

The warp is laid (*dig-gahanavā* or *heḍa lanavā*) in two operations. The spun thread (*nūl*) is first unwound from the spindle, then broken, and passed through the heddles and through the teeth of the sleay or reed; the short ends left projecting through the teeth are tied temporarily to avoid slipping out. The remainder of the warp is then laid to the required length, and the threads broken off and joined on to the short ends projecting through the heddles.

When the weaving is finished the projecting ends of fibre at each end of the mat are turned up over a thread drawn tight along the edge (like a piping cord) and knotted each one to it by another thread which catches up each projecting end in a slip knot, forming a neat binding.

* *Called heḍa liya in the song quoted on p.* 246.

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Mat weaving and dyeing

Fig. 142. *Mal-gaha* ('flower-tree') pattern of Dumbara mat.

The *niyaṇda* fibre is dyed red, yellow, and black as follows: the red colour is obtained by boiling the fibre with *pataṇgi* (*Cæsalpinia sappan*) wood, *korakaha* (*Memecylon umbellatum*) leaves and (?) gingelly oil or seeds; the yellow from a decoction of *veni-veḷ* (*Coscinium fenestratum*); the black with the help of gall nuts, *araḷu* and *bulu* (*Terminalia chebula* and *T. beleria*). The dye fades considerably in a year or two. The Kinnarayō make also whips, fly-whisks, brooms and other objects of *niyaṇda* fibre. It is a material the use of which is confined to the Kinnarayō and Roḍiyō.

Perfectly plain mats are called *pannam kalāla*; those decorated with birds, as is usually done, are *kurullu kalāla*; those with a variety of patterns are *veḍa kalāla* or *veḍa pęduru*. The following names of patterns are in use, the first five being illustrated on Pl. XXXIV.: *toran-petta*, *ratvatte-alaṅkāraya*, *tārāva*, *tani-veḷ iruva*, *depota-lanuva*, *tārakā-petta*, *pannam-petta*, *tunpota lanuva*, *deḷ-gęṭa-lanuva*, *mal-gaha* (Fig. 142), etc.; also animals, as birds, deer, cobras, elephants.

A Kinnara song relating to mat weaving is given in the Appendix to this chapter.

2. GRASS MATS AND BASKETS.

Grass mats (*pęduru*) are made by the Pannayō or grass cutters, and also, but more particularly for their own use, by women of all castes, including *govivaṃsa*; and the making of decorated grass mats, dishes, and baskets was a domestic accomplishment which even the daughters of a chief did not despise. The mats here referred to are made from various grasses (*hęvan*, *Cyperus dehiscens*, *galęhi*, *C. corymbosus*, etc.) and palm leaves (*iṇdi-kola*, *Phœnix zeylanica*; coconut; talipot, *Corypha umbraculifera*; and palmyra). The best are those made of *iṇdi-kola* or *hęvan*. Beside mats, baskets are made, also betel pouches (*bulat malu*), boxes, etc., of dyed grasses. The grass-weaver uses a grass knife having a point at one end, and a cutting edge at the other. A combined sickle and point for weaving, like that shown in Pl. XLV., 11, is called *pan ketta*; a tool consisting of a small straight blade only, and a point at the other end, is called *hęṃbili-kaṭuva*.

Country housewives take a pride in the variety of patterns they may know, and their skill in making mats. The mats are in constant use for various purposes, especially for drying grains in the sun; they are also offered to any visitor to sit upon. An inferior, but not of low caste, would receive a mat to sit on, and would be insulted if it were not offered; an equal would be given a *koloṃbuva*; and a superior, especially a priest, a larger stool or chair, covered with a white cloth. In large country houses, a number of mats are kept in store, arranged in a 'mat-rack' (*pęduru-āna*) on the wall.

Dyeing

Pataṇgi (*Cæsalpinia sappan*) is the most important dye used for grass. It produces a fine red. The proper process is rather complicated, and the practice varies in different districts. At Niriella (Sab.) I found the following methods in use:

On the first day two handfuls of *korakaha* leaves (*Memecylon umbellatum*, Burm.) are pounded in a mortar, squeezed out in water by hand, and the resulting liquid, resembling pea soup, strained; two handfuls of *pataṇgi* chips are added and the whole left to stand. On the second day the solution has become red. The *pataṇgi* chips are removed, pounded, and replaced, and the whole boiled with the *iṇdi-kola* which is to be dyed, tied up in little sheaves. The pot is allowed to cool and left till next day. On the third day leaves of *boṃbu-kola* (*Symplocos spicata*), *hīn-bōviṭiya* (*Osbeckia octandra*), and *korakaha*, pieces of *kebella*

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bark (*Aporosa Lindleyana*), and a handful of chips of a yellow wood called *ahu* (*Morinda tinctoria*), together with a small bundle of roots of *ratmulgas* (*Knoxia platycarpa*, Arn. var.) are pounded and added to the solution in which the *iṇdi* leaves remain; the whole is boiled and then allowed to cool and stand till next day, when the leaves are removed and dried, after which they are ready for use. *Mat weaving and dyeing*

I have another receipt from Veḷimaḍa. To a pound of *galẹhi* (another grass used for mats) take two pounds *korakaha* (or *veḷikaha*), half a pound of *kiribat-mul* (root of *Knoxia platycarpa*), two pounds *pataṉgi* chips, four cents' weight of green saffron, half cent weight of lime, and four pots of pure water. Boil for three days with a strong fire in the morning, slow fire during the day, and again strong fire in evening and slow fire during the night.

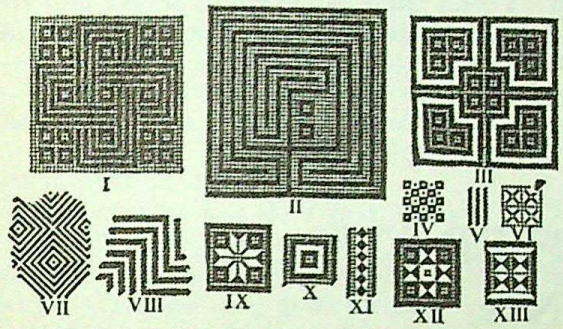

Fig. 143. Patterns of Kandyan grass mats (*peduru*) and dishes (*atul-pat*), etc. ×$\frac{1}{8}$. I., *Lanugeṭa*; II., *Vaṅga-giriya* (the small squares are the two cells occupied by Prince Vessantara and Madrī Dēvī, see p. 41, above); III., *Bhayaṃ kāra*; IV., *Tārakā piyum*; V., *Haras raṭāva*; VI., *Idda mal piyum* or *katura mal*; VIII., *Diya reḷa*; IX., *Aṭa-peti mala*; X., *Mal-petta*; XI., *Gal-piyum*; XII., *Koloṃba raṭāva* or *sevvandī* or *samadrā* (*samudra* ?) *mala*; XIII., *Pahaḍa mune* or *kiribat raṭāva*; four of these together called *piyum dahasaya*. The names in use in different districts vary considerably.

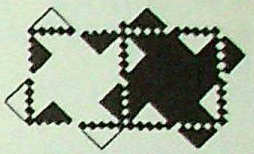

Fig. 144. *Svastika* pattern from grass bag, Ambalaṅgoda.

The pot must not be removed from the hearth during the three days, after which the dyed grass can be removed and dried in the shade.

The colour thus produced is a fine fast red, which does indeed fade slowly, but lasts as long as the mat is likely to, which is more than can be said of the aniline dyes which have entirely replaced *pataṉgi* in many districts. Of these the magenta is unpleasant and the green very fugitive. The customary method of dyeing grasses or palm leaves black is to bury them in rice-field mud. The lower oxide of iron in the mud combines with the tannin in the grass to form tannate of iron (ink).

A yellow dye is sometimes got from the young fruits of the *kaha* (*Bixa orellana*), or from saffron, which is pounded in a mortar, extracted with water, and boiled for an hour with the leaves to be dyed.

It may be mentioned that the yellow dye of priests' robes is obtained from the wood of the jak, in an extract of which the cloth to be dyed is soaked; the extract is sometimes boiled also with *boṃbu* leaves. The yellow dye is not permanent, but is easily renewed.

The patterns of woven mats have regular names, many of which correspond to those used by cotton weavers. A number of common or characteristic patterns are illustrated in Fig. 143. Many of the names of patterns are mentioned in the humorous mat-weaving song quoted in the Appendix to this chapter.

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Mat weaving and dyeing

3. TALIPOT LEAVES.

The leaves of the talipot, or tala palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*) are put to many uses. Their preparation as 'olas' for writing upon is detailed above, on pp. 51, 52. The only other use needing reference here, is in combination with mica to make ceremonial processional fans (*sēsat*). An example of these is shown on Pl. LII., 3. In use, it would be mounted on a lacquered staff, and borne as shown on Pl. I., on the left-hand side of the upper picture.

4. CANE.

Cane or rattan (*vē-veḷ*, *Calamus Roxburghi*) is extensively used for making baskets, for stringing bed frames, and generally in place of rope. A typical *veḷ-peṭṭiya*, or cane basket, is shown on Pl. XLIIIA, 8. More common is a plain round basket with a flat lid, used for carrying or storing grain, food, etc. The cane is sometimes dyed black or red, and woven in simple patterns.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVI.

I. KINNARAYA'S SONG.

1. Early in the morning, when the wife has cooked and given food, set out to pluck *niyaṇda*; scrape and wash it, and from that *niyaṇda* take three handfuls.
2. To make *niyaṇda* red take leaves of *korakaha*, *pataṇgi* and alum; to make it yellow use *venivel*; to make it black use *araḷu* and *buḷu*.
3. Take a little combed *niyaṇda* and for spinning thread, a spindle; wind the thread upon the spindle, fasten the beam, lay the warp.
4. Take slips of bamboo for the reed, and talipot slips for the outside of the heddles, make the *pannam-baṭe* smooth, in the *heḍa-liya* cut the holes.
5. Between the aforesaid (rods) let there be another, called the *uttara pata*, as the custom is; from the tripod (*tunpā kōlle*) let the *valuvaḍu* (hanks of fibre) be suspended; little by little drawing through different spaces (weave the mat).
6. Sing all the time a *kavi-pada*, a meet song for the world, weaving as best you can, to make a good mat for to-morrow.
7. Weave *pannam* at the beginning, *toran-petta* next to that, in black and white; weave *depota-lanuva*, *del-geṭa-lanuva*, parrots and doves into the mat.
8. Weave two rows of *tārakā-petta*, put in whatever sort of work you can, singing withal a *kavi-pada* telling to the world whatso you know.
9. Weave in the mat *ratvat-alaṇkāraya*, stretch out the hands to weave, ever keep an eye upon the work on either hand; this is our right from ancient days.
10. The *tanivel iruva* has its name of old; therewithal 'tis the custom to sing *kavi-pada*; in thick darkness one cannot well fare to and fro: give not if a lower price is offered.
11. Parrots and doves I weave into the mat, parrots, *maliti*, *seḷa-lihiṇi*; knots I tie around the edges of the mat: I will make a mat for Aunt to see.
12. From the beginning in the time of *Mahā Sammata*, thenceforward are the eighteen separate castes: *siv-pada* song (quatrains) was then composed: weaving was also invented then.

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13. Who was then married to that king? Queen *Meṇik Pāla* was married there: our beginning, too, was in the time of *Mahā Sammata*; for that king had servants even then. *Kinnaraya's song*
14. Who gave to that king the woven mats? what did he give to the man who wove and gave the mats? who gave the *kavi-pada*, banishing ill-fortune? Lord Buddha gave the *kavi-pada*, banishing ill-fortune.
15. *Kakusaṇda*, *Kōnagama*, by those Munis' help, by help of *Kaśyapa*, *Gautama*, by help of *Makkama*, *Samanaḷa* and *Śrī Pāda*, by their help no ill-fortune attends these songs.

APPENDIX II.

PANNAN KATURA, the story of how in the time of King Mahā Sammata, a daughter and her mother-in-law had words and wove (in rivalry). *Mat weaving song*
1. Long ago King Sammata had no mat for his bed; when he told his chamberlain of this, the chamberlain spake thus to the king,—
2. "There are living in these villages, here and there, women who can plait; I will go and fetch them quickly."
3. The chamberlain went from village to village, in search of cunning women, "By his Majesty's orders, weave a good mat and bring (it here) to-morrow."
4. Now there were no rushes with which to weave the king's mat; "My Mother-in-law, let us gather and bring good rushes.
5. "Hear me, my Mother, listen kindly (to my prayer), do not stay, let us go, Mother, to cut rushes;
6. "Let us go to the field-of-rushes and seek for good rushes, let us cut the rushes quickly, Mother,
7. "Let us bring the rushes home, straightway lay them in the sun, then taking up the rushes, let us, Mother, weave a mat of them;
8. "(See the) growing beauty (of the) women gathering, neatly they bind the loosened hair upon their head; let us, Mother, take a good grass-knife and go to gather (rushes) in the meadow."
9. Polishing her teeth with powder, she smiled at her handsome husband, saying, "My Mother-in-law has gone to gather rushes in the field, see! I, too, will go to gather rushes."
10. "'A seven months child is in your womb, parti-coloured spots are on your breast, it will miscarry if you go to gather in the field-of-rushes, do not go,' my husband called to me:
11. "See how the women gather and bring the rushes, (how) they have prepared them and are ready to (begin the) plaiting, (see how) the women fare on the path; do you go, Mother, I cannot go for this man's worrying."
12. "Let us go, elder sister, to gather rushes, already they have gone to the *ran-minuvan* (golden rushes) meadow." "If I go to gather rushes, staying till afternoon, who will give milk to the baby?"
13. Then were the women ready to set out, dressed in clean white cloths: "I cannot leave my pretty babe and go.
14. "Mother, hear my loving words, do you go with our seven good friends, kind and friendly women, bringing *minuvan* rushes from the meadow.
15. "Anoint with oil and sandal paste and neatly bind your hair, putting oil on your face, go seek the *minuvan*, Mother, will you not go to cut the rushes.
16. "Take a grass-knife with you, go to seek the field-of-rushes gladly, cut the rushes, split and dry them, tie them in a bundle and leave them to dry.

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Mat weaving song

17. "Sister, why do you delay? if I go now the baby will cry and the boys will beat him, you go then, my sister, to tie up the rushes."
18. Tying up the rushes and putting the bundles on their heads, "Let us go" said the women, ready in a row, going one by one along the path, "let us split the rushes and weave a mat for the king."
19. Bringing the rushes and laying them in the sun to dry, straightway they split the rushes everywhere, and taking up a handful to begin the work, "I weave a *depota raṭava*" (said one).
20. Then splitting up the rushes, charming women, whose breasts are like the parrot's beak, (shining) with dust of gold, begin the mat; thus the women begin the mats,—
21. The women weaving mats begin from the corner, after splitting up the rush and dyeing it, round (the mat) they weave *mal-peti* ornament, they weave the *raṭa piyum*.
22. "We will weave *piyum* for the head and the same for the foot, in the middle a good *ɛspat* pattern, thus will we weave a mat for the king to see."
23. They wove pretty *mal-peti* and white-spotted elephants, and cobras, *poloṅgas* and beasts in a row, parrots and *seḷa-lihiṇi* with every beast round about, a mat like the full moon they wove.
24. The women kind and lovely, who went to fetch rushes from the meadow, weaving parrots, *maliti* and pretty *mal-peti*, begin a mat to show the king.
25. How pretty their faces, shining like gold! How pretty the silver worn on their hands! How pretty this woman's breasts! How cleverly the pretty girl splits the rush.
26. After fetching rushes from the field and drying them in the yard, I begin a mat as I sit on the ledge. "Why, my sister, are the edges of your mat untidily woven?"
27. A man's luck changes often! No one ever saw the like of this! A nice sort of mat Namal Kumāriya is weaving! "Sister your *minuvan* mat is full of holes," said she.
28. "Sister, my baby called out for his milk, in my house there is always chattering and nagging, I used short rushes that is why the mat is small; well, sister I did it amiss," said she.
29. She begun to weave tuskers, horses, elephants and bears, *depota raṭava* and *lanu daṅge* in the mat; the mat is not dyed a good colour; "The reason is sister that I started badly."
30. She weaves parrots, *maliti*, pretty *mal-peti*, *suras*, elephants, arches, and finishes the mat, in the four corners the four *Varan Deviyō*, a splendid mat she takes to show the king.
31. At the head of the mat is Īśvara, at the foot Mihikata, in the four corners the four *Varan Deviyō*, (such) a mat she weaves to give the great king.
32. They went with the mat to give it to the king, mother and daughter-in-law wove the mat together, a splendid mat they took with them and gave it to His Highness.
33. When he asked who wove the mat, and they told him a mother and a daughter in this village, "Bring them before me" said he, and both were brought in to the presence of the king.
34. To both he gave one elephant-load of goods, saying "Take and divide in peace; it is well if day by day you weave more mats and bring them to the king."
35. "By our fortune of old this gift has come to us; give me, Mother, half of the present given by the king"; "What, wench, shall I give you a gift?" she exclaimed; from that day forth these two disagreed.
36. From that time they would not weave together, the mother-in-law mis-saying the daughter, thenceforth disagreeing with the husband too, these two wove one against the other.
37. "Dear and loving Mother hearken to my words" (she said), and being very sleepy she began to cry. "Dear daughter, tell the kindly word." "Give me at least a mat to sleep upon."

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38. "O stupid one! why do you speak dolefully? how can a woman live who cannot weave?" Swaying from side to side she asked, "Am I a slave to give you a mat?" *Mat weaving song*

39. "Dear daughter, why do you talk to me? Find out how to get (for yourself) on in future. Why are you thus angry with me? Let us see what we two can do at weaving.

40. "I weave a mat with *haras raṭāva*, in the middle doves and parrots I am weaving, first for a foot I start with *pannan-katuru*, I will turn out a mat for my daughter to see."

41. "I am weaving a mat with *piyum raṭāva*, pretty *todu* and squirrels I am weaving around it, with sun and moon at head and foot, playing I will weave a mat for my Mother to see."

42. "Why do you bandy words with me? I can weave to melt the earth! *sunu-veḷ dange* I start round the mat, *lanu-geṭa* and *pohoṭṭuva* I will weave for my daughter."

43. "Do you speak against me? see, I start on the mat a *havaḍi dange*, I begin the *geṭa-pana* pattern, see *rat-mal* and *pohoṭṭu*, Mother."

44. "When the moon in the sky is bright, ministers are willing to wage war, Lo! a fine four-legged beast, I will weave a hare for my daughter to see."

45. "A pandit, a four-footed beast I am weaving, a friend and a four-hoofed beast, I have no ill-will towards you, I will weave a fox for my Mother to eat the hare,"

46. "Four legs and eight hoofs—I begin the weaving, cloven hoofs, shining white spots, two horns on the head I am weaving, a pretty deer I will weave for my daughter to see."

47. "Four feet, twenty nails I begin, a devil's face, a round chin and a beard, a tail like a cat and shining white spots, I will weave for my mother a cheetah to eat the deer."

48. "Hear what I say well, an elephant I will weave for my daughter, with huge trunk blowing in the ten directions and two shining tusks like tender golden buds."

49. "I will make the lord and king reigning over every jungle beast, who jumps into sea-water and swims ashore, I will weave for my Mother a lion to eat the elephant."

50. "Devil dances are held for those who are sick and cannot be cured, for the *tovil taṭuva* in the four corners of the mat, lo, there is a fowl for my daughter."

51. "Nought else have I done for fame in the world save a little weaving, I learnt to gather goods, I'll better my Mother, a *kola-diviya* I will weave to spring on the fowl and devour it."

52. "The good Lord's praise I am telling, and the holy law o'er the three worlds spread, the shining diamond throne filled with blessings, Māra's army I weave in the mat for my daughter."

53. A beautiful *bō*-tree she weaves in the mat, she tells of the highest law for men, a *bō*-tree and crystal throne she weaves in the mat, Him she weaves who drove away the gathered army (of Māra).

54. "In time gone by we two were agreed, not saying harsh words, let us be in peace (again), fast friends we were ever in times gone by; you are not my daughter, you are my Mother."

55. "Trustfully hearken to my many kind words, think how we two have grown up by the help of the Gods. If misfortune be due, be it far from us; in the future we two will be born from one Mother's womb."

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CHAPTER XVII. HISTORY OF SINHALESE ART.

MATERIALS are not yet available for the detailed history of Indian art or of any off-shoot or branch of Indian art. It is only possible in speaking of the history of Sinhalese art, to indicate its main sources, and the influences that seem most to have affected it.

Accepting the general outline of the history given in Chapter I., it is clear that we have to consider the following elements which have, or may have, gone to the building up of the traditions of Sinhalese arts and crafts as they existed in late mediæval times:—the art of indigenous peoples, pre-Vijayan 'Yakkhas'; the art brought by the Vijayan immigrants; the art brought with Buddhism and the Aśokan culture from N. India; the influence of Dravidian art in early times, and at subsequent periods; the influence of Muhammadan art; of Chinese and Malayan; and finally of Portuguese, Dutch, and English.

Probably the most widely exerted influence in all Oriental art, is that which accompanied and followed the Aśokan Buddhist missions. To this rule Ceylon formed no exception. It must, of course, be understood that the culture which was thus carried was not Buddhist in the sense of being non-Hindu, but was rather what we ought to call Early Indian. It is this fact which explains the perfectly true statement* that for Hindu art proper, one must go to Ceylon. Mediæval and modern Sinhalese art is essentially Indian art, but it is not modern Hindu, rather it is such an art as might have survived in some yet Buddhist part of the mainland, if Buddhism had not there been entirely merged in Hinduism.

Early Indian art of the Aśokan period can be best studied in the Barāhat sculptures (200—150 B.C.). There are, as might be looked for, many motifs in Sinhalese art directly comparable with those characteristic at Barāhat; of these survivals, it will be worth while to notice some of the most important or conspicuous. One of these survivals, is the use of rosettes (lotus flowers), not as an essential part of a design, but to fill awkward spaces, and so preserve the flatness and evenness of the whole design, as, for example, in Pl. XVIII. Fig. 145 shows a lotus rosette similarly used at Barāhat. There are, moreover, significant resemblances and survivals in the forms of the lotus rosettes themselves. Amongst the lotus medallions of Barāhat which have parallels in mediæval Sinhalese work there are some in which the outer whorl of petals is replaced by cobra heads, all turned in one direction, right or left, around the centre (see Figs. 4 and 5, from Cunningham's 'Bharhut Stupa,' Pl. XXXVIII.); in others the same forms can be recognized, but the cobra heads are so much more conventionalised that recognition would be difficult without the other type to guide us (see Fig. 6 from Cunningham's Pl. XXXVIII.). The evolution from cobras' heads to purely conventional forms had already taken place at Barāhat; and the more conventional type alone survives in Kandyan art (Fig. 147, also Fig. 34, III. and V.)

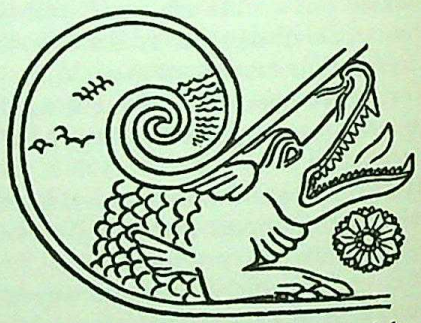

Fig. 145. Lotus rosette (with *makara*), Barāhat.

Conventionalised cobra heads are also recognizable in Fig. 37. This form differs, however, from the true whorl in having the elements symmetrically disposed about a median line.

* *E.g.*, *Mr. Maskell*, '*Ivories*,' 1905, *p.* 334.

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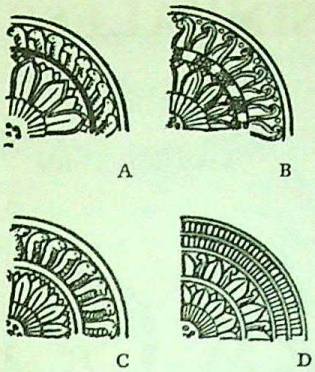

Fig. 146. Lotus medallions, Barāhat.

Fig. 147. Lotus rosette, Sinhalese, 18th century. Cf. Fig. 146, B.

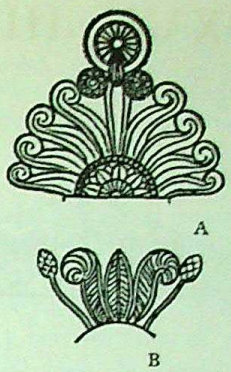

Fig. 148. Lotus ornament, Barāhat.

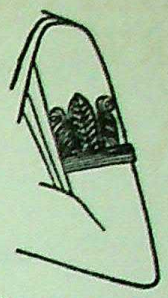

Fig. 149. Armlet, Barāhat. Cf. Pl. XXXIII., 2.

How far these may represent either cobra heads, or lotus leaves, as in Fig. 148, A, B, from Barāhat, it would be hard to distinguish. The form has probably a double ancestry. *Archaic motifs*
Resembling Fig. 148, B, is the armlet of Fig. 149, also from a Barāhat sculpture (Cunningham, Pl. XXII). It is a little surprising to find the form of this armlet or arm decoration so perfectly preserved in modern Sinhalese art, as the Garā-yakshaya costume (Pl. XXXIII., 2 and 3) shows it to have been. The resemblance in form and application amounts almost to identity; a survival of 2000 years. Another example of the same form otherwise applied will be found in the border of a betel-bag, Pl. XXXII., 6; here the chevron decoration of the central element seems like an Assyrian reminiscence. Also of Assyrian kinship are the cross-hatched flower centres (Fig. 59) and ornament of the 'pine-apple' type (Fig. 150, A). The ornaments considered above, except the last referred to, belong to the 'palmette' and 'honeysuckle' types, which are most familiar through their Greek forms, but occur also at Barāhat. They have Egyptian affinities too. The question of the origin of the most striking of these forms, so 'Early Mediterranean' in aspect, is one difficult of solution; one may trace them, perhaps, to Northern India, and thence, not to Greece (where they did not so much originate as develope), but to the common sources of all Indo-Aryan decorative art. *Common sources*
It is perhaps hardly possible to say more than that there survive in Sinhalese art a large number of decorative motifs of archaic character. The most striking group of these occurs on the decorated pottery made at Kelaṇiya, Mātara, etc. The most characteristic of these forms are shown in Fig. 137, B-E. With these may be associated the lac-work design of Fig. 133 and the archaic motifs of the woven belt of Pl. XXIX., 7. Of similarly archaic character are the simple forms of spiral and vine or branch (Fig. 150, C); affrontment (Fig. 150, D); lotus derivatives like Fig. 150, E and F, directly comparable with Egyptian and Mediterranean equivalents; the alternation of elements in 'knop and flower' motifs (Fig. 150, B); and the cross-hatched 'daisy' or 'pine-apple' (Fig. 150, A). These motifs have a common origin in an art which we may call Early Asiatic or Indo-European; they are the decorative analogues of the community of primitive religious conceptions in East and West, and of the fundamental common motifs in Aryan folklore. The subject of their origin is again referred to in the Appendix to this chapter.
More primitive than the decorative motifs above spoken of, are those everywhere characteristic of barbaric art; forms which, it would appear, have arisen independently in different parts of the world, and not necessarily traceable to a common centre of distribution. Such forms are the plaits resembling basket-work (pp. 107, 108, above); simple cross-hatchings, *Primitive motifs*

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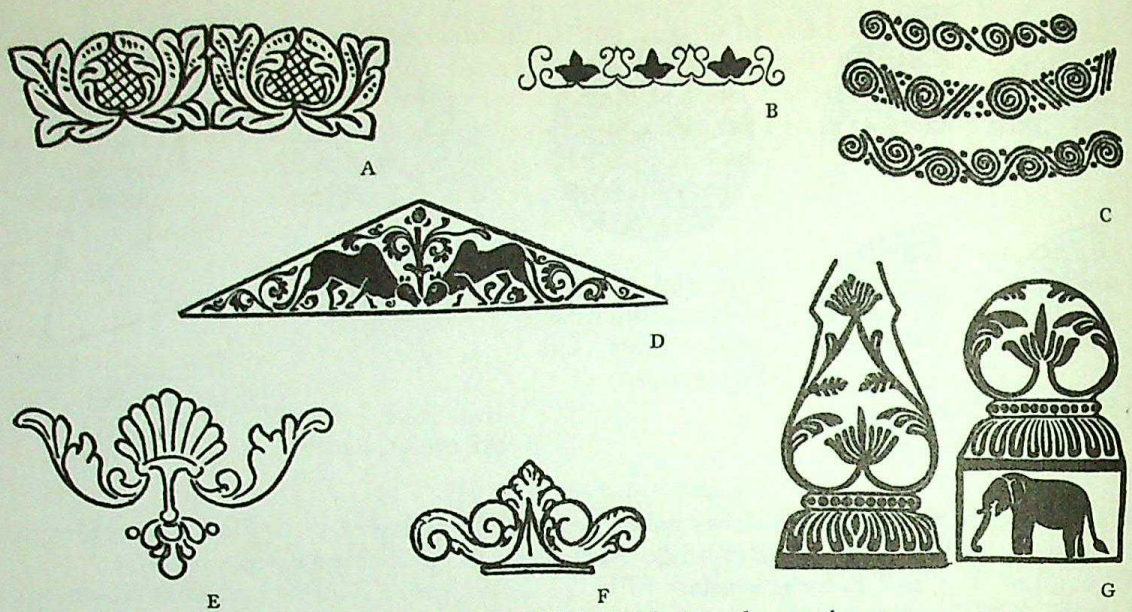

Fig. 150. Archaic motifs in Sinhalese decorative art.

circles, diamonds, dots and lines. These may have been characteristic even of a primitive art possessed by the pre-Sinhalese inhabitants, or they may have been brought into Ceylon at a later period with more advanced forms.

Early methods Analogous to the survival of primitive patterns, is the maintenance of the once universal (pre-Aśokan) practice of building in wood. In spite of the repeated construction of stone buildings at Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva, Yāpahuva and elsewhere, the indigenous style of architecture has remained to this day one of wooden construction. Another survival from the earliest time is the continued practice of constructing images of impermanent materials as clay, brick, etc., that has continued side by side with the more familiar, but actually rarer, use of stone. The use of mud and primitive colours in the construction of *bali* images is a survival of primitive methods, exactly analogous to the corresponding beliefs that have survived side by side with the clear-cut non-animistic philosophy of Buddhism.

Later motifs Few decorative motifs are of later origin. The elaboration of simple motifs must always have continued; but most of them, such as the continuous branch, were already developed at Barāhat,* and awaited only such an extension of their use as is illustrated in the progression from a simple border, to a design covering a large space as in Fig. 52. One definitely Buddhist decorative motif is the *bō*-leaf, and the form of triangle derived from it (see p. 106, above). Apparently post-Aśokan must be most of the patterns used for filling space, or rather most of the ways of so using patterns; thus the 'continuous branch,' well known at Barāhat, was afterwards used in carefully constructed patterns covering large areas as in Fig. 52 and Pl. XV. When or where such methods of design originated it would be hard to say. From such constructed patterns to patterns based on an invisible framework (*parsemé*) the transition must have been easy.

Lotus The lotus petal (*pala peti*) border or moulding is ancient, and its origin clear from the petals of lotus medallions, such as we see at Barāhat. Where the lotus petal motif was first used

* *It is probable that closer parallels could be drawn, were it not for the almost complete absence of the remains of examples of the minor arts from Indian sites.*

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as a moulding it would be hard to say; but it is evidently the equivalent and source of the classic 'egg and dart' in the West, while it has retained its individuality in the East. *History of Sinhalese art*

In architectural matters the relation of Sinhalese art to the Early Buddhist art of Northern India is too obvious to need a detailed commentary. The tasselled ornament of the Meḍagoḍa pillar in the Colombo Museum, goes back to the tasselled *chakra* of Barāhat; and the *makara toraṇa* arch, to the *chaitiya* windows of the Early Buddhist cave temples of India. Again, the wooden *toraṇ*, 'triumphal arches,' characteristic of street and gateway decoration for festival occasions, afford one out of many instances of a survival of the use of wood in architectural details; in the gaily ornamented *toraṇa* at the gateway of a dēvāle procession path at *perahẹra* time, we see the prototype of the stone gateways of Sānchi. The national style of architecture has remained in Ceylon an architecture of wooden construction. Instances of similar survivals of wood construction could be multipled. This fact, contrasting with the universally stone architecture of Southern India, and of what may fairly be called Hindu buildings in Ceylon (Bẹreṇḍi Kōvil, etc.) again illustrates the survival of Early Hindu culture in Ceylon, better preserved than on the mainland. The influence of later Dravidian architecture is also everywhere apparent. *Architectural survivals*

The history of Sinhalese art in post-Aśokan and in mediæval times is mainly one of continual action and interaction with India. During the whole of this period, and until the close of the period of mediæval conditions, the relations between Southern India and Ceylon were similar to those obtaining in the Middle Ages between France and England; continually fluctuating intimate intercourse, now friendly, now hostile, migration of craftsmen to centres of civic activity, or to abandoned sites rebuilt by victorious kings, sometimes with the capture of craftsmen amongst other prisoners; sometimes their importation. Throughout this intercourse, India remained the exhaustless reservoir from which Ceylon was able to draw, whenever it became necessary to renew the traditions which fell into decay in Ceylon, as was from time to time the case. This process of renewal is well brought out in the Janavaṃsa accounts of the history of the crafts in Ceylon. Its results are equally evident in the community of motifs in Sinhalese and Dravidian art. The system of teaching drawing (pp. 64—69, above) is Dravidian, and many common elements of design have been noticed in Chapter IV. A striking instance is afforded by the tree of life in a garlanded frame, Pl. XIV., 4, which is identical in design with the decoration of South Indian palampores. The forms of jewellery, as well as the 'gold leaf' technique (*tahaḍu kola bẹmma*) are of South Indian origin. It is by no means easy always to say whether a given piece of jewellery is of South Indian or Sinhalese manufacture. *Relations with India*

We have spoken so far almost exclusively of the history of decorative art; but the art was one whole, and must so be considered from a historical point of view. If we compare the Barāhat sculptures and the Kandyan paintings as regards style and subject matter, we shall find that the conventions of ancient and modern artists are close akin. The ancient method of 'continuous narration' is equally characteristic of both. The whole picture is brought into one plane, and there is little or no attempt at perspective. A delight in delicate detail, as in the delineation of feathers, costume, etc., and in clear distinct outline is apparent in both schools. The representation of trees is very characteristic; the sculptured trees of Barāhat and the painted trees of a Kandyan vihāra have much in common. The treatment is entirely decorative and idealistic. The lost school of Barāhat painting, if such existed, must have been very like Kandyan. Unfortunately we have few remains of the minor arts dating from Aśokan times; it is likely that a study of these would increase the impression of similarity between Kandyan and Barāhat art. *Representation of trees*

With regard to figure sculpture, we do not know the date of the earliest stone figures of Buddha in Ceylon. To judge from the remains at Barāhat the early Buddhist artists

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represented the Buddha by symbols only. Hence it has been assumed, in view of the Greeko-Roman character of the Gandhāra sculptures, that "The ideal type of Buddha was created for Buddhist art by foreigners."* The improbability of this is discussed in the Appendix to this chapter. In any case, it is fairly evident that the first sculptors of Buddhist images in Ceylon must have been Indians, and they may not have come to Ceylon until some time later than the Aśokan missions, and the beginning of the general influence of Northern Buddhist Art in Ceylon.

Sīgiri paintings

The fifth century Sīgiri paintings have already been referred to. They are almost certainly the work of Indian craftsmen. They were probably related to an indigenous school of painting, much as the building in stone, and the fine weaving, were related to the indigenous style of building in wood, and home-spun weaving; that is to say they were exotic products of an art, never permanently naturalised in Ceylon. They are in every respect different from modern Kandyan painting, which there is good reason to regard as the lineal descendant of an early formal style similar in feeling to that of the Jātaka sculptures at Barāhat. Into such a line of descent the Sīgiri paintings would nowhere fit.

Early sculptures

We may gather, however, that in the fifth century, as well as at other times, a school of highly skilled craftsmen existed in Ceylon, and if of Indian origin, at least were much at home in Ceylon. We have the Sīgiri paintings; and with respect to figure sculpture Tennent states that the "early historians of China speak in raptures of work of this kind, obtained from Singhalese sculptors in the fourth and fifth centuries."† It is possible that the very beautiful small bronzes of somewhere about this date which are sometimes met with in Ceylon, may have been the work of Sinhalese sculptors. This was a period of culmination of Indian culture, both in the mainland and in Ceylon (see above, p. 162) and the province was more intimately related to the mainland than is now the case. Perhaps it would be correct to say of such a period, not so much that its productions in Ceylon were the work of Indian craftsmen, as that in India at that time, of which Ceylon was a part, there existed a common school of craftsmen great in artistic achievement; but that these in Ceylon were unable to maintain a continuous tradition, owing to the disturbed state of the country and other causes.

Polonnaruva bronzes

We know from the recent discoveries of bronzes at Polonnaruva that fine Hindu art flourished there in the twelfth century still; and the better known stone sculptures, especially the figure of Parākrama Bāhu, show that here too a high level of attainment was again reached. But the work is much rather Hindu than Buddhist, and there can be little doubt that many or most of the craftsmen were of Dravidian origin.

Conclusions

The sum of the conclusions so far drawn then is, that there exists in Sinhalese art an early stratum of indispensable barbaric decorative motives, such as are found in savage countries still, and survive everywhere in the art of civilised lands; then a main stream of North Indian Buddhist influence; and thereafter the influence of continued reliance upon and intercourse with India, especially Southern India, accounting at every period for the strong admixture of purely Hindu with Buddhist motifs. The independent influence of China may have been considerable at certain periods, and was also exerted at second hand through India. Malayan influence is suggested in the elongated triangles described on p. 106. Muhammadan influence on Sinhalese art has been of the slightest,‡ and on this account Sinhalese art is of particular value as preserving Early Hindu feeling which in most parts of the mainland has been obscured by Muhammadan or later Hindu motifs. Sinhalese

* *Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India,' p.* 68. † *Tennent, 'Ceylon,' 4th ed., p.* 476.

‡ *It may perhaps be traced in the cone pattern of Fig.* 51 *and in a few forms of jewellery, such as the crescent pendant of Pl. XLVIII.,* 5.

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decorative art is thus in a sense both freer and wider than that of Northern India in later times, and gentler, less grotesque, more akin to mediæval European, than the Dravidian art of Southern India, to which it is, nevertheless, so closely related. *History of Sinhalese art*

In later mediæval times, we have to consider Portuguese and Dutch and finally English influence on Sinhalese art. The influence of Portuguese and Dutch in the low-country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on art, costume, and manners was extremely marked; but as regards the unconquered inland districts, comparatively slight. We trace it in the forms of furniture; but here again it is almost entirely in the low-country that almirahs, four-post beds, chairs and tables came into use, and only in the nineteenth century that these spread rapidly into the Kandyan districts. In building, the same is also true; the round pillared open verandahs, romanesque arches and other details of nineteenth century domestic architecture have mainly spread from the low-country, and are often the work of low-country architects and masons. The direct influence of the Portuguese and Dutch on Kandyan culture was limited to that of the presents sent to the Kandyan kings; the influence of the prisoners at the Kandyan Court, some of them having been, it is said, employed as builders, and one, at least, appointed Koṭṭalbadde Nilame; and the influence of articles of commerce, principally cotton materials, metal ware, etc. Portuguese influence is, for example, traceable in the type of chest called Indo-Portuguese, with iron or brass fittings with Renaissance ornament. It is evident in many specimens of iron work; hinges seem directly based on European forms. There is much repoussed and chased ornament of metal work that seems also to show traces of Renaissance influence, yet may almost equally well be quite indigenous. The silver and ivory casket of the Crystal Buddha at the Daḷadā Māligāva is suggestive of Italian workmanship. I have seen also old brocades that may have been of Italian or Spanish origin. Dutch influence is seen in the brass tobacco boxes, of which Dutch examples are still common, beside the Sinhalese imitations; and in certain methods of representing lions, as in the corners of the Flag of the Four Kōrales figured by Bell (Kēgalla Report, p. 126). A similar lion rampant holding a sword is carved on a jaggery mould in my collection. These forms are quite distinctly European, and different from typical Sinhalese lions. *Portuguese and Dutch Influence*

Of English influence on purely Sinhalese art, the less said the better. It is been characterised, from the English side, by almost complete indifference to indigenous culture, the result of an ideal of purely material prosperity; the destruction of indigenous crafts by the competition of cheap machine-made materials and luxuries; the neglect of surviving architectural tradition and capacity for building; and by an entirely false and unnatural system of education, the result of which is to make the 'educated,' strangers in their own land. The immediate effect of British rule, was to destroy the system of State support of the arts and crafts; the links that bound the Koṭṭalbadde and the Paṭṭal-hatara craftsmen to the national life were snapped at a blow; by the withdrawal of support from the national religion, it came about that funds formerly available for building and decoration of temples were misappropriated. From the Sinhalese side, the history of the nineteenth century has been one of continual and snobbish imitation of the external features of Western culture, misunderstood and misapplied. The results have been even more disastrous than is yet the case in India; it is, indeed, almost a matter for surprise that so much of the indigenous traditions of art and craft still survive. If it is so, if there are still devoted and skilled craftsmen of the old school, this is thanks neither to the patronage of the Sinhalese themselves nor to that of their British rulers; it is due to the vitality still latent in the old tradition, the effectiveness of the caste system in conserving, if somewhat forlornly, some of the best part of the old life, and lastly, and not least, to the affectionate devotion of the hereditary craftsmen to their art and its traditions. *English influence*

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII. THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK ON INDIAN ART.

The consideration of the origins of Sinhalese Art carries the enquirer back through Indian Art to a remoter past, and raises the question of the origins of the Early Indian Art which we have seen to be an immediate ancestor of Sinhalese. In the following notes I consider briefly a special aspect of this question, viz., the Influence of Greek on Indian Art, without limiting the scope of the enquiry to the facies of Indian Art preserved in late Mediæval Ceylon.

When I first met with types of ornament, such as those reproduced in Figs. 133, 137 and 150, forcibly recalling early Mediterranean forms, I assumed the common view as to the extent, permanence and importance of the influence of Greek on Indian Art, and endeavoured to explain the presence of these decorative forms in Ceylon on those lines.* At that time I accepted such statements as those of Grünwedel† that the ideal type of Buddha was created for India by foreigners. I also assumed that decorative forms such as the continuous branch, palmette, honeysuckle, etc., being known from the Mediterranean area long before their earliest known occurrence in India must have originated where they are first found, and travelled thence to India; accepting, for example, Riegl's statement that neither *intermittirende* nor *fortplanzende Wellenranke* ('interrupted' and 'continuous branch') borders were known in the East in pre-Hellenic times.‡

I have since seen reason to doubt the somewhat simple solutions of the difficulties thus provided, and to believe that the influence of Greek on Indian Art, however extensive at a certain period, was ultimately neither very profound nor very important. It is the concentration of attention upon the effeminate and artistically unimportant work of the Gandhāra school that has given undue prominence to the Greek influence.§ It must be admitted also that a certain prejudice has led European investigators to think of Classic Greece naturally as the source of all art, and to suppose that the influence of Classic Art must have been as permanently important in the East as in the West. At the same time, it is to be remembered that it is not generally realised by Western scholars, who are not always artists, that Eastern Art, whether Indian, or Chinese, has a value and significance not less than that of the Western Art of any time. The main difficulty so far seems to have been that Indian Art has been studied only by archæologists. It is not archæologists, but artists, or at any rate students of art rather than of archæology, who are best qualified to judge of the significance of works of art considered as art, and to unravel the influences apparent in them. No artist, familiar with the true genius of Indian art, could suppose that the work of the Gandhāra school was the real foundation of Indian figure sculpture, or that Indian art could have been founded on such a decadent Greeko-Roman basis.

So far from foreigners having given to India the ideal type of Buddha, the Gandhāra

* *J.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIX.*, 1906, *pp.* 72-89.

† '*Buddhist Art in India*,' *p.* 68.

‡ '*Stilfragen*,' *p.* 125. *The 'continuous branch' first appears in India at Barāhat* (*Cunningham's 'Bharhut Stupa*,' *Pl. XL.*)

§ *Mr. Vincent Smith truly remarks: "The way in which Indian sculptors of the Kushan period adopted Græco-Roman fashions and mixed them up with the familiar Persian forms may be compared with the modern practice of mingling European and Asiatic designs without much regard to congruity"; but the artistic result was of equally small value in both cases. Perhaps, too, the sculptors, or some of them, were not Indians, but themselves 'Greeko-Romans.'*

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sculptures should perhaps be regarded as the work of late Greeko-Roman craftsmen striving in vain to interpret Indian ideals. The sculptures themselves show how little of value in art the Western world had at this time to offer to the East. History repeats itself: the result of foreign influence on Indian art during the first few centuries of the Christian era, was not, perhaps, of any more value than the influence of Western art on Indian at the present day. The zenith of Greek art was in the fifth century B.C., if not earlier; the zenith of Indian art, in times certainly later than the third century A.D. The sequence of cause and effect would be hard to trace; it was not of the decadence of the one, that the achievement of the other was born.

Greek Influence on Indian Art

The question, however, depends essentially upon religious and philosophical considerations. The philosophies of Greek and Indian Art are poles apart. Putting aside a few rare and beautiful fragments of archaic art, the Greek representations of the gods belong entirely to the Olympian aspect of Greek religion*; Greek art, as has been said, has in it no touch of mysticism. The gods are but grand and beautiful men; sometimes, as in the case of many Apollos, it is uncertain even whether the representation is of a god or of an athlete. Indian art is essentially transcendental.† Indian art is concerned not with the representation of perfect men, but with the intimation of Divinity. Its greatest manifestations have, though perhaps not always so conspicuously as in Egyptian art, that sense of 'Being beyond Appearance,' which we miss in the Greek representations of beautiful Olympians. Without saying that this or the other aim of art is the greatest, it is obvious to those acquainted with both, that the genius of Greek, and the genius of Indian art, are so different that it is difficult, and even impossible, to imagine a dependence of the one upon the other. Beside the recognition of this fact, the question of just how far Classic influence can be traced in the outward detail of Indian art, becomes of little moment.

The transcendentalism which is the essential character of true Indian art, is not of late classic origin. That is not, of course, to say that Classic influence was non-existent, but that its limits have not been defined, and that its importance has been over-rated. It would be idle to deny that the Gandhāra and the Amarāvati sculptures exhibit the results of the strongest classical influence. The Greek influence at Sānchi, Barāhat, and Mahābodhi is much less evident. It is, however, true to say that the early schools are compounded of Assyrian, Persian, Hellenistic and Indian elements. The point is not that classic influence was absent, but that it was itself decadent, and at best un-Indian, and that nearly all that is good in later Indian art is there in spite of it. Of course, if it be said, as Mr. Vincent Smith ‡ says, that "After A.D. 300 Indian sculpture properly so-called hardly deserves to be reckoned as

* *J. E. Harrison, in the 'Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,' Ch. I., etc.*

† *A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'The Aims of Indian Art,' Campden, 1908.*

‡ *'Imperial Gazetteer of India,' 1908, II., 121. How completely it is possible for the archæologist to misunderstand the true significance of Indian art is indicated in the two sentences which immediately follow that quoted in the text—"The figures both of men and animals become stiff and formal, perception of the facts of nature almost disappears, and the idea of power is clumsily expressed by the multiplication of members. The many-headed, many-armed gods and goddesses whose images crowd the walls and roofs of mediæval temples have no pretensions to beauty, and are frequently hideous and grotesque." Such sentences show that the greatest archæological knowledge is no guarantee of any comprehension of the true problem of Indian art—the study of the development of the Indian ideal, and its emancipation from the fetters of borrowed art-formulas little adapted to its expression. Until artists and archæologists together have attacked this problem with the patient care hitherto devoted to the study of the Classic influence at an earlier period, it cannot be pretended that the study of truly Indian art has been seriously undertaken.*

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Greek Influence on Indian Art

art," the whole question is begged. But no artist familiar with the Indian art of all periods would for a moment accept such a statement; the sculpture dealt with by Mr. Havell,* for instance, is *all* of a much later date.† It may rather be doubted whether any of the most beautiful or important Indian sculpture can be certainly assigned to a date earlier than 300 A.D. It would be truer to say that not until the direct effects of the foreign influence had been forgotten, could the truly Indian schools of sculpture have arisen.

The main outlines are thus quite clear. The more detailed aspects of the question may also be considered, without laying undue stress on minor points.

More than the merely negative evidence of the absence of surviving work in stone would be needed to convince an unprejudiced student that in India alone, the Aryans possessed their share of all Early Aryan culture, except the power and the will to shape a log or mould clay into the forms of human or divine beings.

The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa contain frequent references to "storeyed towers, galleries of pictures, and castes of painters, not to speak of the golden statue of a heroine, and the magnificence of personal adornment." "Indeed," continues Okakura, "it is difficult to imagine that those centuries in which the wandering minstrels sang the ballads that were later to become the epics, were devoid of image worship, for descriptive literature, concerning the forms of the gods, means correlative attempts at plastic actualisation. This idea finds corroboration in the sculptures of Aśoka's rails, where we find images of Indras and Dēvas worshipping the *bō*-tree. These things point to the early use of clay, paste, and other impermanent materials, as in ancient China."‡

Golden images, made by the 'chief smith' and the king, are mentioned in the Kusa Jātaka, in such a way as to suggest that such images were well known at the time of the composition of the story,§ which in its present form has preserved the tradition of the third century B.C.

We pass next to references to the construction of images in Buddha's own time. The Kosala Bimba Varnanāva states that a gilt sandal-wood image of Buddha was erected with his consent, to compensate the disappointment felt by those who should come from afar to visit him, if they should find him absent.

It is also related in the Divyāvadāna that Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, desired to have a representation of Buddha painted upon a cloth. Buddha let his shadow fall upon it, commanding that the outlines should be filled in with colour, and that the chief articles of the faith should be written on it. This slender evidence Grünwedel condemns, rightly enough, as unauthentic, but he still claims it as showing that there was no desire to create an ideal type.‖ It seems unlikely that a teacher such as the Buddha should have countenanced the construction of images of himself in his own lifetime; and he is represented at Barāhat and Sānchi by the feet or the wheel.

There are also literary references to images in post-Buddhist and pre-Gandhāra times. Thus the Mahāvaṃsa informs us that in the relic chamber of the Ruvanveli Dāgaba, King Duṭṭha Gāmanī (161—137 B.C.) placed a resplendent golden image of Buddha, in the attitude in which he achieved Buddhahood. The features and members of that image were represented in their several appropriate colours, in gloriously resplendent gems. Figures of the gods were also set in the relic chamber.

* *E. B. Havell, 'Indian Painting and Sculpture,' London*, 1908. *This is the only important work on the subject of Indian art, considered as art, and not merely as material for the archæologist.*

† *Mr. Havell would place the zenith of Indian art in the seventh or eighth centuries* A.D.

‡ *Okakura, 'Ideals of the East,'* 1904 *ed., p.* 75.

§ *'The Jataka,' Cambridge, V.*, 531.

‖ *Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India,' p.* 68.

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There is thus some literary evidence, tending to show that images were believed, in later times, to have been made long before the Gandhāra period. *Greek Influence on Indian Art*

It will be noticed that the literary references speak always of precious metals, or impermanent materials such as wood or cloth. Had they spoken of early stone images the anachronism would be evident. This adherence to actual possibilities is a point in favour of the literary references.

A different line of argument may now be followed, based on observation of surviving methods, where impermanent materials are employed. *Impermanent materials*

The absence of images from ancient sites, as Barāhat, is taken as proof of the non-existence of an early school of sculptors or imagers. This negative evidence is, however, insufficient to prove that images of impermanent materials or the precious metals were not made. Even at Anurādhapura we find no statues of Buddha associated with the great *stūpas*, the only figure sculpture being in low relief on *stelæ* as at Barāhat. But it does not certainly follow that wood, clay, or stone images were not worshipped in the neighbouring vihāras. Had wooden or clay images been worshipped in Aśoka's day, we should have no trace left to show it, yet the negative evidence would be misleading. And even if, as is probable, images of Buddha himself were unknown until several centuries after his death, this would not in itself be a proof of the non-existence of images of any sort.

The use of impermanent materials is probably the true explanation of the difficulty. It can be specially illustrated by survival in Ceylon. The Sāriputra states that images may be made from "gold, copper, clay, stone, wood, burnt clay* (brick) or lime." And, in fact, we find that a majority of images in mediæval and modern vihāras are of brick, metal, or clay, very few of stone. Even when of stone they are always covered with plaster and painted, so that one cannot tell by inspection, of what material the image is really made; only metal images are, as it were, naked. How thoroughly this idea was associated with images is suggested by the description of one of the 32 *Maha-purusha-lakshaṇa* or superior beauties or teches of the Buddha: "His skin was soft and smooth, as an image polished by the tooth of a tiger."† One does not polish stone images with tigers' teeth; the comparison, moreover, has an air of antiquity; an early Chinese artist would have understood it. No doubt the early stone statues of Ceylon (Anurādhapura, Kalaveṣva, Polonnaruva) were also once under cover, plastered and painted. Contrast with their appearance, that of stone sculpture intended to stand as it were naked out of doors, like the elaborately carved dvarpals at Anurādhapura; or of statues executed in marble (like that of 'Duṭṭha Gāmanī' on the Ruvanveli Dāgaba platform), which certainly were not intended to be covered by plaster, but only to be painted; in both of these cases the detail and finish of the work is very different and very much finer.

There are other examples of the survival of the early use of impermanent materials. In the sixteenth century A.D. the Portuguese at Devundara in the Southern Province, "proceeded to destroy the idols [of the Vishṇu dēvāle] of which there were more than a thousand of diverse shapes, some of clay, some of wood, some of copper, and several of gilt."‡ None of stone are mentioned; what should we know of the existence of those idols, had we not the Portuguese record to inform us?

The use of impermanent materials survives also in the most primitive form of image making

* *Cf. Tennent, vol. I., p.* 477: "*A still more common expedient, which is employed to the present time, was to form the figures of Buddha with pieces of burnt clay joined together by cement; and coated with highly polished chunam, in order to prepare the surface for the painter.*"

† *Hardy, 'Manual of Buddhism,'* 1853, *p.* 368.

‡ *De Couto, Dec. X., trans. by P. E. Pieris, Galle,* 1905.

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Greek Influence on Indian Art

in Ceylon—the wax images of *Rīrī yaka* used in *huniyan* ceremonies; and the mud images, sometimes with a wicker foundation, used in *bali* and *yak* ceremonies.

An instance of the use of precious metal and impermanent material combined is afforded by the gold-plated clay images from an old dāgaba near Kurunēgala, now in the Colombo Museum.

Thus we are able to trace in Sinhalese art as known to us, a survival of the Early Asiatic use of impermanent materials (wood, clay, or brick), or of metal, but not stone, for making images; we trace it not only in the present use of those materials to construct entire images, but also in the fact that even stone images are covered with plaster and painted. Similar survivals, such as colossal mud images, floor diagrams, etc., can be traced in India also.

It becomes, therefore, unreasonable to say, as Grünwedel does,* that all Early Buddhist sculpture was colossal and in stone, and only in the Middle Ages became "a miniature manufacture in different materials—wood and clay in place of stone, and later in metal casts." It would be much truer to say that just as wooden building preceded stone construction, so also the use of wood and brick and clay for figure sculpture must in general have preceded that of stone; and even in the case of images of Buddha, these materials must have been made use of from the beginning, and also, as at present, contemporaneously with the use of stone. The absence of stone statues is no more evidence of the absence of statues of wood or clay, than the absence of stone buildings is evidence of the absence of buildings of wood or mud.

Canon

One interesting point of distinction between the technical methods of East and West is found in the Indian canons of proportion. The 'face,' and not the 'head,' is taken as the standard of measurement. The generally recognized standard for a human or divine figure is a height of nine 'faces' (equivalent to about $7\frac{1}{3}$ 'heads' in European terminology). The whole artistic canon (Silpa Śāstra) of India appears to be independent of Western influence, both in its insistence upon the importance of meditation, in the manner of describing the details of the proportions, and in the technical methods of pointing (use of a horizontal framework with suspended plumb lines, as a pointing machine).

Source of 'branch' motif

Certain conclusions drawn from the study of decorative art may also be referred to. With reference to the important 'branch' ('*Wellenranke*') motif, there is no reason to suppose it to be of Greek origin in Eastern art. It first appeared in Mediterranean art on certain Mykenean and Rhodian vases,† in a very simple form still found in Sinhalese art (Fig. 53) and not far removed from the most primitive possible forms of the kind. In the East, it appears first at Barāhat,‡ in a fully developed and quite un-Greek form, in the earliest Indian art preserved in lasting materials. As its first appearance in Mediterranean art is in late pre-historic times, a period of admitted Oriental influence on Greek art, the discovery of this motif cannot be credited to classic Greece; it is much more likely to be of Eastern origin, like the lotus flowers and buds, palmettes, spirals, etc., and the mythical animals§ which first appear in Mediterranean art at the same time, succeeding the geometrical forms which represented indigenous design. It is not likely that the 'branch' was invented about

* '*Buddhist Art in India*,' *p.* 2.

† *Riegl*, '*Stilfragen*,' *Figs.* 50, 76.

‡ *Cunningham*, '*Bharhut Stupa*,' *Pl. XL.*

§ *Grünwedel* (*p.* 18) *regards the mythical animals in Indian art as borrowings from Western Asia or Greece; and then proceeds to explain the success with which they were used, by supposing that indigenous types of the same character already existed. No doubt they did; and if so, what need to postulate a borrowing? The sphinxes, griffins, chimaeras, and sirens, etc., in Greek art were as much Oriental in origin as the lotus buds and rosettes and palmettes.*

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this time in more than one area. If it was invented in any one place, there is not sufficient evidence to show that this was not in Western Asia or Persia, whose art was the inheritor and continuator of Egyptian. There need, however, be no antagonism between the claims of East and West. The Mediterranean in early times was so much an integral part of the Oriental world, that it is easier and truer to explain resemblances by common origin, than by borrowings.* The reason of the resemblances may be sought in the existence of a "common Early Asiatic art, which has left its uttermost ripple marks alike on the shores of Hellas, the extreme west of Ireland, Etruria, Phœnicia, Egypt, India and China."† The real home of this art may have been in Mesopotamia. It owed much to Egyptian influence. The sources of Mediterranean and Indian decorative art thus go back rather to a common origin, than are borrowed in either direction. It might still be argued that Indian art had borrowed from or been influenced by the later developments of Greek decorative art. As regards Barāhat and the decorative art generally, there is no evidence of this, and certainly there was no need for it. For Greek decorative art, compared with Egyptian or Early Indian, is unsympathetic in its treatment of vegetable form, "a hopeless divergence from any rational type," as Flinders Petrie calls it.‡ The Greeks invented nothing dynamic in decorative art; the fact that the particular forms of their decorative art are still imitated is by no means evidence to the contrary; what they did do was to take conventionalized vegetable forms, and make them lifeless, changing lotus flowers into 'honeysuckle' and 'acanthus,' and lotus petals into 'egg and dart.'

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Their decorative art was so different in spirit from Indian, that it could have given little to it; they regarded very little any aspect of nature except man himself; they had no conception of ideal art in relation to any but the human form; whereas the Indian love of nature, and sense of unity with it, led the Indian artist to cover surfaces with all sorts of idealized vegetable forms, as well as animal. The idealistic rendering of trees at Barāhat, reached a perfection which the Greeks never at any time attained. Even the figure sculpture at Barāhat has little affinity with Greek sculpture of the same date, but only a kinship§ with the archaic Greek sculpture of centuries earlier. And history shows at the same time how slight the intercourse with Greece at this time had been; Alexander's influence on Indian culture must have been of the slightest: "within three years of his departure . . . all trace of his rule had disappeared. . . . India was not Hellenized. She continued to live her life of 'splendid isolation,' and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm."‖

India not Hellenized

It is such reasons as the foregoing, and especially a consideration of the fundamental difference in the spirit and aims of Classic Greek and true Indian art, that make it necessary to reconsider the question of the extent and nature of Greek influence on Indian Art. The result of such a reconsideration will be to show that the concentration of attention upon the period of strongest and undoubted Classic influence, has magnified out of all proportion, the importance of the foreign elements. Early India did not, alone in all the world, lack all knowledge of the arts; the period of strong Greeko-Roman influence was not of great artistic importance; and it was not until this influence had largely, if not entirely, faded, that the really great achievement of Indian art was attained.

* *See Burrows, 'The Discoveries in Crete,' 1st ed., 1907, pp. 134, 135, etc.*
† *Okakura, 'Ideals of the East,' Introduction by Sister Nivedita.*
‡ *'Egyptian Decorative Art,' p. 72.*
§ *Both as regards conceptions, and in respect of the manner of execution, viz., in low relief.*
‖ *Vincent Smith, 'Early History of India,' 2nd ed., 1908, p. 110.*

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APPENDIX I. THE KANDY ART ASSOCIATION.

During the Agency of Sir John F. Dickson in 1882 an Association of those interested in ancient art work was formed, and supported with the income derived from the annual subscriptions of the members of the Association. The services of the best workmen in silver, brass, and pottery were employed in making articles of Kandyan art and workmanship.

The Assistant Government Agent of the Kaccheri, subsequently Mr. H. Nevill, when Fiscal C.O., undertook the supervision of the workmen, and as the object of the Association became more widely known, orders were placed with him, and he arranged for them to be carried out by the workmen in Kandy and Mātale districts.

The work connected with the receipt of orders became entirely centred at the Kacceri, and was conducted by the successive occupants of the office of Assistant Government Agent, under general supervision of the Hon. the Government Agent.

The first home of the Association was in the rooms below the United Service Library, but eventually a room was set apart at the downstairs of the Kacceri for the custody of the articles made, and where parties could purchase and inspect them.

In 1893, the Association then known as the Kandyan Art Society being less prosperous, application was made to Government for a loan of Rs. 2,000 to enable the Society to get together a collection of Kandyan art work; the grant of that amount was sanctioned by the Governor, Sir A. E. Havelock. The whole amount of the advance has been repaid.

The necessity of having a place more suitable for the custody of these collections and the sale of work was much felt, and there appeared to be no building more suitable for the purpose than the building known as Palle Vahala which for many years in occupation of the Fiscal C.O., was handed over for use in the future as a Museum and home for Kandyan art.

APPENDIX II. ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 7. *Jeṭṭhatissa.* According to the Pūjāvaliya (translation, p. 25), Jeṭṭhatissa 'constructed images with his own hands from ivory, sandal wood, *kihiri* wood, and stone, and established them as examples to be imitated thereafter for the benefit of Lanka.'

P. 9. '*Bird-shaped houses.*' According to a footnote on p. 2 of the Appendix of a Petition to H.M. Edward VII., printed in 1905, and signed by the Mahānāyakas of Malvatte and Asgirya, and other priests, on behalf of the Saṅgha, against the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance then before the Legislative Council, one of the dwellings permitted to a priest is an *adhyoga*, which is stated to be a 'house covered with a roof resembling the wings of a *gurulu*' (*guruḷā*, mythical bird). The roof which, so far as I know, now best answers such a description, is that of the porch at Laṅkātilaka. Perhaps such roofs, raised above the walls, tiled as if with feathers, and having a double slope, may not unnaturally be likened to the wings of a great bird. I conceive that the idea of such an injunction must have been to prevent priests from living in ordinary dwelling houses, which had thatched roofs.

——*Parākrama Bāhu II.* also repaired the palace at Attanagala, saying, 'To effect repairs of old buildings is a meritorious deed, which confers long life and prosperity. Do such a meritorious deed in my name also' (Pūjāvaliya, translation, p. 48).

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P. 10. '*They rest not a minute in one place.*' Compare the '*Secretum Secretorum*' (translation, J.R.A.S., 1908): 'He who makes many movements is vainglorious and deceitful, and whoever is quiet in his demeanour . . . is perfect of understanding and thoughtful in mind.'

P. 12. Some particulars of the life of Veḷiviṭa Piṇḍapātika Saraṇaṅkara, the Saṅgha Rāja, are given on pp. XXI. and 109 of Wickremasinghe's 'Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum.' See also Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XVII., vv. 50-62.

P. 13. *Rājakāriya.* Knox describes the immoderate demands made upon the people at a previous period, the reign of Rāja Siṃha II.

But Bennett confesses that prior to 1832, under British rule also, "the people had grounds for discontent, from the incessant calls for their services and labour (occasionally exceeding the duties which they had formerly been liable to under the Malabar dynasty), and which had been enforced regardless of the ancient customs of the country, or the claims and conditions of individuals" ('Ceylon and its Capabilities,' p. 423). See also the 'Manual of the North Central Province,' p. 140: "although we continued the Rājākāriya we omitted to have it applied to agriculture. . . . A more unfortunate system could hardly be devised for agriculture, as it allowed the works to fall into ruin and discouraged cultivation." Rājākāriya is often described as forced labour, and regarded as having been an intolerable tyranny; but properly understoood, it was hardly more than a system of commanding public assistance in works of public utility, analogous to the rates of a municipality. It was only "the perversion of the compulsory labour from one of its chief original purposes, and the neglect to enforce it for legitimate works under the later kings, and by the British Government adopting their system, which occasioned the decay of agriculture and the wasting of population."

P. 20. *A Government Agent's report.* This is a report by Mr. Liesching, quoted, 'Manual North Central Province,' p. 43.

P. 21. *Character of the Sinhalese.* Cf. A. O. Brodie, J.C.B.R.A.S., III., p. 161: "The people of Nuwara Kalāwiya are the most gentle I have had the fortune to meet. . . . Serious assaults, robberies, murders, are all but unknown, and during three years I have not had to punish one native of the district for pilfering." Also Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' 1821, p. 289: "Amongst few people, I believe, are family attachments more strong and sincere: there is little to divert or weaken them; and they are strengthened equally by their mode of life and their religion." At the present day, it is mainly in the low-country, where European influence has been long felt, and the social culture of the raçe has been destroyed, that crime is prevalent.

P. 22. *The five servants.* We read in the Mahāvaṃsa (Ch. LVII.) that the heads of the five trades were chosen as messengers to carry a welcome from Kitti Śirimegha to his son Parākrama, afterwards Parākrama Bāhu I. (1164—1197 A.D.), an indication of the social importance of these master craftsmen at the time.

The 'five servants' are also referred to (Mahāvaṃsa Ch. LVII.), as granted to a certain ecclesiastic, together with workmen skilled in all manner of works, to minister unto him.

P. 27. *Gabaḍāgam.* Knox (pp. 43-44) thus describes the royal manors: "Many Towns are in the King's hand, the Inhabitants whereof are to Till and Manure a quantity of the Land according to their Ability, and lay up the Corn for the King's use. These Towns the King often bestows upon some of his Nobles for their Encouragement and Maintenance, with all the fruits and benefits that before came to the King from them. In each of these Towns there is a *Smith* to make and mend the Tools of them to whom the King hath granted them, and a *Potter* to fit them with Earthenware, and a *Washer* to wash their Cloaths, and other men to supply what there is need of. And each of these hath a piece of Land for this their Service, whether it be to the King or the Lord; but what they do for the

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other People they are paid for. Thus all that have any Place or Employment under the King, are paid without any Charge to the King."

P. 29. *Tavalam merchants.* Those travelling from Galle and Hambantoṭa to the Kandyan provinces carried salt, salt fish, cotton handkerchiefs and cloth; and brought back ivory, beeswax, cotton, pepper, coffee, ginger, cardamoms, honey, turmeric, deer horns, skins, ghee, and various vegetable drugs (Bennett, 'Ceylon and its Capabilities,' p. 293).

——*Husbandry.* "Every man is a cultivator or proprietor of land, and I do not suppose there is one Sinhalese villager who is to any extent dependent on a trade for a livelihood" (A. O. Brodie, J.C.B.R.A.S., III., 14).

P. 35. *Women.* For the story of a woman archer, see Lawrie, Gazetteer, p. 622.

P. 36. *Dedications by women.* Ambamalla Vihāra "was built at her own expense by a woman of the village" (Bell, Kęgalla Report, p. 67).

P. 38. *Perahęra.* The potters during the five days of the *ran-doli perahęra* took part in the procession, carrying earthen vessels with sprays of coconut flower (Service Tenures Commission Report, 1872, p. 465).

P. 39. *Kārti Maṅgalya.* "Which is celebrated only by lighting of Lamps round about the *Pagoda.* At which time they stick up the longest Poles they can get in the Woods, at the doors of the *Pagods* and of the King's Palace. Upon which they make contrivances to set Lamps in rows one above the other, even unto the very tops of the Poles" (Knox, p. 80).

P. 48. *Dedications.* Cf. gift to Doḍanvela Dēvāle, Lawrie's Gazetteer, p. 175.

P. 52. *Method of tying books.* For an early representation of a book apparently tied as here described see Arch. Onderzoek op Java en Madura, 1: Tjandi Djago, Pl. 3 (Çyāmatāra).

P. 53. *The King's letters.* "In those letters or dispatches which were sent by the King to the Dutch Government, the monarch seemed particularly anxious to display his magnificence in the richness and splendour with which they were executed. The writing was enclosed in leaves of beaten gold in the shape of a cocoa-tree leaf. This was rolled up in a cover richly ornamented, and almost hid in a profusion of pearls and precious stones. The whole was closed in a box of silver or ivory, which was sealed with the Emperor's great seal" (Percival, 'Account of Ceylon,' 1805, p. 206).

P. 54. *Caste.* For interesting mythical accounts of caste, see the Janavaṃsa, translation by H. Nevill, Taprobanian, Vol. I., 1886.

P. 55. *Koṭṭalbadde Nilame.* Knox tells a romantic story of a European who entered the King's service for love of a Sinhalese woman, and was made 'Courtalbad' (Koṭṭalbadde Nilame), 'which is chief over all the Smiths and Carpenters in *Cande Uda*" ('An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, p. 181).

P. 56. *Rewards of Craftsmen.* It is mentioned in the Dambulla *gal-sannasa* that Vimala Dharma Sūrya II., upon the occasion of fixing a bell on the rock in front of the Mahārāja Vihāra at Dambulla, rewarded the artificer, Mahena Galladdā, with an *amuṇam* of land and 200 fanams in money.

P. 59. *Names of artificers.* At Dēvanagala, the *gal-vaḍuvā* has recorded his name and village in a rock inscription (Bell, Kęgalla Report, p. 59).

P. 60. *Social position of craftsmen.* The following story affords some evidence on this point: the son of the deported king, Vijaya Bāhu (afterwards Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI., who reigned at Koṭṭe, 1415—1462 A.D.), in order that he might escape the messengers of Alakēśvaraya, was placed in the joint charge of the *gamarāla* of Polvatte near Ambuḷugala, and of a blacksmith. "At night," says the Rājāvaliya, "he would go to the house of the *gamarāla*, but in the daytime used to play with the child of the blacksmith. . . . In this manner the prince lived till he attained the age of sixteen."

——*The King's smiths.* The craftsmen here referred to are not the *paṭṭal hatara* men, but

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those who work for the tenants of royal villages (manors): "In each of these Towns there is a *Smith* to make and mend the Tools of them to whom the King hath granted them, and a *Potter* to fit them with Earthenware, and a *Washer* to wash their Cloaths, and other men to supply what there is need of. And each one of these hath a piece of land for this their Service" (Knox, p. 44).

P. 61. *Number of the craftsmen.* Out of 51 tenancies in the Nivitigala *nindagama*, three were those of blacksmiths, three of silversmiths, and four of potters. (Service Tenures Commission Report, 1872, p. 469).

Out of 117 villages in Nuvara Kalāviya, four only were smiths' villages, and five potters villages, the extent of these amounting to 80½ acres in a total of 790 acres (*loc. cit.* p. 457).

P. 63. *Former greatness and continuity of Indian art and craft.* "Too little effort has been spent in reconstructing the idea of that great splendour and activity which must have existed, in order to leave such wreckage as it has to a later age." These words of Okakura ('Ideals of the East, 2nd ed., p. 76), though written originally in a slightly different connection, hold good here also, for the surviving arts and crafts in India are indeed but the wreckage of a former magnificence.

It may be noted in passing that Okakura's reference to the cast iron pillar of Aśoka at Delhi is mistaken; the pillar referred to is of wrought iron, and belongs to the time of Chandragupta II.

P. 64. *No artificers ever change their Trade.* Cf. Dekker, 'Shoemaker's Holiday': "Had I a son or a daughter should marry out of the generation and blood of the shoemakers, he should pack."

Pp. 65, 95, and Fig. 33, 11. *Sīna mala.* Çīnāpaṭṭana is a name for Madras,—(Grierson, J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 358.)

P. 66. *Vain imagining.* Cf. Sukrācārya, Sukranītisara: "Some are of opinion that that which pleases the fancy is beautiful; but the measurements which do not agree with those given in the *sāstras*, cannot be pleasing to the wise."

P. 69. *Teaching of drawing in India.* It is stated by Mr. Thurston (Journal of Indian Art, Vol. X., p. 46) that the children of the Gudigars (sandal-wood carvers) "are early taught to draw their beautiful scrollwork and designs on a slate." It is of the utmost importance that these old methods of training in design should be investigated before it is too late. Indifference on the one hand, and 'art schools' on the other, are rapidly sweeping them out of existence. Supposing there to be recognized any excellence in Indian design, one would have thought the first steps taken for the preservation of Indian art would have been to study the methods of Indian designers; but so far from this, those methods have been completely ignored.

P. 70. *Nētra maṅgalya.* See also Bṛihat Saṃhita, II., Ch. XIII., "On the Fixing of the Images in Temples," and also Mānasāra, Ch. LVIII. (fide Rām Rāz, 'Essay on Hindu Architecture,' 1834, p. 5).

I am reminded by Mr. Parsons that the eyes of many images of Buddha at Anurādhapura were separate structures, the 'iris' of blue glass or enamel, the 'sclerotic' of quartz. There are examples of these artificial eyes in the Colombo Museum, where also the large Buddha in the grounds has eye cavities.

P. 74. *Nānamura maṅgalya.* The grossest of all these ceremonies appears to be that of 'shaving' the head of an image, as reflected in a mirror, described by Davy ('Travels in Ceylon,' 1821, p. 125).

——*Dorakaḍa asṇa.* See also Bell, Kēgalla Report, p. 132.

P. 75. For other accounts of *nētra maṅgalya* ceremonies held on various occasions see Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. C., vv. 192, 273.

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P. 79. *Hands betokening* (*not sternness but*) *mildness and beneficence. Varada hasta*: the hand hanging down with palm towards the worshipper, the fingers slightly bent up—as if granting the wishes of the devotee; *abhaya hasta*: the other hand raised, as if signifying, 'Do not fear.' This is the usual position of the hands, or of two of the hands in Indian sculptures representing the gods; it is an attitude of blessing. There is in Indian art, both sculpture and painting, as also in dancing, an elaborate symbolism of the hands and fingers.
P. 91. Fig. 28, E. *Human svastika.* Certain Celtic anthropomorphic designs closely resemble this form; see Romilly Allen, 'Celtic Art,' pp. 294-295.
——*Footnote.* See also 'Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. X., p. 47 (five-women horse) and Vol. XII., Pl. 112 (nine-women-elephant).
P. 113. *Rūpāvaliya*, v. 158, reads: "The forefinger is Yama, the third finger is Vishṇu, the fourth finger is Anaṅga, the fifth finger is the Sun." The position (*mudrā*) of the hands and fingers in Indian sculpture is always significant. For similar ideas in Christian art see Didron et Durand, 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chretienne,' Paris, 1845, quoted by R. Hendrie, 'Theophilus,' London, 1847, pp. 427, 428.
P. 116. *Practical charity.* The following entries in the list of charities hung up in Burford Church, in Gloucestershire, afford an interesting parallel:
"Two houses on ye East side of ye High Street were formerly given to repair ye Bridge and ye way leading to it."
"John Harris, alderman of Oxon, gave 100l to be lent to 10 Tradesmen gratis, who are to repay it by ye yearly payment of 20s He also gave 100l. for ye Apprenticing of Poor Boys."
P. 117. *Wayfarers.* "The things which the people carry as their rents and taxes, are Wine, Oyl, Corn, Honey, Wax, Cloth, Iron, Elephants Teeth, Tobacco, Money" (Knox, p. 48).
P. 119. *Plaster.* For other old recipes see Bṛihad Saṃhita, II., Ch, X. Bennett ('Ceylon and its Capabilities,' p. 338) states that the white stucco used in Ceylon and Southern India is a mixture of fine sand, shell lime, green coco-nut water and coarse sugar or jaggery; he states truly that 'when laid on by experienced plasterers, it displays the polish and appearance of marble.' The material now used, often a mere whitewash, is generally mixed with a greater or less proportion of Reckitt's blue, entirely destroying the value of milky whiteness.
——*Pansala.* Mr. Lewis gives the following account of the small but typical pansala at Huduhumpola near Kandy (Cave, 'Book of Ceylon,' p. 369):
"The Huduhumpola *pansala* is built in the shape of a quadrangle opening into a spacious verandah which occupies the whole of this side of the building. The roof is supported by wooden pillars of the style already described. The usual small verandah surrounds the other three sides of the quadrangle. Opening into it are the doors of the monks' cells, each of the usual Kandyan pattern, which is that of the main door also, only on a smaller scale, each door about eighteen inches wide. Each cell has its own kitchen attached, and there is also a larger kitchen for general use. There is a window of coupled lights with carved tops in the room facing the main entrance. The whole of the centre of the quadrangle is occupied by a preaching hall supported on carved wooden pillars more slender than those in the vestibule."
P. 120. *Mayāmataya.* For some account of the original work see Rām Rāz, 'Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus,' 1834, p. 6.
P. 121. *Supported by a single column.* The Mahāvaṃsa (Ch. LXXIII.) mentions a palace supported on a single column, built for Parākrama Bāhu I.
P. 123. *Often a face is drawn amidst the branches.* As in Fig. 151, here reproduced from Degaldoruva, showing the cannibal king seated beneath the tree, with a thorn in his foot.
——*Human sacrifice* is illustrated in the accompanying Figure from Degaldoruva.

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The survival of the memory of human sacrifice in Buddhist stories, is evidence of their pre-Buddhist origin and great antiquity.

Fig. 151. From Sutasoma Jātaka at Degaldoruva.

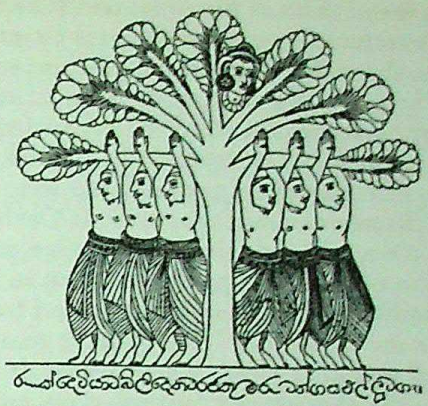

Fig. 152. Human offerings to a tree dēvi, Sutasoma Jātaka, Degaldoruva.

P. 124. *Ceremonial purity associated with the gods.* According to Davy (pp. 148, 149) the Diva Nilame had on certain occasions to present offerings to the image of Buddha. On these occasions he had to bathe, put on a clean cloth, and abstain from meat for at least twenty-four hours, "not from the idea that these observances would be grateful to Boodhoo, but from the persuasion that the gods, in whose keeping the temple is supposed to be, are particularly attentive to bodily purity, and resent its neglect."

P. 125. *Erection of the Magul Kapa.* Compare Bṛihad Saṃhita, I., Ch. XLIII., erection of the Indra Dvaja. With the Māyāmataya generally, compare also Bṛihad Saṃhita, II., Chs. VI., 'House Building,' VII., 'Underground water currents,' VIII., 'On gardens,' and XII., 'The Entry into the Forest' (to cut wood for images). Other parts of the Bṛihad Saṃhita (II., Chs. II., III., XI.) correspond rather to parts of Sāriputra, Rūpāvaliya, and Vaijayantaya.

P. 126. *Vāsu Dēvī.* I.e. Vāstu Dēvī, the Genius Loci (here regarded as feminine); not Vāsu Dēva=Kṛishṇa.

P. 136. *Wooden bridges.* For other references see Pūjāvaliya, translation, p. 49. A bridge at Ambagamuhoya had houses built upon it and 'was firm enough for elephants . . . to walk over.' The largest mentioned was of 500 cubits length, at Kehelsānāva, near Bentoṭa.

P. 140. *Kuruniya.* 'In fashion it is an handsom turned measure, some of them are made with Canes like a Basket' (Knox).

P. 142. *Vaḍu riyana.* According to Knox, this is 'as much as will reach from one Elbow to the other, the Thumbs touching one another at the tops, and so stretching out both Elbows.'

P. 147. *Gem-cutting.* Remains from the Piprahwa Stupa in India show that as long ago as 450 B.C., or at least in the third century B.C., Indian lapidaries were familiar with the use of the lathe, and very skilful in shaping, polishing and piercing stones of extreme hardness.

P. 162. *Zenith of Indian art.* Mr. E. B. Havell would regard the seventh or eighth centuries A.D. as probably the period of greatest achievement in Indian art. This would tend to throw forward by some time the suggested date of writing down of the Śilpa Śāstras.

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P. 164. *Colours.* Clough gives: *pas-pẹheya*=the five primitive colours, white, black, blue or green, yellow and red.

P. 164. *Archæological value of old paintings.* This is well illustrated by Général L. de Beylié's use of those at Aluvihāra and Dambulla in his investigation of ancient architecture (L'Architecture Hindoue en Extreme Orient,' Paris, 1907, pp. 373-378). While, however, it is true that early forms of architecture are preserved in these traditional paintings, it is decidedly misleading to describe them as 'of the first century before Christ'; it is only true that they 'sont biens la répétition des anciennes fresques.'

P. 178. *Ajanṭā* and *Sīgiriya.* Mr. Vincent Smith (Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, II., 121) suggests that the Ajanṭā painters were Persians. But he seems to have been unaware of the existence of similar paintings in Ceylon.

P. 186. *Dice.* Clough gives '*pāśaka*, dice, particularly the long sort used in playing *chaupai.*' The game of *chaupai* (=*pacisi*) has been so long forgotten, that though I have seen many game-cloths and dice of Sinhalese make, I have not found any Sinhalese acquainted with the game, or the name of it The game is commonly played by Tamils; indeed, all the chief games of this kind, *olinda keliya*, *nerinci* (a form of 'noughts and crosses' or 'nine men's morris'), the cheetah and fourteen dogs, etc., are essentially Indian games, and not of local origin.

——*Ivory.* In 1908 the Colombo Museum also acquired a 'ceremonial ivory shuttle,' ornamented with lac, and said to have been granted as a *sannasa* or Royal Warrant to a family of weavers. A warrant so given as a token, is properly called *kẹṭa sakshiya* (or *sakkiya*); the word *sannasa* implies writing.

There is also in my own collection a lac-ornamented ivory spindle. Another object is an ivory toy, consisting of a disc very deeply furrowed round the edge; such toys are said to have been played with on a piece of string by the Kandyan ladies. I have also a similar toy in copper and silver.

At the Pērādẹniya Exhibition in 1906 there was exhibited a beautiful 'model' of the Daḷadā Māligāva, made in ivory, with a brazen roof. The 'model' represented a typical structural vihāra, and not the Māligāva in any detail. It is said to have been presented to Vẹva Indasara Terunnānse, incumbent of the Hittettia Vihāra at Mātara by Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha in 1755 A.D. as a reward for a versified panegyric on the king's rule.

P. 194. *Knives of steel.* Probably in most cases only the edge of a cutting instrument was of steel, the remainder of iron. This is implied in a well-known Sinhalese proverb: 'Like the rustic who got his knife by imposing on the blacksmith'—referring to a countryman who went to a blacksmith to get a knife made, and gave him only the iron for it, keeping back the steel, thinking by that means to cheat the smith, but actually cheating only himself.

Other proverbs connected with smithing, etc., are:

'To get the hand burnt in spite of possessing pincers.'

'The dog that has been brought up in a blacksmith's shop is not afraid even of thunder.'

'Like the silversmith's father beating his son for undertaking an urgent work.'

Subjection to petticoat government is as bad as standing behind an adze.'

'The iron style of a man who is too lazy to write is heavier than the staff of King Gaja Bāhu' (a great iron rod).

'The adze which straightens timber is itself not straight.'

P. 231. *Pottery proverbs.* Another well-known proverb, taken from a Buddhist *sūtra*, is: 'As all earthen vessels made by the potter break at last, so is the life of man.'

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GLOSSARY AND INDEX.

NOTE. Words in italics are usually Sinhalese or Latin unless otherwise stated. Place and personal names are printed in Roman type. The following abbreviations are used: s.=singular; pl.=plural; S.=Sanskrit; P.=Pali; T.=Tamil; H.=Hindustani; G.=German; Po.=Portuguese; *v.*=*vide*; *n.*=note; Sab.=Sabaragamuva Province; C.P.=Central Province; *ib.*=*ibidem*; *q.v.*=*quem vide*; abt.=about; nr.=near; *seq.*=and following pages. All Sinhalese words are indexed in the singular; the plural is given also in many cases, especially where the following rules do not suffice: words ending in *a*, *ya*, *va* form the plural by dropping these terminations, as *gama*, *gam*; *kaḍaya*, *kaḍa*; *kaṭuva*, *kaṭu*; words ending in *ā* form their plural in *ō*.

A.

Ābharaṇaya, insignia of a deviyo, 120: jewellery.

Ābharaṇa heppuva, a lacquered turned box for insignia, regalia or other jewellery, 139, 200, 217; Pl. XIII., 3.

Ābharaṇa paṭṭala, 'Jewellery Workshop,' a division of the royal craftsmen, 56.

Ābharaṇa peṭṭiya,=*ābharaṇa heppuva*, q.v.

Abhayagiriya Dagaba, remains of painting at, 178.

Abhidhamma, a Buddhist work, 172.

Aboriginal inhabitants, 1.

Acanthus, in Gk. art derived from lotus, 260.

Ācariyā, *ācāriyā*, an expert: a craftsman, the caste so-called, 21, 168, 215: particularly a blacksmith, 25, 54.

Accuva, a pattern, stencil, 166: a pottery stamp, 226.

Ācarilla Dityaya, a painter, 73.

Adam's Peak, 117: see Samaṇala.

Ādāra-koṇḍu, plain lines in lac-work, 217; Pl. XXVII.

Adhama, small (images), 154.

Adhyōga, a kind of dwelling allowed to priests, 262.

Adigār, (*adikārama*), vizier: present at dedication of a temple by the king, 14: duties, 19, 20, 144: hats, 33: in Kandy *perahera*, 38: attendant on king, Pl. XXII.

Aḍiya, foot, a unit of measurement, 142.

Aḍukku (pl.), cooked provisions due to landlord, 24: *-kat*, yoke loads of such provisions borne by other tenants, 26.

Adyār, Theosophical Society's library, 69.

Affrontment (*Wappenstil*, G.), design motif of two animals facing, with a tree or other object between them, 90, 97, 110; Fig. 66; Pls. VII., 9, XXIII., 2, XXIX., 7, XXXIX., 2.

Agni, Regent of the S.E. quarter, 72.

Agriculture, 24, 26-29: implements, 32, 140: songs, 31.

Agula, bolt, 133, 134; Figs. 80-82; Pl. XI., 2.

Agul-kaṇuva, bolt-post, 133, 134; Fig. 80; Pl. IX., 9.

Ahu (*Morinda tinctoria*), wood affording a yellow dye, 245.

Ajanṭā, paintings in the caves of (2nd—7th centuries A.D.), representation of *kinnara*, 81: naturalism, 95: compared with paintings at Sīgiriya, 178, 179, 268.

Ajapāla, tree beneath which the Buddha sat during the fifth week of the *sat-satiya*, q.v., Pl. XVIII.

Akatti karukku (T.), an elementary form used by Tamil craftsmen for teaching drawing, 69; Fig. 10.

Akbar the Great, founder of the Mughal Empire (1556-1605), a connoisseur, 206.

Akuramboḍa, a village, 75.

Alabaster images from Burma, 150.

Ālakamandā, palace of the ruler of the mythical city of Ālaka, 8.

Alakēśvaraya, 264.

Alatte women, women of a *gīkiyana paṅguva*, dancers, 220.

Ālavaka, a demon converted by Buddha, 5.

Ālavaka damanaya, a work relating the circumstances of Ālavaka's conversion, 123.

Alavatugoḍa, a village in the C.P., 180, 194.

Alexander the Great and the flower maidens, 94.

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Alfred the Great, 8.
Algama gold *sannasa*, 206: ivory casket for, 186.
Al-gē, weaving shed, loom, 234.
Al-gē-rājakāriya, service tenants' work at the loom, 232.
Aliya, female elephant, as a gift, 213.
Al-kaṇuvē leḷla, horizontal bar supporting the warp, 235.
Alla, palm of the hand, potter's mallet, 230.
Alloys, see bronze, *pas-lō*, etc.
Almirah (Po.), a cupboard: a hinge from one, 113.
Alms bowl, earthen, 222: Buddha's, a relic, 175.
Alpa (images), very small, 154.
Alphabet, 49, 230.
Alpiḷa, low platform whereon loom is erected, 234.
Altars, 137; Pl. VIIA, above,
Alternate repetition, motif in design, 109.
Alum, ingredient of a paste, 181: of a dye, 246: used in colouring iron, 200.
Alutnuvara Dēvāle, nr. Balaṅgoḍa, vihāra attached to, 118, 120; Pl. VII., 7: steel furnace and manufacture nr., 192; Fig. 100.
Alutnuvara Dēvāle, Kēgalla Dist., 146.
Alut-sal, *a.* (*maṅgalyaya*), 'New Rice,' harvest home, first fruits, festival, 37, 40: earthenware for, 219, 220; *gahōniya* used, 233.
Alut Vihāra, v. Asgiriya.
Aḷuva, loom, heddles, 234: *-kampaha*, *karala* (sleay); *-vẹla* (heddles),—parts of loom, 234.
Alvala, hole for weaver's feet, 234.
Alvala redda, cloth fresh from the loom, 235.
d'Alviella, Count Goblet, 85.
Amarakosha, Sanskrit dictionary, 51.
Amara Siṃha, v. *amarakosha*.
Amarāvati sculptures, 257.
Ambalama, pl. *ambalam*, resthouse for wayfarers and strangers, 37, 116, 117: built as works of charity, 13: *gam-sabhāva* held in or near, 30: at Maṅgalagama, Fig. 76; Pl. VII., 3: represented in jātaka painting at Degaldoruva, 168: at Kēgalla, Ruvanvela, and Ratnapura, 136.
Ambalaṅgoḍa, on W. coast of Ceylon, pattern of plaited bag, Fig. 144.
Aṃbaraṇa yatura, ratchet lock, 196: key-plate of, Fig. 106.
Aṃbepussa, a village, 180.
Ambulugala, a village in the Kēgalla Dist., Sab., 145.
Ambuluva, a village in the C.P., site of a guard-house, 120.
Aṃkeliya, game of 'horn pulling,' 6, 37.
Amphoræ, earthen jars with two handles, ? indigenous, 228.
Ampiṭiya, a village nr. Kandy, 117.
Amu karala, an ear of *amu*, corn, 241.
Amulets, 210.
Amuṇa, pl. *amuṇu*, a measure of paddy, about five or six bushels, 75: as much ground as this will sow, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 194.
Amuṇugama, a hamlet of Degaldoruva, C.P., 77.
Ānanda, favourite disciple of Buddha, images of, 148, 173.
Anaṅga, the Bodiless One, Hindu God of Love, 91.
Ananta, a mythical Nāga (cobra) king, 88.
Aṇde, half-share (cultivation), 27.
Aṇdina-kaṇda, thread-beam of a mat-weaver's loom, 243: *-lanuva*, cord for turning a lathe, 187.
F. H. Andrews, on ivories, (91), 184.
Ānamēstra-gē, *ānamēstraya*, booth for lights during temple festivals, 76.
Aṇdun-vala, the part beneath the eye darkened with antimony, unguent-spot, 155.
Aṇgala, pl. *aṇgal*, lit. finger; inch, unit, in craftsman measure, $1\frac{7}{24}$ English inch, 113, 142, 152 seq., 208.
Aṅgalmaḍuva, nr. Tangalla on the S. coast of Ceylon, lac-work of, 215, 217.
Animism, 46; v. also folk-lore.
Anklet, of Pattini, 6.
Aṅkumbura, a village in the C.P., 180.
Aṅkusa, elephant driver's goad (said to be fashioned after the claw of the *ẹt-kandalihiṇiya*, q.v.), 195; Pl. I.: *v.* also *heṇḍuva*.
Anna paḍçi (T.), sacred goose, *haṃsayā*, 86; Fig. 21.

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Annasāmi Stapati Rayar, a Tanjore craftsman, 69.
Anurādhapura, early history, 3-9: pilgrimages, 20: decorative art, 95, 98, 101, 106, 110: architecture, 114, 144-6, 184: statues plastered, 149, 259; outdoor paintings, 178: cotton traded to, 235: Fig. 38.
Anuruddha śataka, a Buddhist work, 51.
Aparagōyānaya, mythical continent W. of Mt. Meru, 94.
Appala, *appala poḍi*, earthen dish, 220.
Appliqué, *v.* embroidery.
Apprenticeship, 63 seq.
Apsarā, a heavenly nymph, 82.
Arab trade, 29.
Āracci, a village headman, 20.
Āracci Paṇḍitayalāgē, name of a potter, 219.
Araḷu (*Terminalia chebula*), myrobalan, ingredient of plaster, 118, 119: of black dye, 244: *-mālaya*, 'araḷu-seed garland,' 211.
Arch (*toraṇa*, *q.v.*), constructional, at Galmaḍuva, 146.
Archæology and art, 257.
Architecture, Chs. V., VI., VII.; Pls. VII., VIIA, VIII., IX.: bird-shaped houses, 9, 262: bridges, 136: ceilings and roofs, 118: ceremonies, 79, 120 *seq.*: dāgabas, 118: dēvāles, 120: domestic, 114; Fig. 70: military, 120: modern official, 17, 255: palace, 115, 116: rest-house, 116; typically wooden, resembling Nepalese, etc., rather than Dravidian, 114, 129: verandah, 117, 118, 131; Figs. 71, 72: vihāras, 117.
Arecanut slicers, 195, 203; Pl. XLVI., 1-9.
Arhat, an adept, a Buddhist ascetic who has attained self-conquest: painted representations, 169, 173.
Arimbuva, a border motif, circles between lines, 107, 109, 185; Fig. 63, IV.; Pl. XXXV., 5, 6, etc.
Arishṭa śataka, *v. Yoga śataka*.
Armoury, royal, 207: *v.* also *rankaḍu paṭṭala*, *āvudha-gē*.
Arrow, borne by king as an emblem of State, Pl. XXII.: -heads, 25, made for *veddas*, 57: -makers, *ī-vaḍuvō*, lac-workers, *q.v.*
Art, distinguished from science, 170.
Artificers (craftsmen other than potters and weavers), duties of, 25: general account, Ch. III.: see also craftsmen.
Ārunāchalam, The Hon. P., 9, 10.
Ārya Cakravarti, Tamil invader, 6.
Āryan origin of Sinhalese, 1, 2: civilisation and caste system, 21.
Āsaṇaya, throne, seat, pedestal, 146; Fig. 95.
Āsaṇa-kaḍaya, pediment of a pillar, usually with horizontal incisions, 129, 133; Fig. 74.
Asceticism, 40, 47: dress, Pl. I.
Asela, 225 B.C., 3.
Asgiriya, 6, 17, 119, 133: dedication of Alut Vihāra, 13, 14: cost of do., 56: *pansala* door, Fig. 80; Pl. IX., 9: chair in *pohoyagē*, 137, 140: crystal *karaṇḍuva*, 147: image, 149: key-plates, Fig. 107.
Ashṭaka, a verse of eight lines, 39, 74.
Ashṭa-nāri-ratha, '8-women-chariot,' 67, 91.
Aśoka, Emperor of N. India, B.C. 272-231, 2, 18, 177, 178.
Assyrian influence and survivals in art, 96, 102, 251; Fig. 150, A, D, etc.
Asterisms, lunar, *v. nękata*.
Asthana, brother of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha, patron of work at Degaldoruva, 77.
Asura, demon, foe of the gods, 94, 172: stature, 113, 161: Rāhu, 159: *-rākshasas*, stature, 113.
Aśvayā, horse, 90.
Ata, hand.
Aṭa, eight.
Aṭabāge, a village in the C.P., 90.
Aṭamagala diagram, lit. 8 auspicious objects, 4, 70, 72, 90, 125. It is a magic diagram drawn on the ground on various occasions, generally indicated in a mnemonic verse:
Devādi sarva-karmmeshu, etat maṅgala lakshaṇam,
Garbhādiñca vivāhañca, tad vidiñca vidhyate.
'In all doings connected with the gods, 'tis an auspicious thing, likewise in pregnancy and marriage 'tis enjoined.'
A mnemonic verse details the objects represented:

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Mṛidaṅga bheri vṛishabañca nāgam,
Tatvālakam vījanī keśarīca,
Makaram patākañca pradīpacāshṭakam,
Konāshṭakam sarva surāshṭa maṅgalam.

'A drum, a bull, a cobra, a fan, a lion, a makara, a man-flag, and a lamp are the eight auspicious emblems.'

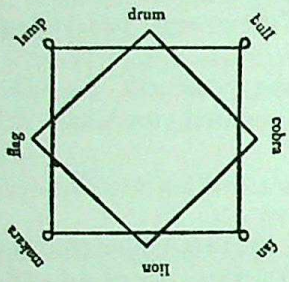

Fig. 153. *Aṭamagala* diagram.

Aṭa-mulu-toppiya, 8-cornered hat, 32; Fig. 1.
Atapattu kārayō, craftsman tenants of *atapattu* rank, 55.
Atapattu maḍuva, guard house, 24.
Atapattu vasama, tenants of the first rank, guards, messengers, 24, 54.
Aṭa-peti-mala, '8-petal-flower,' design motif, on woven cloths, 234; Pl. XXVIII., 5: on grass mats, Fig. 143, IX.
Aṭa-pota-lanuva, '8-ply-plait,' a design motif, on woven cloths, 235.
Aṭa-vęl-aḷuva, a kind of loom, 233.
Aṭa-sil, eight precepts, 43, 45, 78.
At-kiyata, *at-koluva*, *at-torapanaya*, *at-vęya*, carpenters' tools, 142.
At-pandama, hand cresset, 204; Fig. 127; Pl. XLV., 2, 3, 5.
Attanagala, nr. Veyaṅgoḍa, W.P., 262.
Attaragama, a village in the C.P., 180.
Aṭṭhakathā, lost early Sinhalese chronicles, 7.
Aṭu-haṅgiḍiya, an overseer, 55.
Atul-pata, tray or dish of plaited grass, 32: patterns of, Fig. 143.
Aṭuva, granary, 32, 115, 116.
Audience Hall, Kandy, 13, 77, 115, 131.
Avata, ceremonial or processional fan, *v. sēsata.*
Avatār, an incarnation; Buddha one of the ten avatārs of Vishṇu, 112, 163.

Āvudha-gē, armoury, 180.
Avurudu (*maṅgalyaya*), New Year festival, 37.

B.

Baḍahęla-badda, Potters' Department, 54, 55, 218.
Baḍahęla paṅguva, a potters' holding, 25, 219.
Back-bone stitch, *v.* embroidery.
Baḍal paṅguva, a smith's holding, 25, 76.
Baḍahęlayā, potter, 22, 25, 54, 218.
Badulla, town in Ūva P., inscribed tusks in Vihāra, 183: carving from Dēvāle, Fig. 89.
Badulla (*gaha*), (*Semecarpus Gardneri*), 181.
Baḍālā, pl. *baḍallu*, gold- or silver-smith, 25, 54, 55.
Badāma, composition, varnish, paste, 181.
Baḍa-vęḍilla, land given as means of support to a craftsman, 58, 59.
Badde Vidānayalāgē, name of a potter, 219.
Bags, *v.* betel bags.
Bāhu sūtra, shoulder plumb line, 156; Fig. 95.
Baker, Sir S., 190.
Bāla kapu, annual cotton, 235.
Balana, village in Kęgalla Dist., Sab., 213.
Balaṅgoḍa, Sab., iron smelting, etc., 190 seq., 218: pottery, Fig. 139: lac-work, 215.
Bali ceremonies, stellar or planetary worship, 25-27, 46, 52, 148, 176, 177, 252, 260; Pl. IV.
Balibat garā-yakun nęṭīma, 39.
Bambaragammana, village in the C.P., 180.
Bamboo, 5, 34, 235.
Bamuṇa, a Brahman, caste, 21.
Bamaṇugama Dēvāle, Kęgalla Dist., Sab., 134.
Baṇa, doctrine, sermons of the Buddha, 45: *-daham pota*, book of such scriptures, 164, 179; Fig. 3; Pls. XX., LII.
Baṇa maḍuva, preaching hall, 118, 119, 137.
Bandha, a knop, knot; motif in design, 109.
Bandhuka, (?), 113.
Baṅkuva (Port.), 3-legged stool, 137, 138.

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Bā-pata, part of door-frame, 133.
Barāhat (Bharhut), monument of Aśokan age in N. India, sculptures of, 101, 106, 110: *kinnaras*, 81, 82: lotus rosettes, cobra heads, 96: style like Kandyan paintings, 170, 178: connection with Sinhalese art, 177, 251, 252: Greek influence, 257, 258, 259, 261: details from, Figs. 18, 146, 148, 149.
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Basnāyaka Nilame, principal lay officer of a dēvāle, 19, 45.
Baṭa-kola-toppiya, large hat of bamboo leaves, 34.
Batgamvala Muhandiram vasama, a Department of Public Works, (low caste), 54.
Batticaloa, on the E. coast of Ceylon, Tamil weavers, 103: cotton yarn obtained from, 236.
Bat-valaṇda, an earthen vessel for eating rice, 221.
Bauddha śataka, a Buddhist scripture, 51.
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Beravāyā, drummer, caste so-called; musicians, astrologers and weavers, 22, 25, 46, 54, 127, 148, 187, 232.
Beraya, drum, 'tom-tom,' 26.
Beṛeṇḍi Kōvil, remains of Hindu temple nr. Sītāvaka, 114, 144, 145: any temple so-called, 127.
Betel, (*bulat veḷa*, *Piper betle*, L.), commonly chewed, 33: -bags, *v. bulat-payiya*, *-malla*: -dishes, *v. bulat taṭuva*.
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Bodhisatva, *Bodisat*, Buddha elect, future Buddha, 42.

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Bō-gaha, *bō*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*): each of the Buddhas that have appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind attained enlightenment beneath a particular tree, afterwards held sacred to them. This crowning point in the life of Gotama Buddha was reached as he sat beneath a *Ficus religiosa*, hence called the *bōdhi*-tree, or tree of wisdom. Of that victory, the *bō*-tree stands as a perpetual symbol in Buddhist art. At Anurādhapura, 2: jewelled, 5: in Kandy, 11: significance in Buddhism, 42, 98, 119: flower offerings, 137.

Bō-heṭṭaya, long-sleeved tunic worn by kings, 32; Fig. 62; Pls. XXII., XXXVI., 1.

Bō-kola, *bō-pata*, *bō*-leaf, leaf of *bō*-tree, Fig. 48; 101, 102, 106: triangle derived, 106: on wooden pillars, 129: antiquity of motif, 252: other references, 129, 217, 222, 230, 234, 235, 239, 253. Examples of use, Figs. 49, 105, 114, 136, 138, 139; Pls. XXVIII., 1 (9), 2, XXIX., 6, 8, XLVIII., 7.

Bō-maḷuva, *bōdhi-m.*, platform or garth surrounding a *bō*-tree, 76, 119, 147: in Kandy, 12, 146.

Bō-paṭiya, belt with *bō*-leaf lappets, design for, Pl. XX., 3.

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Bōgomuva, a village in the C.P., 180.

Bōkkālaya, a bossed handle-rose.

Bol-peṉ, water for temple use, 25.

Bolts, wooden, 134; Figs. 80-83; Pl. XI., 2: metal, 115, 196, 198; Figs. 108, 109; Pl. XLIIIA., 7.

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Daraṇaya=*daṅgaya*, *q.v.*
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Dēvāla-perahĕra, the second five days of the *p.* in Kandy, 38.
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L.

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M.

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Mala, pl. *mal*, flower, pattern.
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Mal-petta, pl. *-peti*, 'flower-petal,' 'corolla,' name of a pattern on woven cloths and mats, 234, 237; Fig. 143; Pl. XXVIII.
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P.

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Pārsva sūtra, side plumb-line, 152, 156, 159.
Pas-lō, alloy of five metals, 205.
Pata, leaf, 100: wing: leaf of a book: *v.* also *pota*, *liya-pata*: *pat-iruva*, wedge: leaf of a book, 52: *-kapāpu*, 'leaf cut,' kind of *diya kacciya*, 233: *-kaṭṭuva* (Clough), gathering of eight or sixteen leaves of a book, 52.
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Paṭabaṇḍināvā, p.p. *paṭabeṇḍi*, to confer a title or office by binding a metal plate on the forehead, 60, 209.
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Percival, Robert, 264.
Perę̄s valalla, hollow ivory ring with relics, slipped over *bōralaya* or *mal-gaha* on *toppiya*: *perę̄s muḍuva*, kind of finger-ring.
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Pin-taliyā, earthen vessel for offerings of rice, etc., 221.
Pipicca mala, a flower fully opened, 94.
Pīra, file, 142.
Pirit, a special Buddhist service, 39, 45, 75: *v.* also Wickremasinghe, Sin. MSS. in Brit. Mus., p. 40.
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Q.

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R.

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Ratne endra kārayā, jeweller, 54.
Ratram pāṭa, gold colour, 164.
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Uttara-pata, a wooden rod, part of a mat-weaver's loom, 243.
Uturukurudiviyina, the continent north of Mount Meru, 94.
Ūva Patanas, a part of the Ūva Province, 117.
Ūva, rebellion in, 14.

V.

Vaḍana talatta, talipot leaf umbrella, richly ornamented, formerly restricted to royal and religious use, afterwards used by chiefs and others on public occasions,

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Vadi, composition for priming panels for drawing, 64.
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Valuvaḍuva, hank of *niyaṇda* fibre, 246.
Val vidunāva, chāmara, fly-whisk, 33.
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Veda, measure, four *aṇgal*, 152.
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Viśvajna, a son of Viśvakarma, 63.
Viśvakarma, God of Arts and Crafts, 63, 78, 79; Pl. XXI.
Viśvakarma Kulābhimāna Sabhā, Madras, 63, 69.
Vitti-vaṭṭoruva, statement of claim, 57.
Viyana, *viyan-redda*, awning, 26, 120, 238.
Viyata, span measure, 142, 153.
Vredenburg, A. S., 190.
Vṛittimālakhyava, *Vṛittimālava*, *Vyasakāra*, Sanskrit works studied in pansala schools, 51.

W.

Walls, construction of, 117: preparation for painting, 166.
Wappen Stil (G.), 90, 110; Fig. 68.
Washerman (*radava*), duties, etc., 26, 237, 238.
Water, representation in art, 88: -clock, (*pē-tēṭiya*), 205.
Watt, Sir G., 183, 184, 186, 216.
Weaving, weavers, 26, 54, 232-236; Pls. VI., 1-3, XXVIII., 1, XXIX.

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Wellenranke (G.), 'branch,' *q.v.*
Well-rings, 225.
Westminster Abbey, 17.
White ants, 116, 118, 128, 221.
Wickremasinghe, Don M. de Zilva, 53, 57, 117, 263.
Wilson, T., 85.
Windows, 115, 134; Pl. IX., 2, 3.
Women, dress and manners, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 117; Pls. II., XXXVI., 2, 4.
Wood, woodwork, 129-143; Figs. 73-93; Pls. VI., 5, IX.—XIII., XLI., 4, XLVII., 1, 3, 4:—other references, book-covers, 94, and see 'Architecture.'
Writing, teaching, 49, 50: -style, 195, 207, 208; Fig. 129.

Y.

Yakā, yakkha, yaksha, a devil, demon, 2, 113, 126: *yak* ceremonies, devil worship, 25, 26, 27, 46, 148, 260.
Yakaḍa, iron, *q.v.*: *y. kalu karaṇavā*, or *pāṭa gānavā*, to colour iron, 200.
Yakdessā, one who conducts *yak* ceremonies, 46.
Yakiṇi, Yakkhiṇi, female *yakā*, 2, 125.
Yali (T.), a mythical monster, 83, 184.
Yama, Hindu God, Regent of the South, 72.
Yamanna, iron smelter, caste, 22, 27, 190, 192.
Yāpahuva, a mediæval capital, 9, 144; *Y. Vistaraya*, history of Y., 144.
Yasōdharāvata, Story of Buddha's wife, sung by women spinning, 235.
Yaṭinuvara, part of the C.P., 180.
Yaṭiporuva, wooden panel, drawing board, 64, 65, 67.
Yaṭivavala Vihāra, 30.
Yattinan gal lęlla, part of sleay, 234.
Yatu-kęṭaya, plane, 142.
Yatura, lock: *-hiramaṇaya*, 140; Fig. 88: *-mudda*, key (Lewis): *-kotalaya*, secret jug, 222.
Yava, 'barleycorn,' ⅛ *aṇgala*, 112, 152.
Yogāsana, contemplative position, 156, 158.
Yoga Śataka, a medical work, 51.
Yōjana, measure of distance, about fifteen miles, 174, 175.

Z.

Zodiac, signs of the, 84, 230.

ADDENDA TO INDEX.

Mahā Vishṇu Dēvāle, *v.* Vishṇu Dēvāle, Kandy.

In all cases of doubt, the transliterations and diacritical marks given in the index are to be preferred. The entries under *aṭamagala, idealism*, contain information additional to the text.

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ERRATA AND ADDITIONAL ADDENDA

Page	*Line*				
vii	17	Read for:	aud	:	and
3	11	Insert:	At the head of his bed, a bell with a long rope was suspended, in order that it might be rung by those who sought redress.		
5	37	Insert:	† for footnote at end of line		
5	49	Insert:	†Cf. Jātaka, II. 72, footnote.		
7	9	See also p. 262			
7	39, 40	Read for:	It covers the period 543–301 B.C.	:	Its first part covers the period 543 B.C.–301 A.D.
9	28	See also p. 262			
9	31	See also p. 262			
10	31	See also p. 263			
12	27	See also p. 263			
12	fn. †	Read for:	*P. B. Pieris,*	:	*P. E. Pieris,*
12	fn. ‡	Read for:	*'Mahāvamsa, Chaps. XIX., C.,*	:	*'Mahāvaṃsa, Chaps. XCIX., C.,*
13	20	Read for:	1796–1813	:	1798–1815
13	fn. *	See also p. 263			
20	37	See also p. 263			
20	47	Read for:	house,	:	house.
21	10	See also p. 263			
22	fn. *	See also p. 263			
24	15	Read for:	*āvuda*	:	*āvudha*
24	18	Read for:	*vallava*	:	*vallavva*
25	18	Read for:	(*Lōkuruvō*)	:	(*Lōkaruvō*)
25	23	Read for:	*Lōkuruvā*	:	*Lōkaruvā*
25	27	Read for:	*ratē*	:	*ratha*
25	38	Read for:	earthern	:	earthen
27	12	See also pp. 263–64			
29	3	See also p. 264			
29	38	See also p. 264			
29	41	Delete final quote and insert:	But all sorts of money is here very scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging commodities."		
32	12	Read for:	earthern	:	earthen
32	17	Read for:	Earthern	:	Earthen
32	48	Insert:	"When the king appeared on state occasions, he was dressed either in the most magnificent robes, loaded with a profusion of jewellery, or in complete armour of gold, or ornamented with rubies, emeralds and diamonds!"—Davy. See also p. 209.		
33	6	Insert:	After 1821: (Pl. XXII)		
33	9	Read for:	Spilbergen's	:	Spilberghen's
33	22	Read for:	āvuda	:	āvudha
34	31	Insert:	(Cf. Davy, p. 114; see also Pl. IV.)		
35	39	See also p. 264			

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Page	*Line*				
36	18	See also p. 264			
38	2	See also p. 264			
38	fn. *	Read for:	*IV.*	:	*V.*
39	33	Read for:	*aṣṭaka*	:	*ashṭaka*
39	38	See also p. 264			
39	39	Read for:	earthern	:	earthen
40	6	Read for:	earthern	:	earthen
40	9	Read for:	*gahoni*	:	*gahōni*
40	35	Read for:	ascetism	:	asceticism
42	33	Read for:	*bodhisatva*	:	*Bōdhisattva*
42	36	Read for:	*Nāta deviyō*	:	*Nātha Deviyō*
43	25	Read for:	truth, revealed	:	truth revealed,
43	26	Delete:	and quoted above		
44	16	Read for:	opporunity	:	opportunity
45	24	Read for:	vedarāla	:	vedarālas
46	3	Read for:	*Nāta deviyō*	:	*Nātha Deviyō*
46	5	Read for:	*deviyō*	:	*Deviyō*
46	45	Insert:	(Cf. Lawrie, 855; also note Petition against Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance.)		
48	31	See also p. 264			
48	44	Insert:	(S.C. Vasu, *A Catechism of Hinduism*, Q. 162.)		
52	22	See also p. 264			
52	29	Read for:	*sūtraṇi*	:	*sūtrāṇi*
52	38	Read for:	wlth	:	with
53	4	See also p. 264			
54	1	See also p. 264			
54	5	Read for:	*galvaḍuvo*	:	*gal-vaḍuvō*
54	6	Read for:	*lokuruvō*	:	*lōkaruvō*
54	9	Read for:	*navandanno*	:	*navandannō*
54	9	Read for:	*lokaruvō*	:	*lōkaruvō*
55	3	See also p. 264			
55	3	Read for:	Disāvaniya	:	Disāvanaya
55	30	Read for:	Disāvaniya	:	Disāvanaya
55	37	Read for:	disāvani	:	Disāvana
56	18	Read for:	Djammajoti	:	Dhammajoti
56	40	See also p. 264			
58	5	Read for:	(*iri-haṉda*	:	(*ira-haṉda*
58	13	Read for:	Etana	:	Etanā
58	16	Read for:	Dharmma	:	Dharma
58	29	Read for:	Disāvaniya	:	Disāvanaya
59	40	See also p. 264			
60	28	See also p. 264			
60	44	See also pp. 264–65			
60	45	Delete:	(i.e., *pattal hatara* men); and see p. 64.		
		See also p. 264			
61	20	Read for:	in	:	to

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Page	*Line*				
61	22	See also p. 265			
63	35	See also p. 265			
64	fn. *	See also p. 265			
65	14	See also p. 265			
66	17	See also p. 265			
68	9	Read for:	*galladda*	:	*galladdā*
69	1	See also p. 265			
69	24, Fig.	Read for:	Fig. 10	:	Fig. 9A
70	1	See also p. 265			
70	18	Read for:	Bhūma	:	Bhūmi
74	16	Read for:	*gōdāvari sarasvati*	:	*gōdāverī sarasvatī*
74	26, 28	[It is not made clear that the 'foreman' and 'craftsman' are the same person here.]			
74	fn. *	See also p. 265			
74	fn. §	See also p. 265			
75	1	See also p. 265			
75	fn. ‡	Read for:	*J.C.R.A.S.*	:	*J.C.B.R.A.S.*
76	12	Read for:	Gādalādeṇiya	:	Gadalādeṇiya
76	14	Read for:	*ran-avuda*	:	*ran-avudha*
76	35	Read for:	chieftains, or	:	temples or to
77	36	Read for:	Dhammakanda	:	Dhammakhandha
78	28	Read for:	in the corner by	:	at the foot of
79	23	See also p. 266			
81	24	Read for:	Dawson	:	Dowson
82	fn. ‡	Read for:	*Pl. VII*A	:	*Pl. VIII*A
83	20, 21	Delete:	of *sarpa* + *indriya*, 'ruler of serpents,' possibly		
84	23, 26	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA
85	8	Read for:	*heraldry*.	:	*heraldry*.*
87	24, Fig.	Read for:	Fig. 23.	:	Fig. 23A.
89	31	Read for:	teferred	:	referred
89	36, 49	Read for:	Bōdhisatta	:	Bōdhisattva
91	Fig. 28E	See also p. 266			
91	23	Read for:	*p*. 64	:	*pp*. 47, 64,
91	fn. *	See also p. 266			
92	26	Insert:	(Cf. the father's warning to Isisiṇga in the Alambusā Jātaka, No. 523.)		
93	9	Insert:	Cf. the tree of wākwāk, having shields as leaves and human heads as fruits. From a Persian MS. in the Bib. Natl., dated 1388. Rep. in Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, Vol. I, p. 21.		
94	28	Insert:	The paragraph beginning: "Of other conventional flower. . ." from p. 95, l. 3.		
94	30	Delete:	it is less often seen than the next;		
95	22	See also p. 265			
95	Fig. 33 II	See also p. 265			
98	38	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA

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Page	*Line*				
98	48	Read for:	*fortplanzende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
102	35	Read for:	Pl. XXXIV., 3; XXIX., 7, top right hand; Pl. XXXIII., 6.	:	Pl. XXIV., 3, Pl. XXIX., 7, top right hand; Pl. XXXIII., 3.
103	31	Read for:	as every stem	:	as in every stem
105	6	Read for:	noble	:	right
105	7	Read for:	it is	:	they are
105	18	Read for:	*fortlaufende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
106	13	Read for:	(Indische Batikunst, III., 163)	:	(Indische Batikkunst, III., 163)
106	25	Read for:	equal armed	:	equal-armed
106	25	Read for:	four petalled	:	four-petalled
108	5, 6	Read for:	'set gem':	:	'gem dot':
109	30	Read for:	*fortplanzende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
111	17	Read for:	relied on in	:	relied on by
112	38	Read for:	kalā	:	kāla
113	1	See also p. 266			
113	6	Read for:	a Bhūtas	:	of Bhūtas
113	19	Read for:	lacking	:	amiss
116	21, 24	Read for:	*ambalam*	:	ambalama
116	24	Read for:	end	:	ends
116	fn.*	See also p. 266			
117	17	See also p. 266			
118	Fig. 72	Read for:	tipped	:	hipped
118	48	Read for:	*Nuag*	:	*Nuga*
119	4	See also p. 266			
119	13	See also p. 266			
119	29	Read for:	*sūnā*	:	*sīmā*
120	16	Read for:	*paṭisthana*	:	*paṭisthāna*
120	17	Read for:	*horaṇe*	:	*horaṇē*
120	37	See also p. 266			
121	39	See also p. 266			
123	32	See also p. 266			
123	42	See also pp. 266–67			
124	3	See also p. 267			
125	7	See also p. 267			
126	9	See also p. 267			
126	13, 14, 20, 21, 27	Read for:	*Bhuma*	:	*Bhūmi*
127	3	Read for:	(*ranakura*)	:	(*rankaruvō*)
129	2	Read for:	ECCLESIASTES	:	ECCLESIASTICUS
136	3	See also p. 267			
140	24	See also p. 267			
142	19	See also p. 267			
147	27	See also p. 267			
148	26	Read for:	Morāpaya	:	Morapāya

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Page	*Line*				
152	32	Read for:	*matra*	:	*mātra*
154	36	Delete quotation marks before:	One hundred		
161	fn. †	Read for:	*Varaha*	:	*Varāha*
162	7	See also p. 267			
163	fn. †	Read for:	*Varaha Mitra*	:	*Varāha Mihira*
164	14	See also p. 268			
168	9	See also p. 268			
168	26	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA
169	7	Read for:	(Pl. VIIA).	:	(Pl. VIIIA).
169	10	Read for:	*kurulla*	:	*kurulu*
171	13	Read for:	ajapala	:	Ajapāla
171	13	Read for:	mucalinda	:	Mucalinda
177	36,39	Read for:	Ajanṭa	:	Ajaṇṭā
178	19	Read for:	Ajanṭa	:	Ajaṇṭā
		See also p. 268			
186	31	See also p. 268			
186	33	See also p. 268			
192	24	Read for:	rre	:	are
194	48	See also p. 268			
198	12	Delete:	turning		
198	36	Read for:	or steel are	:	or steel are,
199	Fig. 116	Add:	Width: 8½"		
203	48	Read for:	*bulat-taṭṭuva*	:	*bulat-taṭuva*
204	14	Read for:	*veḍa sangala*	:	*veḍi sangala*
204	15	Read for:	*galaddō*	:	*galladdō*
205	49	Read for:	*dalamura*	:	*dalumura*
209	27	Read for:	E. R. Goonaratne	:	Arthur Jayawardena
210	27	Insert:	*"Gold Embedding."*		

The characteristic South Indian and Sinhalese jewellery is called in Sinhalese *tahadu kola bemma* (gold-leaf application). Examples of this work are illustrated on Pl. XLVIII, 5–7; XLIX, 11; LI, 1, 8, 18, etc. I now give a short description of this very interesting process, which is, I think, peculiar to South India and Ceylon. The notes are taken from observation of a South Indian *kammalan* (a Tamil goldsmith) working in Colombo. The process is called in Tamil *idu tarigam*, gold-embedding. A design having been prepared, thin strips of gold, rather less than ⅛ inch in width, are bent into the shape of the various parts of the designs, and soldered on to a thin gold plate, forming a series of vertical sided cells. The thin strips are previously roughened with prick-marks to make the subsequently added gold hold more firmly. The prepared framework (called *umisam*) is then imbedded in melted wax and fastened on to a short piece of cane for convenient working; the framework is then partially excavated from the hard wax, until it

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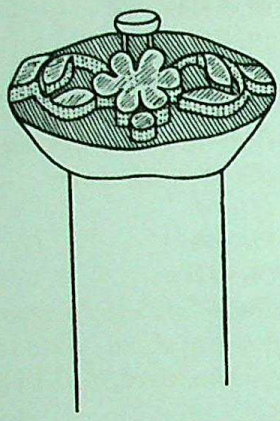

Gold embedding framework prepared for stones (natural size).

stands out clearly on a plane surface just above the level of the gold plate foundation. The separate cells are left about two-thirds filled. This stage is illustrated in the accompanying figure.

The stones, usually thin cabochon rubies, are laid in their cells generally with a backing of foil to heighten the colour, and a glowing charcoal is held to each to melt them in firmly. When all the stones have been thus inlaid, very thin gold leaf strip (not to be confused with the relatively much stouter strips of which the framework is made) is taken and applied around and between the stones and worked in with much force, applied with a progressive rocking movement of a small double-ended, chisel-shaped tool (*sitakku*), fixed in an ingenious wooded holder. Finally, the gold thus firmly applied is smoothed and polished. The final result is an ornament showing gold on both sides (the back generally engraved in outline, corresponding to the whole design), and having a foundation of wax remaining between back and front.

Only the very simplest tools are used throughout: two or three of the chisel-shaped gravers, a pair of pincers, the wax, and the short stick on which the wax and contained framework are mounted.

The effect is one of great richness of colour. This is now, however, generally spoilt by the use of facetted stones, which reflect white light, and so largely spoil the colour effect.

Page *Line*

220	26	Read for:	*walaṇda*	:	*valaṇda*
223	2	Read for:	cocoanut	:	coconut
225	37	Read for:	ornaments	:	ornament
226	Fig. B	Insert:	The black parts of this figure are white in the original.		
230	7	Read for:	*aluva*	:	*alla*
230	fn. †	Read for:	*aluva*	:	*alla*
231	10	See also p. 268			
234	13	Read for:	offering	:	offering (i.e. as a pall)
234	28	Read for:	two heddles	:	two sets of heddles
236	31	Read for:	Rūpāvaliya	:	Pūjāvaliya
248	27	Read for:	rushes	:	rushes,
248	28	Read for:	begun	:	began
249	33	Insert:	(the daughter)		
249	35	Insert:	(Defeating Māra's army: this establishes peace between mother and daughter—note by AKC.)		
256	18	Read for:	*fortplanzende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
264	13	Read for:	*ran-doli perahẹra*	:	*Ran-dōli-perahẹra*
264	15	Read for:	p. 465	:	p. 462
266	17	Read for:	Gloucestershire	:	Oxfordshire

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Page	*Line*				
266	48	Read for:	Figure from	:	Figure also from
268	24	Read for:	ivory toy,	:	ivory toy, the Indian 'cakari,'
268	37	Insert:	Cf. also p. 207		
270	20, col. 1	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA
271	27, col. 1	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA
273	47, col. 2	Read for:	Bodhisatva	:	Bodhisattva
274	10, col. 2	Read for:	*fortplanzende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
275	9, col. 2	Read for:	Burford Church, Glos.,	:	Burford Church, Oxford,
281	37, col. 2	Read for:	*fortplanzende*	:	*sich fortpflanzende*
284	8	Read for:	151, *not* 209.	:	151.
288	46, col. 2	Read for:	Fig. 10	:	Fig. 9A
290	1, col. 2	Read for:	Pl. VIIA	:	Pl. VIIIA
309	4, col. 1	Read for:	*Śrī-bō-mālaya*, 'Blessed Bō garland,' a kind of gold necklace, which, however, does not resemble a garland of bō-leaves; the name probably signifies, garland such as is fit to deck a bō-tree, Pl. XLIX., 5.	:	*Siri-bō-mālaya*, 'pepper-flower-garland,' a kind of gold necklace, Pl. XLIX., 5.
325	16	Plate V, numbers 8, 9, 10 should be renumbered to read 10, 8, 9, respectively.			
329	20	Read for:	Nine Planets,	:	Regents of the eight quarters,
336	35	Read for:	attendandant	:	attendant

In some cases the transliteration employed on the Plates differs from that used in the text, particularly in the uses of *w* for *v* and *ch* for *c*.

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POSTSCRIPT.

Well-rings. A photograph of earthen well-rings *in situ* is given in the Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. India for 1903-4, Fig. 2.

Teaching of drawing. The method of teaching drawing on a primed panel closely resembles that described by Cennini in his Treatise on Painting (trans. by Mrs. Merrifield, London, 1844, Chs. 5-8).

Avalokiteśvara. On Pl. XXII. King Vimala Dharma Sūrya I. is represented wearing a crown with a small image of Buddha upon the front of it. This was probably adopted from the small Dhyāni Buddha represented on the headdress of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. It appears also on the headdress of the very early alto-relievo figure of 'Kushta Rāja' at Veligama. The cult of Avalokiteśvara was well known in Ceylon in the ninth century. It is just possible that the Veligama figure itself really represents Avalokiteśvara.

Greek Influence in Decorative Art: p. 261. I do not mean to imply that the use of classic decorative motifs (such as the acanthus) at Gandhāra left no trace on later Indian decorative art. On the contrary, such traces are not difficult to detect. But they no more inspired Indian decorative art, than the Gandhāra Buddhas inspired the Divine Ideal in Indian sculpture; and the fundamental decorative motifs are of oriental (including Egyptian) rather than classic origin. Such forms as those appearing on the woven belt of Pl. XXIX., 7, are much older than the period of classic influence at Gandhāra, or even Barāhat; they are the common heritage of East and West.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE I.

Details from *jātaka* paintings at Degaldoruva Vihāra, done between 1771 and 1786 A.D. The pictures are chosen from those immediately to the left of the door of the image-room, illustrating the Vessantara Jātaka, of which a summary has been given above, p. 42. In the original paintings, there is no division into separate scenes; there is instead 'continuous narration,' the key to the events being only given by a few words of Sinhalese beneath the principal scenes. The upper panel reproduced shows first Prince Vessantara, riding in state upon the rain-giving white elephant. "Early in the morning," says the jātaka, "the Prince, intending a visit to the alms-hall, washed himself with sixteen pitchers of perfumed water, and broke his fast, and mounted upon the back of his noble elephant richly adorned proceeded to the eastern gate." Finally, near the southern gate, he met the Brahmans from Kalinga, and in answer to their prayer gave to them the elephant, with all its trappings, and this gift is represented on the right hand of the same panel.

Many interesting details should be observed. The Prince is dressed in the traditional royal costume of a king or dēva, not in the actual costume worn by the eighteenth century Kandyan kings. In other respects the picture fairly represents a Kandyan State procession. The five attendants, beginning from the left, carry respectively something, perhaps an offering, covered by a napkin (*pesa-lēnsuva*); a *sēsata* with lacquered handle; *saṇda koḍaya* (?); *mutu kuḍaya* and *vaḍana talātta*. The sixth and seventh attendants are half hidden; the eighth is the elephant-keeper, carrying the goad (*heṇḍuva*), his lower caste indicated by his darker colour. The goad has a lacquered handle. The Prince has ready to hand a smaller goad (*aṃkusa*). Then follow two attendants carrying emblems of authority, and another with a white flag (*sudu koḍiya*,), with a little streamer (*savarama*). In the second scene, on the extreme right, the Prince is seen pouring water from a *keṇḍiya* into the hands of the Brahmans, who come next in the original, in ratification of the gift; immediately behind him is his chief attendant or minister, distinguished by the *bōralaya* worn upon the *vaṭa toppiya* which the others wear alone. The elephant's trappings, described in the *jātaka* as priceless, are also to be noted, especially the alternate red and yellow cloth lappets in the form of *bō*-leaves, the jewelled anklets and ornament, worn upon the frontal lobes and over the eyes. The lotus rosettes (*nelum-mal*) are used decoratively to fill out the space evenly, but have nothing to do with the picture. The first of these is of the form in which the outer ring of petals is replaced by a whorl of cobra heads.

The lower panel in two scenes shows us the arrival of Vessantara and Madrī Dēvī and the two children at the hermitages prepared for them by Viśvakarma at Śakra's order at Vaṅgagiriya. On the left is the mountain Vipula, by the foot of which they passed, and next the river Ketumatī where they rested and ate and bathed and drank before proceeding further. The trees represent thick forest, through which they passed until they came to the 'four-square lake.' Then Vessantara, seeing a path, knew that it led to a hermitage, and going in front of the others, found indeed the pansala prepared, he entered, "and putting off his bow and sword, with the garments which he wore, he donned the garb of a hermit, and coming forth entered the covered walk and paced up and down and . . . approached his wife and children. Madrī fell at his feet in tears; then with him entering the hermitage, she went to her own cell and donned the ascetic dress." This is the second scene, shown on the right hand of the lower picture.

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The hermit's cave, with the couch, curtain and water-pot (*keṇḍiya*), and the hermit's dress, consisting of a cloth, a deer-skin and a girdle, should be observed. He holds in his hands a rosary (*nava-guṇa-vēla*) and a staff.
The two inscriptions read respectively, *Ēli ētā dan dun vaga* and *Madrī dēvī haṇḍā vēṭunu vaga*; i.e., "Gift of the white elephant," and "Madrī Dēvī's weeping and prostration (before Vessantara)." (The syllable *nu* has been omitted in the reproduction.)

PLATE II.
DAUGHTERS OF KANDYAN CHIEFS.

To illustrate the wearing of jewellery, chiefly ear-rings, necklaces, pendants, bracelets and rings. The bird pendant and chain worn by the second girl are the *kurulu beṇḍi mālaya*, the 'garland with the bird,' shown on a larger scale on Plate L., figure 8.
The embroidered *heṭṭaya* and gold-woven *ohoriya* of the first girl should be noted; but the second wears a quite plain *heṭṭaya*, and an *ohoriya* of English material.
For details regarding the dress of Kandyan women, and explanation of terms, see pp. 34, 35.

Photos by SKEEN & Co.

PLATE III.
KANDYAN CHIEF.

A Kandyan chief in full dress, as follows: *hatara-mulu-toppiya* (four-cornered hat), with *mal-gaha* (strictly a royal prerogative); *kamisiya* (shirt), under *pacca heṭṭaya* ('green' jacket) with gold buttons; *tuppoṭiya* (skirt or body cloth), with broad *paṭiya*; knife, finger-ring and handkerchief. Part of a *sēsata* is seen behind the chieftain.
The brocade of the *heṭṭaya*, the *paṭiya*, and the *tuppoṭiya* are of Indian manufacture, the rest probably all local, except perhaps the material of the shirt.
For an account of Kandyan dress, and explanation of terms, see pp. 32-34.

Photo by SKEEN & Co.

PLATE IV.

1. Kinnara caste weavers of Dumbara mats. On the left a woman seated on a paddy-pounder (mortar for husking rice), spinning the fibre; on the right a man also spinning, his back towards the *pila*, or narrow verandah of the hut; in the centre a boy weaving, in the act of drawing weft fibres through the warp. For description see pp. 243, 244.

Photo by SKEEN & Co.

2. Platform prepared with figures of *yakshas* and planetary deities for a *bali* ceremony. The names of those represented, from right to left, are Senasurāgē Ērāśṭakaya, Vavul Rākshaya, Ēsvaha Baliya, Guruḷu Rākshaya; the next conspicuous head is the '*kibihi*' of a *makara toraṇa*, beneath which is an Irugē Rūpaya, and above it, Vesamunu Divya Rāja; and next in order to the left, but scarcely seen, Prāṇa Maṅgalya (?), Skanda Divya Rāja, Daśakroḍaya Rāja and Irugē Ērāśṭakaya. The picture is shown here to illustrate the existence of a plastic art in impermanent materials. Further references will be found on pp. 148, 177, 252, 259.
3. Damascener (*ridī-kēṭiyan-kārayā*) at work, inlaying a handle-rose with silver wire (Pērādeṇiya Exhibition, 1906).

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PLATE V.

CRAFTSMEN AT WORK.

Figure 1-4. Potters at work:

1. Making a *muṭṭiya*; *ṭetili* and *kaḷageḍi* behind. Dumbara.
2. Completing the under side of a *nēṃbiliya*; on the worker's right, a *muṭṭiya* with water: Balaṅgoḍa.
3. Painting red stripes on a *kaḷageḍiya*; stacks of *muṭṭi* behind. The workshop is the verandah of the potter's house: Mādampe.
4. Scoring furrows in *nēṃbili* and *koras*; Balaṅgoḍa.

5. Weaver of grass bags or baskets (*bulat-mal*); a low-country woman living at Haldummulla.

6. Brass founder using stock drill (*gal-torapaṇaya*) to bore holes in metal: a low-country man, at Mahavalaṭṭenna, near Balaṅgoḍa. See Fig. 91 and pp. 142, 194.

7. Brass founders' shop, at Mahavalaṭṭenna, Balaṅgoḍa; low-country men working at an up-country *valavva*. In the foreground are three furnaces, two containing crucibles.

8. Fair at annual *perahēra* at Saman Dēvāle, Ratnapura; low-country metal-work sold inland.

9. *Roḍiya* maker of horn combs; Ella, Ūva. See p. 189.

10. *Goviyā* dressed as *mura-kārayā* (watchman), wearing *diya kacciya* and armed with sword and spear; Haldummulla.

PLATE VI.

CRAFTSMEN AT WORK.

1. Cloth-weaver at work, separating warp threads with *ṣema lḷella* to produce a pattern. See p. 234.

2. Cloth-weaver at work, about to throw the shuttle. The left hand rests on the sleay or reed-frame, ready to press back the weft thread after the shuttle is thrown. See p. 234.

3. Spinning cotton. Figs. 1—3 portray the chief weaver of Talagune, a *beravāya* woman named Ṭikirati,—a stirring woman and great character. See p. 232.

4. Ivory-turner at work. See p. 187.

5. Wood-turner at work, using the modern form of lathe. Near Niriella, Sabaragamuva. See p. 141.

6. Silversmith working in house verandah. The anvil embedded in a heavy log is immediately in front of the smith, who is about to use the blow-pipe to solder a piece of work just laid on the *gini-kabala* (here, as usual, a common *koraha*), or fire-pot.

PLATE VII.

ARCHITECTURE.

1. Laṅkātilaka. The most beautiful of the mediæval Kandyan buildings. Brick construction on a stone foundation upon bare rock. On the extreme left the rock surface is covered with the engraved *gal-sannasa*. Much of the brickwork has been left unplastered. At the main entrance should be noticed the stone balustrades (*ṭet-hondavḷ*), and above, the large

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makara toraṇa arch. The hipped roof over the porch is typical; the number of roofs at different levels is a striking feature, but more unusual.

2. Roof of Dēvāle attached to Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihāra. Shows flat tiles on the hipped roof, which is terminated by an earthen finial.

3. *Ambalama* at Maṅgalagama. Timbered roof supported on stone monoliths. Flat tiles and earthen finials. See p. 116.

4. Interior of verandah of Danagirigala Vihāra. Timbered lean-to roof supported by monoliths. Mud wall with window on the left. Typical *pēkaḍaya* capital between monolith and roof timbers. See p. 129.

5. Gaṅgārāma Vihāra, Kandy. Shows hipped roof with overhanging eaves, and lean-to verandah. Plastered *bō*-leaves can be made out upon the upper part of the roof. The vihāra is built on a stone foundation. On the right a part of the *baṇa-maḍuva*, or preaching hall, is visible. See p. 118.

6. Part of a cottage, showing designs painted on whitewashed wall. The right hand design of two entwined serpents is known as *nāga-daṇgaya*. On the roof are semi-cylindrical tiles; in Kandyan times such a house would have been thatched. In front of the house various seeds and grains are spread out to dry. Near Balaṅgoḍa.

7. Detached Vihāra at Alutnuvara Dēvāle near Balaṅgoḍa. Shows typical constructional features of a vihāra supported on short monoliths. See pp. 117, 118.

8. Door of Devanagala Vihāra, Sab.

9. *Bissa*, or outdoor granary, made of plastered cane basketwork, whitewashed and decorated. Access to interior only by raising the thatched lid. See p. 116.

PLATE VIII.

Above. Daḷadā Māligāva, Kandy, showing the two storeys. The timbered floor of the second storey is supported on painted monolithic pillars. Observe the 'rayled banisters,' wooden pillars, ornamented rafters (*goṇṣ*) and '*idda*' of upper storey. The eaves of the verandah roof are decorated with perforated metal 'weatherboarding' and strings of flags. Below. Interior of rock temple at Dambulla (Dambulu), showing a small dāgaba and numerous images, as well as the painted walls and roof.

Photos by Colombo Apothecaries Co. and Skeen & Co.

PLATE VIIIa.

INTERIORS OF VIHĀRAS.

Above. Interior of Laṅkātilaka Vihāra, *piḷima-gē*. The following items of the decoration may be noted: *makara toraṇa* over the image, with dēvas above; on the right, partly hidden by the curtain, and on the left, in a corresponding position, pictures of the *sat-satiya* or seven weeks (p. 43), arranged thus:

2 1
4 3
6 5
7

Below. Interior of Kḷaṇiya Vihāra, vestibule. Wall paintings of the eighteenth century. Above, *sat-satiya*; below, four tiers of jātaka paintings, the uppermost, Dhammapāla Jātaka, the third from the top, the Canda Kiṇdurā Jātaka, then a narrow band of *nāri latā vḷela* ornament, flowers in vases below; on the right, portraits of benefactors.

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PLATE IX. WOODWORK.

1. *Ran-dōli*, ceremonial palanquin of the Vishṇu Dēvāle, Kandy, showing end carved and painted figure of Śrī with elephants, and carved and turned ivory feet and corner pieces. The background of the carved portion is painted red, the figure yellow with limbs green. Width of palanquin 29 inches. The bent bamboo carrier, lacquered red, black, yellow and green, and with damascened fittings, is visible above. The end (not visible) is covered with copper gilt, the extremity set with a cabochon crystal in a claw mount.
2. Window of refectory (*bhōjana salāva*) at Malvatte Pansala.
3. Window at Malvatte Pansala.
4. Table in the Kandy Museum. Height 22½ inches, dimensions of top, 29½ × 43 inches, the top 3½ inches thick, but hollowed out beneath to reduce weight. Compare with game table of Pl. XLI., IV. See p. 137.
5. Chair kept in the *pohoya-gē* at Asgiriya, where it was dedicated by Kīrti Śrī. The chair is painted, and inlaid with ivory, parts are of ebony; the back is 31 inches above the ground.
6. Bench or table leg, Daḷadā Māligāva.
7. Bed at Kuṇḍasāle Pansala. Dimensions, 46 × 82¼ inches, height of actual bed, 24 inches from ground, the legs 4½ inches square.
8. Cradle, in a house near Ratnapura.
9. Door at Asgiriya Pansala, seen from within. See p. 133.

PLATE X. WOODWORK.

1. *Daṇḍāsana*, literally 'wooden seat.' This is a piece of ecclesiastical furniture used in pansalas, but whether actually as a seat (which is unlikely) or as a table for books I am uncertain. The four hooks upon the inner sides of the horizontal bars must, it would appear, have supported a cloth cover. References to *daṇḍāsana* are found in *sannas* (p. 48) and lists of offerings, but I have never seen one in use, or pictured in a jātaka painting. The *daṇḍāsana* figured is kept in the apartments formerly occupied by the Saṅgha Rāja at Malvatte Pansala. It is incomplete, but shows traces of painting. Height above the ground, 18½ inches. See p. 137.
2. *Kolombuva*, wooden stool. Doḍantale Pansala. Height 8 inches. Made from one piece of wood.
3. Half of *pēkaḍaya* capital, plain type, Doḍantale. Length 27 inches.
4. Half of *pēkaḍaya* capital, pendent lotus form, Danagirigala. Length 31¾ inches.
5. The same from beneath, showing the 'lotus.' The form of the inner petals is probably influenced by that of the *bō*-leaf. The lotus thus seen measures 7½ inches square.
6. Carved plank bed. This is a particularly old and fine example of Kandyan wood carving. The border on three sides consists of an archaic arrangement of lotus flowers in full and side view; the two lower corners and the centre are carved with different lotus forms, the lower right hand one being unfinished. The blank border at the top represents the space occupied by the head board. The table measures 34 × 72¼ inches. The centre lotus is supported on the left by a kind of stalk. On the right is a tree, with strange bird-like forms affronted. On the left, a little above the centre, an excavation has been made (covered in the picture by a restoration), and a game-board cut out, similar to those shown on Plate XII. The legs on the table when obtained, were probably not original, and have been replaced by old bench legs from Jaffna, of a type, also, but more rarely met with in Sinhalese districts. Author's collection.
7. Carved rice pounder. Colombo Museum.

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PLATE XI.

WOODWORK.

1. *Idi appan van-geḍiya*, 'string 'hopper' masher.' The central part consists of a cylinder in which a piston works up and down; cooked rice flour is placed in the cylinder and squeezed out through the holes in a metal plate beneath, much as potatoes are wormed in a masher. 'Hoppers' (a corruption of *appa*) are a kind of rice bread especially used at the first daily meal; there are two chief sorts, the ordinary, and the 'string' hopper. Machines for preparing the latter are not often so elaborately carved as that figured, which was lately presented by Mr. T. B. Paraṇātella to the Kandy Museum. It may have been used in the Royal kitchen, or in that of some chief; but the use of ornamented tools and kitchen and agricultural implements was equally characteristic of all classes. Measurements, $16 \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches, diameter of cylinder, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch.

2. Door bolt (*agula*), carved with *liya pata* ornament, and on the right *kuṇḍi rakkan* diaper. Malvatte Pansala.

3. Bed-head (*isa kaḍaya*), Kandy Museum. Length 30 inches. *Śṛapēṇḍiya*, lion and *liya-vṛela* (branch) ornament, framed by a variety of diapers.

4. Three-legged stool (*baṅkuva*). The legs are fitted to the seat by housed dovetails. The top is carved with a central lotus, primitive '*Wellenranke*,' two-ply plait and chevron or wave patterns. Height $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Many of these stools have been copied by the Kandy Industrial School, and sold by the Ceylon Social Reform Society, as examples of Kandyan furniture.

5, 6, 7. Spoon-racks (*hṛendi-āna-val*). No. 5 from the Kandy Museum, with '*kibihi*' (lion) face above, and *haṃsa pūṭṭuva* below. The influence of architectural forms is seen in the 'stepping' of *āsana kaḍa* type. No. 6 has also a '*kibihi*' face above; Nos. 6 and 7 have *lanu-gṛeṭa* (plait) ornament. Both are in the Colombo Museum collection.

The spoon-rack used to be a regular article of kitchen furniture; the long thin handles of the coconut-shell spoons used in cooking are slipped through the holes in the rack. Racks of plaited grass are also used in some districts.

PLATE XII.

WOODWORK.

1, 2, 3. Gameboards (*oliṇḍa-kolo̱mbu*). The game is generally played by two players with *oliṇḍa* seeds, starting with seven or five seeds in each hole. It is sometimes called *mutu-kṛeliya*, or 'pearl game,' and may have been played with pearls by princesses once. It is still commonly played by Kandyan women, but like all indigenous games is declining in popularity. No. 1, author's collection, measures $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ inches; Nos. 2 and 3 from the Kandy Museum. See also Plate XLI., 4.

4, 5, 6, and 7. Bed-legs. Characteristic and typically Kandyan types, showing influence of architectural forms. Nos. 4, 5, from a bed in the Kandy Museum, obtained by the author near Ratnapura; No. 6, copy of bed-leg ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square) from Kuṇḍasāle Pansala (the same bed is shown on Pl. IX. in fig. 7); No. 7 from Kuṇḍasāle.

PLATE XIII.

WOODWORK.

1, 2. Fencing sticks. No. 1 from Kandy Museum, with wooden guard, with *bō*-leaf ornament; No. 2 from Colombo Museum, with ivory guard measuring $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In each case the stick itself is of cane (*vē-vṛel*).

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3. *Ābharaṇa peṭṭiya*, 'regalia box.' Turned and lacquered wood, with brass hinges. Diameter 13 inches. Author's collection.
4. Sweetmeat mould. Colombo Museum.
5. Granary seal. Colombo Museum.
6. Handle of a *kinissa*. Colombo Museum.
7, 8. *Kinisi*. Author's collection. The bowl of No. 8 elegantly carved with *liya pata* ornament.
9. *Kinissa*. The handle in the form of a *śṛapēṇḍiya*.

PLATE XIV.

PAINTING.

1. Two pages of a craftsman's notebook (*padimākada pota*), probably of early nineteenth century date. The leaves of Dutch, the covers of Sinhalese paper. The two pages shown contain an outline drawing of a *haṃsa pāṭṭuva* (also in Fig. 20), and a half-finished drawing of a *haṃsa*, with elaborate foliaceous background. Both are brush drawings. The book was obtained from D. S. Muhandiram of Ḍmbḍkke. The other subjects drawn in the book are elephants (five), *haṃsa* (two others), *haṃsa pāṭṭuva* (two others with three and four *haṃsayō* respectively), lion; also a half-finished *lanu-gḍṭa* and *pañca-nāri-gḍṭa* designs. Author's collection.
2. Representation of *Māra Ɣuddhaya*, from roof of Dambulla (Dambulu) rock Vihāra.
3. Representations of the Nine Planets, from painted timber roof of Kḷaṇiya Vihāra.
4. 'Tree of life' or *kalpa druma* (?) from the same. Both the tree and the 'garland' (*mālaya*) frame recall the palampore designs of S. India.
5. *Picca mala* ornament framing an image in relief, Kḷaṇiya Vihāra. Note also the chevron ornament of dress.
7. Birds and floral ornament, Kḷaṇiya Vihāra.
8. Trees, from wall at Danagirigala Vihāra. Blank spaces in the lower part were filled in the original, but too much damaged to copy. Small spaces are filled with lotus rosettes in a characteristic manner. The small tree on the right is a plantain, the large symmetrical tree is *nā* (*Mesua ferrea*), the other large tree *sapu* (*Michelia champaca*).

PLATE XV.

Vihāra ceiling painting at Gaṇḍgoḍa, near Pḷmaḍulla. The original in shades of blue and red. For description and analysis see p. 105. The rows of lotus on right and left are painted on two of the main beams, the remainder on the timbered ceiling. The birds and animals in the design should not be overlooked. The photograph is taken looking directly upwards.

PLATE XVI.

Verandah ceiling painting from the Daḷadā Māligāva, Kandy. Drawn from a photograph, by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy. Original in shades of brown and green. The painting represents a forest scene, with birds (parrots), animals (hares and squirrels), and hunters.

PLATE XVII.

ABOVE. *Tiriṅgi tale*, drawn by Ḍmbḍkke Dēvasurēndra Haṅgiḍiya, early nineteenth century, grandfather of D. S. Muhandirama of Ḍmbḍkke. See p. 64 *seq.*
BELOW. Tail pieces from the paper MS. described on p. 179 and illustrated also in Fig. 3 and on Plate XX., 1 and 2.

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In a few cases, Plate XVII., the original gold appears in the reproduction as yellow. It will be seen that the elements of the central design, the least characteristically Sinhalese, are repeated in the binding of the same volume (Pl. LII.) which I suppose to have been executed by some European resident in Kandy at the time.

PLATES XVIII. AND XIX.
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF BUDDHA.

From an illuminated MS. written in A.D. 1811, and described on pp. 179-181.
Pl. XVIII. Last four of the *sat-satiya*, or Seven Weeks. See p. 43 and description below Plate XVIII.
Pl. XIX. The Buddha preaching to disciples.

PLATE XX.

1. A page from the MS. described on p. 179. See also Pl. XVII. and Fig. 3.
2. Last page of the same MS.
3. Design for a royal belt (*bō-paṭiya*), with *bō*-leaf pendant. An heirloom of the Maṅgalagama *galladdō*. Slightly reduced.

PLATE XXI.
THE GOD VIŚVAKARMA, REVEALER OF CRAFTSMANSHIP AND ARCHITECTURE.

Drawn by Dēvasurēndra Muhandiram of Ẹmbẹkke.

Viśvakarma is represented according to the description given in the canon (Rūpāvaliya), of which a text and translation are here quoted.

Sindūram pañca-vaktram daśa-bhuja-sahitam
Pustakam, lekhya, khaṇḍam (*?*),
Khaṭvāṅgam, bījapūram, vara-mātha (*?*) *kalaśam*
Kuṇḍakam (*?*), *akshamālam,*
Nāgam paśaṃ vahantam, varada-bhaya-hastam
Pīta yajñō-pavitam,
Vijñātañ jñāta-muktim, sudarsana mahā
Viśvakarmam namāmi.

"Salutation I give to Viśvakarma, the fair and great, far famed and wisdom-freed, who hath five *tilaka*-marked faces, ten arms, holding a book and writing style, ... an adze (lit. a club), a citron, . . . a water-pot, . . . a rosary, wearing a cobra tied (about his neck), with hands betokening sternness and beneficence,* and wearing a golden sacred thread."

PLATE XXII.
ROYAL DRESS.

ABOVE. Vimala Dharma Sūrya I. and Joris van Spilberghen at Kandy, July, 1602. From the engraving reproduced in Rouffaer and Jouynboll's 'Indische Batikkunst.' The Sinhalese King wears a jewelled crown surmounted by a *triśūla*, and having a Buddha figure

** The hand with the sword betokens majesty or sternness; the left hand, in 'vara' position, betokens beneficence or mildness.*

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in the front; a jacket and *mante* and a patterned *tuppoṭiya*, probably of muslin with gold or silver thread (not silk as suggested by R. and J.). He carries a sword hanging by a bandolier over the right shoulder. A lotus flower is in the left hand. The jewellery worn includes earrings, two necklaces with jewelled pendants, armlets and anklets.

BELOW. The last Kandyan King attended by his ministers; from a Sinhalese drawing reproduced in Davy's 'Travels in Ceylon.' The King wears a crown surmounted by a *bōralaya*, shirt (*kamisiya*), tunic (*bō-heṭṭaya*), cape (*mante*), trousers (*uḍaya*), and sandals, earrings, necklaces and pendants. He bears as an emblem a lacquered arrow. Two Adigārs stand on the left. The three attendants near them hold the *vaḍana talatta*, *sesata*, and *mutu kuḍaya*; the same and other emblems are held by other attendants on the right, and a kneeling attendant waves a *cāmara*.

PLATE XXIII.

WORKING DRAWINGS OF A GOLDSMITH.

Heirlooms of the Maṅgalagama *galladdō*. No. 1 is said to have been for Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṃha, the others for the last king.

1. Stencils (*accu*) for fretted gold hat (*aṭa-mulu-toppiya*, see p. 32 and Fig. 1).
2. Design of lotus and affronted *haṃsayō*, purpose unknown.
3. Design probably for a jewelled *nalalpaṭiya*.
4, 5. Designs for gold-mounted and jewelled canes. The kings are always represented as carrying such canes.
6. Design for a pendant; *bhēruṇḍa*, or double-headed bird.
7. Design for a pendant.
8. Designs for finger rings.

For other designs belonging to the same series see Pl. XVII. and Figs. 4 and 131.

PLATE XXIV.

LACWORK.

1, 2. Upper part of a lacquered staff. Modern Kandyan. Names of patterns: A., *veḷ-pota* or *pāhaḍe veḷ-pota*; B., *ādāra-koṇḍu*; C., *gal-biṇdu* or *mori biṇduva*; D., *kola veḷa* (leafy branch) or *kaḷas-daṇgaya*; E., *pāhaḍe* or *palā peti*; F., *lanu-daṇgaya*; G., *patura*; H., *bō-kola* (*bō*-leaf); K., *biṇduva* or *tani biṇduva*.

3. *Kaḷas-daṇgaya* pattern from a lacquered 'pingo' or yoke. Colombo Museum.
4. *Deḷa* (net) pattern from lacquered staff.
5. *Suli veḷa* pattern from lacquered staff.
6. *Horaṇēva* with lacquered wood body (*kaṇḍa*). Height 13 inches.
7. *Veḍi-behet-kārakaya* (powder horn) of lacquered wood. *Gal-biṇdu*, *eka-pota-lanuva*, *patura* and other patterns.

Slightly reduced. From coloured drawings by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy.

PLATE XXV.

EARTHENWARE.

1-4. *Kaḷageḍi*. For description see p. 220.

1. *Kaḷageḍiya*, with stamped ornament of *bō*-leaves, rosettes, etc. From Alutnuvara, Balaṅgoda; now in Kandy Museum. For detail of ornament see Fig. 139.
2. *Kaḷageḍiya*, with incised ornament of simple form of branch, fishes, etc. Pelmadulla, Sab. For detail of ornament see Fig. 137, A.

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3. *Kaḷageḍiya*, with stamped ornament of rosettes (lotus) etc. Kolonnā Kōrale. For detail of ornament see Fig. 138, c.

4. *Kaḷageḍiya*, with stamped ornament and well defined shoulder, usually characteristic of Tamil forms. Pęlmaḍulla, Sab.

5. *Muṭṭiya*, with stamped *bō*-leaf and rosette ornament. Used for new rice at Alutsāl Maṅgalya at Kuṇḍasāle. For details of ornament see Fig. 138, D. See also p. 218, 220.

6. *Pōrnuva*, sand oven, with slip-painted ornamented in red. See p. 221.

7. *Pol-koraha*. Balaṅgoḍa. Diameter 16 inches. See pp. 221, 225.

8. *Kotalaya*, with stamped ornament of *bō*-leaves and rosettes. Doḍantale. See p. 220.

9. *Koraha*. See p. 221. Type of vessel often used as a *gini kabala*, as in Pl. VI., 6.

10. *Nęmbiliya*. See p. 221.

11. *Gini kabala*. Balaṅgoḍa. Diameter 12 inches. See p. 222.

12. *Kanbola ęṭiliya*, sweetmeat pan. Balaṅgoḍa. Diameter 16 inches. See p. 220. The two last are rare types.

PLATE XXVI.

EARTHENWARE.

1, 2. Obverse (with *siṃha*) and reverse (with *haṃsa*) of eaves-tile from Daḷadā Māligāva. Width $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. See p. 224.

3. Coping tile with incised ornament. See p. 223 and Fig. 135 (VII. and VIII).

4. *Dummala kabala* (incense burner), with cobra ornament. Kandy Museum. See p. 222.

5. *Dummala kabala*.

6. *Pānāva* or *pānā-kalaya*; resembles *kotalaya* with twelve spouts and seven rims; used in devil dancing ceremonies. See p. 223.

7. Small vessel and hearth (*lipa*) used for *kiri-uturaṇa* ceremony (at Kuṇḍasale Dēvāle). The *lipa*, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, diameter 5 inches. Those in domestic use are much larger.

8. *Pān-kuḍuva*, lamp-cage or lantern. Maṅgalagama. See p. 220.

9, 10. *Pān-kaṇḍu*, stands for earthen lamps (*meṭi-pahan*). Maṅgalagama. See p. 223.

11. Large *pān-kaṇḍa* or lamp-stand. Danagirigala. Made in a number of separate tiers, The total height is about 3 feet. See p. 223.

12. *Kaḷaha*, vase or lamp-stand. Height $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches, slip-painted light yellow on red with fine *liya-vęla* design. Property of Mr. A. Ratvatte. See p. 221.

PLATE XXVII.

Diagram figure of seated Buddha, to show canons of measurement and practical method of determining the proportions of images.

PLATE XXVIII.

WOVEN AND EMBROIDERED CLOTHS.

1. Patterns still used on *ęṭirili* made at Talaguṇe.

1. *Hīn dęl-gęṭa lanuva* (small net-knot plait). 2. *Avul hęre* (medley of rings). 3. *Valaḷu lanuva* (linked plait). Also combined with 13. 4. *Hali-daṅgaya* (rice-meander). 5. *Aṭa-peti mala* (eight-petal flower). 6. *Para mala*. 7. *Dęti mala* (tooth flower). 8. *Hīn mal-petta* (little *mal-petta*). 9. *Bō-kola* (*bō*-leaf). 10. *Tuṇa pęhena mal-petta* (triple blooming flower); the same with ten rows (counted diagonally)

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would be *dahaya pẹhena mal-petta*. 11. *Maha mal-petta* (big *mal-petta*). 12. *Katuru mala* (scissors-flower or pattern). 13. *Depota lanuva* (two-ply plait). 14. *Mal-petta* (flower-petals). 15. *Diya reḷa* (wave pattern). 17. *Kin-neḡi daṅgaya* (stair-meander); the same smaller is called *pannan kāra*.

Straight lines are *iri koṇḍu* (hair lines). These pattern names taken down from Ṭikirāti of Talaguṇe. See p. 234.

2. Embroidered napkin (*lensuva*). Daḷadā Māligāva. The two sides identical. Border of *bō-pat kaṅgul* design, spear and *bō*-leaf.

3. Embroidered napkin. Daḷadā Māligāva. The two sides identical. Design of four elaborate plaits framed by border of '*intermittirende Wellenranke*' type, on a flowered ground. Needle 'lace' edging.

4. Embroidered shawl (*ura mālaya*). Daḷadā Māligāva.

PLATE XXIX.
LOOMS AND WOVEN CLOTHS.

1. Loom, seen from the position occupied by the weaver. Observe the pattern faintly shown in the warp threads, resulting from the insertions of numerous thin rods to preserve the 'sheds' for use when required. See p. 234.

2. Near view of loom on the right side, showing a row of *bō*-leaves just started.

3. *Kapu kapana yantraya*, cotton ginning machine.

4. Part of an *ẹtirila*, with elaborate plait designs, birds and cobras. Collection of the Hon. J. P. Lewis.

5. *Ẹtirila* from Talaguṇe, typical designs. Author's collection.

6. *Gahōniya*, belonging to the Tiboṭuvave Maha Nāyaka of Malvatte. Length 31 inches.

7. *Paṭiya*, belt, belonging to the Tiboṭuvave Maha Nāyaka of Malvatte. Measures $75 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The centre is plain, the two ends alike. The colours are black, red, pink, blue—green and yellow. This unique specimen is said to have been made in Ūva. The The patterns are of especial interest: note especially serial repetition (animal processions), affrontment, knop and flower, *intermittirende Wellenranke*, calyx volute, and fret motifs.

8. Detail of a *gahōniya* flounce. Gilimale. *Bō*-leaf design.

PLATE XXX.
EMBROIDERY.

1. Small betel-bag, fine red cotton embroidered in blue and yellow silk. Length $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Author's collection. See p. 238.

2. Embroidery on white cotton, copy of part of an embroidered jacket (*heṭṭaya*), said to have been used by a queen in the eighteenth century. See p. 239.

3. *Ispayya*, embroidered cap, with quilted flaps, worked with coloured silks. Lent by Mr. T. B. Kẹppiṭipola. See p. 239.

PLATE XXXI.
EMBROIDERY.

Embroidered betel-bag, property of Varakaule Ukku Baṇḍa of Uda Nuvara. Typical example of a large bag. Length over 4 feet.

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PLATE XXXII.

EMBROIDERY.

1, 2. Betel-bag. Colombo Museum.

4. Betel-bag, red felt, embroidered with blue and white cotton. The five-petalled lotus is unusual. Four borders, and centipede stitch binding.

5. Tassel of a bag similar to that illustrated in No. 4.

6. Part of border of a large bag, author's collection. For the palmette design, cf. Pl. XXXIII., 1, and p. 251.

7. Border of a bag belonging to Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala.

8. Detail of, showing *haṃsa pūṭṭuva*, four borders, and braid edging. The innermost border is an interesting development of *palā peti*; the large border, *havaḍiya*, the two narrow borders would be called *gal-biṇḍu* or *gal-piyum*.

9. Detail of large bag, belonging to the Ekneligoḍas. Four borders and braid binding. The large *liya veḷa* border filled with buttonhole stitch.

PLATE XXXIII.

1, 2, 3. *Garā-yakshaya* costume, a devil dancer's dress. Colombo Museum. Blue and white appliqué on red material.

4. Embroidered napkin. Daḷadā Māligāva. Centre of fine lace-like drawn thread work, and embroidery in red and blue, alike on both sides. $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches square.

5. Embroidered napkin. Daḷadā Māligāva. Centre embroidered with a Pali verse in praise of a king; border an elaborate plait design. $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches square.

6. Centre of a large betel-bag.

PLATE XXXIV.

DUMBARA MATS.

Dumbara mats (*kalāla*) made of dyed *niyaṇḍa* ('bowstring' hemp) fibre. Made by *Kinnara* caste mat-weavers. The process is explained in text, p. 243. Mat-weavers at work are shown in Pl. IV. Names of patterns shown in the margin. Modern work by Hūrikaḍuva Maḍigē Hēnavala Galkoṭa-gedara Puñciya and Hūrikaḍuva Maḍigē Koṭa-gāvatte-gedara Lapiya of Hūrikaḍuva. Size of larger mat, $66 \times 26\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.

PLATE XXXV.

IVORY.

1. *Kava-kaṭuva*, ivory compasses. Length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.

2. *Girā-pūṭṭuva*. Fragment of ivory carving, purpose unknown. Very fine work representing parrots with necks entwined (*girā-pūṭṭuva*). Collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

3. Fragment of carved ivory, purpose uncertain. Very fine work, very dark with age, perhaps earlier than seventeenth century. Perhaps part of a fan. Median panel carved and pierced *liya veḷa*, with *sīna mala* flowers; *liya pata* border and centre. Signs of metal fittings or rivets distinct in centre. The ends adapted to fit into other pieces. Outer surface curved, and hollowed within, tapering slightly to each end; hence cannot be a book cover. Possibly one of a pair of centre plates for a fan, somewhat similar in form to that shown in Plate XLII., 2. Length $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.

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4. Carved ivory from base of a temple door jamb (said to be from Ridī Vihāra door, Pl. XXXVIII, 1). Very elaborate *liya pata* work. Height $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

5. *Doraṭu pāla rūpaya*, guardian deity from a temple door jamb. Height of plaque $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

6. *Doraṭu-pāla-rūpaya*, guardian deity from a temple door jamb. Dimensions of plaque $11\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The right hand especially fine. Very old example. Author's collection.

PLATE XXXVI.

IVORY.

1. Ivory figure of king, in full dress: *aṭa-mula-toppiya* (*mal-gaha* missing), *bō-heṭṭaya* with *mante*, *bō-paṭiya*, and trousers, and jewellery. The cane is now missing. Height of figure $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

2, 3, 4. Ivory figures of Kandyan ladies, wearing *heṭṭaya* with *mante*, *helaya* variously arranged, and jewellery. Height of tallest figure $4\frac{2}{3}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection. *Cf.* Davy, 'Travels in Ceylon,' Pl. 4.

5. Ivory figure of Kandyan chief, wearing *vaṭa-toppiya*, *heṭṭaya* with *mante*, and *tuppoṭiya* with *paṭiya*. Same scale. Colombo Museum collection.

For explanation of costume see text, pp. 32-35.

6. Bone jewel-box, silver-mounted. Flat severe carving, suited to material. Silver mounting in 'Indo-Portuguese' style. Outside measure $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.

7. Ivory jewel-box, silver-mounted and finely carved, with turned feet. Outside measure $12 \times 8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Property of Sir Everard Im Thurm.

8. Turned ivory jewel-box, with incised lines, circles and dots, filled with red lac. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.

9. Ivory jewel-casket, carved, with silver fittings. Lid in one piece. Height $4\frac{3}{8}$, length $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Lent by Messrs. Don Theodoris. The three boxes, shown in figures 6, 7, and 9 show some European influence in the form and fittings.

Fig. 9, photo by Messrs. Skeen & Co.

PLATE XXXVII.

IVORY.

1, 2, 3, 4. Ivory handles of knives. Author's collection.

1. Turned handle, ornamented with incised circles filled with red lac.
2. Most usual type, with *liya pata* carving.
3. *Ṣerapēṇḍiya* head.
4. Simple form with leaf-like scroll.

5. *Pot-kaṃbiya*, book-cover. *Liya vẹla* centre panel, *eka pota lanuva*, and *palā peti* border and moulding. Measures $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Property of an ex-Āracci at Horagone.

6, 7, 8, 9. Fan handles. Turned ivory, ornamented with incised lines and circles, filled with red lac. The small pieces above (missing in 7 and 8) are fixed at the top of the actual fan. Lent by A. R. Casse Lebbe.

10. *Uḍakkiya*, ivory drum frame, Colombo Museum, lent by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S. Height $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches, diameter $4\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

11. *Horaṇēva*, ivory oboe. Ornamented with incised lines and circles, filled with red lac. The mouth-piece and bell are of brass or bronze. The reed is placed at the end of a

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narrow metal tube, next to a flat metal plate (missing in this example), against which the lips are pressed without pressure on the reed itself. This specimen is apparently pierced in four holes only, but this is due to its consisting of two separate pieces or joints, one of which was turned upon the other at the time of photographing, thus concealing the three other holes. Colombo Museum collection. Length 13 inches.
[The *nalāva* or flageolet is an instrument much less often seen; it consists entirely of ivory without metal fittings or reed].

PLATE XXXVIII.
IVORY.

1. Doorway of store-room (?) at Ridī Vihāra. Jambs and lintel overlaid with ivory and ebony, probably the finest example of such work in Ceylon. Dancing figures and *asana kaḍa* at base of jamb on each side; *liya vęla* and *palā peti* on jambs; *pañca nāri gęta* in centre of lintel, supported by lions within *liya vęla* frames. Eighteenth century work, probably of the time of Kīrti Śrī. The wooden threshold (*paḍi-kaṇḍa*) is carved in the usual manner. Remains of painting on plastered wall.
2. Detail of above; lower part of jamb, showing *āsana kaḍa*, and commencement of *liya vęla* band.
4. Detail of above, showing *palā peti* moulding and *liya vęla* band on jamb of door.
3. Ivory panel, probably part of a door jamb. *Nāri-latā-vęla* design. Measures $6\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Author's collection.
5. Ivory panel, pierced and carved with flower (*sīna mala*), lion (*siṃha*), and *śęrapēṇḍiya*. Perhaps from a door jamb. Measures $6\frac{7}{8} \times 2$ inches. Author's collection.
6. *Vęli-pata*, ivory style used by Buddhist priests when teaching writing in *pansala* schools, as described on pp. 49, 186. Length $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Modern work. Author's collection.
7. *Pot-kaṃbiya*, pierced and carved ivory book cover, with ivory button (*pot-sakiya*).
8. Piece of carved ivory, purpose unknown, perhaps part of a fan. Elaborate and very finely carved *liya pata* and *sīna mala* work. Length $4\frac{5}{16}$ inches. Author's collection. Contrast Figs. 8 and 9, one is rich, the other rococo.
9. Ivory box, gold mounted. Modern Low-country work. Debased, inorganic and over ornamented style, deeply undercut. Subject, *makara toraṇa* with four *dēvas*; degraded forms, and riotous *liya pata* borders.

PLATE XXXIX.
IVORY COMBS.

1. *Panāva*, ivory comb, carved and pierced. Figure of a dēvī seated on throne, holding branches; attendandant dancers, in *kuṇḍi-rakkan* and *arimbuva* frame. Width 5 inches. Kandy Museum collection.
2. *Panāva*, bone comb. Two *haṃsayō*, affronted, with tree of life, in *kuṇḍi-rakkan* and *ariṃbuva* border. Measures $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.
3. Carved and pierced ivory panel, perhaps a *panā-kaṭuva*, or central part of a broken comb. Very fine example of *nāri-latā* figure. Measures $6\frac{1}{6} \times 4$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
4. *Panāva*, ivory comb, remarkable and unique form. Poor design of *liya pata* repeated in pierced and carved work. Measures $3\frac{5}{8} \times 5$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
5. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Genre subjects: woman and child, woman and baby, lovers. Dresses painted red and black stripes. Observe old-fashioned manner of doing the hair

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on one side (also in figures 8 and 9). The carved figures within pierced *liya vela* frame. Measures $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
6. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Large plain form. Measures $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Author's collection.
7. *Pana-kaṭuva*, central part of broken comb. Figure of a *dēvī*, seated on throne, holding branches, with attendants. Colombo Museum collection.
8. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Standing figure of a woman, holding *cāmara*, supported by two *haṃsayō*. *Liya pata* 'crockets,' *arimbuva* and *kuṇḍi-rakkan* frame. Reverse shows back of figure. Lent by A. R. Casse Lebbe.
9. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Figure of dancer, with *liya veḷa* panels. Measures $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches square.
10. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Central lotus, with *liya pata* and *arimbuva* frame. Lines coloured. Measures $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

PLATE XL.
IVORY AND HORN.

1. Ivory panel, probably a '*panā-kaṭuva*,' or central part of double comb with teeth broken and subsequently removed. Figure of a *dēvī* seated on throne, and holding branches. *Kuṇḍi-rakkan* and *arimbuva* border. Colombo Museum collection.
2. *Veḷi-pata*, ivory style used by Buddhist priest in *pansala* schools for teaching writing. Length $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Kandy Museum collection.
3. Ivory dice, *pāśaka*, *pahaḍa kahuru*, for game of *chaupai* or *pacisi*. Engraved circles inlaid with lac indicate the numbers, 6, 5, 4, 3. Length $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Kandy Museum collection.
4. *Panāva*, ivory comb. Double comb, obverse and reverse carved alike, with *haṃsa pāṭṭuva*, and pair of birds supporting. Compare *haṃsa pāṭṭuva* with Fig. 20, p. 85, in both cases the reduced 'tree of life' between the affronted animals is clearly recognizable. Measures $4\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Kandy Museum collection.
5. *Doraṭu-pāla-rūpaya*, figure of a *dēva* from a vihāra door jamb. Figure in traditional divine costume, holding a *cāmara*; *arimbuva* border. Panel measures $9\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
6. Silver-mounted ivory arm-ring. Diameter 4 inches. Colombo Museum collection.
7. Ivory *sannas* box, containing gold *sannasa*. Poor silver mounting. Length $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Maha Dēvāle, Kandy.
8. *Kan-heṇda*, ivory ear-pick. Finely carved *śṛapēṇḍiya*. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.
9. *Kan-heṇda*, ivory ear-pick. Poorly carved. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.
10. *Kan-heṇda*, ivory ear-pick. Well carved with 'pine-apple' type of ornament. Length 3 inches. Author's collection.
11. *Panāva*, plain ivory comb. Width about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.
12. Large horn comb, pierced and inlaid with ivory. *Haṃsa pāṭṭuva* design, with four heads (of *śṛapēṇḍiya* ?). Measures $5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Author's collection.
13. *Panāva*, horn comb, pierced work, with *nāri latā* figure, within *arimbuva* border. Length $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Kēgalla Kacceri.
14. *Panāva*, horn comb. Measures $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.
15. *Behet-kārakaya*, pill box; turned horn.
16. *Behet-kārakaya*, pill box; turned horn.
17. *Behet-kārakaya*, pill box. Carved horn, silver mounted, with ivory lid. Remarkable variety of *palā peti* border carved on lower part of box. Length 4 inches. Colombo Museum collection.
18. Folding knife, horn handle. Length of handle $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

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PLATE XLI.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

1. *Śaṅkha*, chank (shell) trumpet, engraved and inlaid with red lac, mounted in brass, damascened silver. The metal mounting terminates in a finely wrought *śṛapēṉdiya*, the legs clasped, an extension of the tail passing round the mouth of the shell and ending in a large scroll. The tongue has the form of a *sīna mala*, and is pierced, perhaps for suspension. The eyes are rubies. The shell itself is engraved with *liya vẹla*, *ariṁbuva*, *palā peti*, *sīna mala* and other designs, inlaid with red lac. Total length 10 inches. Said to have been made for Narēndra Siṃha, and given to a temple in Uḍanuvara. Author's collection.

2. *Sēsata*, ceremonial processional fan, the long handle not shown. Red velvet, with gold and silver thread, passed over cords, and appliqué of green velvet within certain areas thus delimited. The obverse is of blue velvet, with sun, moon, and stars. Diameter 34 inches. Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy.

3. *Kinissa*, ladle. Bowl of silver, very finely wrought; handle of ivory with man's figure, elaborate *liya pata* ornament, and *siṃha* head (approaching *śṛapēṉdiya* in form, but with characteristic snout). A very fine example, but not a 'sacrificial ladle' as described, 'Journal of Indian Art,' Vol. X., Pl. 86, and p. 57 ('The Elephant in Industry and Art,' by F. H. Andrews); probably dedicated to a temple, or may have been used in the Palace. Length 1 foot, 6 inches; diameter of bowl $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Museum of Science and Art, Indian Section, South Kensington. For ordinary examples see Pl. XIII.

4. *Oliṉda koloṁbuva*, game board, with characteristic bent legs. Top measures $14\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Author's collection. For other examples see Pl. XII.

PLATE XLII.

MAHĀ DĒVĀLE AND DAḶADĀ MĀLIGĀVA PLATE.

1. Silver hanging lamp of very fine design and workmanship. Ornament mainly *palā peti*. Height 11 inches, diameter $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Daḷadā Māligāva.

2. *Ran-vaṭaha-pata*, round gold fan. An offering dedicated by Kīrti Śri to the Tooth Relic. Gold, set with cabochon sapphires. The border is thus actual '*gal-biṉduva*.' Length $17\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Daḷadā Māligāva.

3. *Dalumura taṭuva*, or ceremonial tray. Gold, set with cabochon sapphires. Diameter $13\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Daḷadā Māligāva. Dedicated to the Tooth Relic, it is said, by the mother of Kīrti Śrī.

4. *Keṇḍiya*, water vessel for ecclesiastical purposes. Plain silver. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy.

5. *Pacca kusalāna*, 'emerald goblet' (for sandal-wood paste). Bowl of black stone (not 'emerald'), gold mounted and set with rubies, except four corner stones of the foot, which are sapphires. '*Gal-bindu*' rim, with '*sīna-mala*' pendants. Height 2 inches. Used by Rājādhi Rāja Siṃha, and dedicated by him to the Mahā Dēvāle after a victory at Gurubẹbile. Mahā Dēvāle.

Photographs by A. K. Coomaraswamy, by the kindness of Mr. C. B. Nugavẹla, Diva Nilame of the Daḷadā Māligāva, and Mr. A. Ratvatte, Basnāyaka Nilame of the Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy.

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PLATE XLIII.

OBJECTS OF BRASS AND SILVER.

1. *Ridī peṭṭiya*, silver jewel box. Very fine old example in a pure style. The flattened stem of the *liya vela* ornament recalls similar treatment at Barāhat. Height 9, diameter 8 inches. Property of Maḍuvanvela Raṭēmahātmayā.
2. Brass jewel box, 'Indo-Portuguese' style. Measurement, $8 \times 5 \times 4$ inches. Probably Low-country work. Colombo Museum collection.
3. Brass door-handle and rose. Diameter of rose 5 inches. Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihāra.
4. Brass jewel or betel-leaf box. Probably Tamil work. Ornament, two peacocks affronted, and *liya vela*; a form of *palā peti* border. Colombo Museum collection.
5. Small silver box, under side showing engraving (*iri veḍa*). 'Acanthus' and 'pine-apple' type of design, possibly showing Renaissance influence. Size of box, $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.
6. *Amba*, brass mango; set with jewels. From a Pattini Dēvāle. Length $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S. This mango is also described and illustrated in 'Spolia Zeylanica,' V., 141 (1908). The birds, however, are rather peacocks than *garuḍas*.
7. Brass door-handle and rose, key and key-plate. Diameter of rose about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Laṅkātilaka Vihāra.

PLATE XLIIIA.

MISCELLANEOUS METAL WORK.

1. *Keṇḍiya*, water vessel for ecclesiastical use. Copper, neck and lid set with cabochon garnets. Gem set border round neck shows well the gem set origin of the *gal-bindu* pattern. Elaborate *palā peti* borders on body, and *liya pata* chasing on spout. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches to top of lid. Ridī Vihāra.
2. *Veḍi-bēt-kārakaya*, powder horn. Horn, mounted in copper, silver plated, with filigree ornament. Length $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Author's collection.
3. Brass-mounted wooden box, 'Indo-Portuguese' style. Outside measuses $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's collection.
4. The '*Jaya Saka*,' or chank of victory dedicated by Śrī Rājādhi Siṃha to the Mahā Dēvāle after a victory at Gurubeḍile over the Dutch. Mounted in gold, in order, it is said, that no other lips should be set to it. Length 7 inches. Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy.
5. Key and key-plate, Asgiriya Vihāra, Kandy.
6. Door handle with rose, Asgiriya Vihāra. Partly shown also in Fig. 5.
7. Bolt of a damascened *narissa yatura* (bar-lock), Ridī Vihāra. The last is of the flat variety, with hinged hasp (not shown); it ends in a '*kibihi*' (lion) head, and has another on the top of the hasp.
8. *Veḷ-peṭṭiya*, cane basket; with brass fittings. Property of Maḍuvanvela Raṭēmahātmayā.

PLATE XLIV.

OBJECTS OF BRASS, COPPER AND BRONZE.

1. *Sērak-kale*, brass table for taking rice. Patterns: 'continuous branch' (elementary form), cable, double spiral. Height $6\frac{1}{5}$, diameter of top 7 inches. Colombo Museum collection.
2. *Aṅkusa*, elephant-goad used by attendant on foot. Brass, with double iron point (half missing, but in any case not visible in side view) proceeding from *śṛapeṇḍiya* head. Lacquered wooden handle, 5 or 6 feet long, top only shown in figure. Length from socket-rim to apex $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Property of Mr. T. B. Paraṇātella.

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3. Bronze elephant bell, with *bō*-leaf and triangle (*bō*-leaf type) ornament. Diameter of mouth 8 inches. Colombo Museum collection.
4. Brass lamp, in shape of a bird. Tail to beak 7 inches. Colombo Museum collection.
5. Brass lamp with *haṃsa*. Probably Tamil work. Height 9½ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
6. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box. Copper throughout. Diameter 4¾ inches. Author's collection.
7. *Pān-kuḍuva*, lantern. Pierced brass. Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihāra.
8. Key of vihāra door, iron, brass mounted. Maḍuvanvela Vihāra. Reduced.

PLATE XLV.

OBJECTS OF BRASS, BRONZE AND IRON.

1. Bronze mould for the gold state shoes (*miriveḍi saṅgala*, p. 33) of King Narēndra Siṃha. Made by the Maṅgalagama artificers, in whose possession it remains. Length 11 inches. ? Renaissance influence in the ornament.
2. *At-pandama*, hand cresset; with peacock (*moṇara*) bracket. Property of Ammiṭiyagoḍa Baṇḍāra.
3. *At-pandama*, hand cresset; with lion (*siṃha*) bracket. Diameter of bowl 8½ inches. Property of Maḍuvanvela Raṭēmahātmayā.
4. Brass kettle. Length of horizontal part of handle 5½ inches. Property of Ammiṭiyagoḍa Baṇḍāra. ? Dutch influence in the shape; but not necessarily.
5. *At-pandama*, hand cresset; with laced bracket and turned wood handle. Length 2 feet. Colombo Museum collection.
6. *Sērak-kale*, brass table for taking rice (see p. 32). Note the patterns—triangle, chevron, simple form of 'continuous branch,' double spiral, *palā peti*, *gal binduva*, etc. Height 8½ inches. Property of Mr. G. S. Saxton, C.C.S.
7. *Pandama*, small bronze standing lamp of ancient pattern; compare with Cunningham, 'Mahābodhi,' Plate XXVIII. Length 10 inches. Property of Mr. T. B. Paraṇātella. Perhaps Tamil.
8. *Veṿa*, adze; steel, damascened silver. Width of blade 3½ inches. Modern, property of Sir Everard Im Thurm.
9. Bronze elephant bell. Diameter of mouth 4½ inches. Lent by A. R. Casse Lebbe.
10. *Tēl-kulāva*, oil vessel for filling and replenishing coconut oil lamps. Spout in form of *ṣṛapeṇḍiya* head. Height about 1 foot. Karagastalāva Vihāra, Sab.
11, 12. *Pan-kēti*, mat-weavers' knives. The blade is used for cutting projecting ends of grass, the point for plaiting. From Balaṅgoḍa. Length 10½ inches. Author's collection.
13. *Kurakkan-kēṭṭa*, sickle for reaping *kurakkan*. Balaṅgoḍa.
14. *Dē-kēṭṭa*, ordinary sickle for reaping rice. Wooden handle, brass mounted, blade with punched ornament, pointed, serrate on inner edge. Length from tip to insertion about 13 inches.

PLATE XLVI.

ARECANUT SLICERS (*giṛā*) AND CHUNAM (LIME-) BOXES (*killōta*).

1. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; steel, damascened silver. Perhaps Tamil work. Length 10¾ inches. Colombo Museum collection.
2. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; steel damascened silver. Representing head and body of *ṣṛapeṇḍiya*. Length 10 inches. Colombo Museum collection.

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3. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; steel damascened silver and brass. Representing head and body of *śerapēṇdiya*, showing the wings. A fine and old example. Length 12 inches. Author's collection.

4. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; brass with steel blade. Length $5\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

5. '*Vēṇdum*' *giraya*, 'saluting' arecanut slicer; steel damascened silver. Length $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

6. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; steel damascened silver, ends of handles in *śerapēṇdiya* form. Length 5 inches. Colombo Museum collection.

7. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; steel damascened silver. Length $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

8. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; brass with steel blade. Length 6 inches. Colombo Museum collection.

9. *Giraya*, arecanut slicer; brass, silver damascened, with steel blade. Represents head and body of *śerapēṇdiya*, the wings and feathers clearly indicated. A fine and old example. Length $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Author's collection.

10. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; copper filigree set with glass over coloured foil to represent cabochon garnets, nine on each side. Opens by hinge at lowest part of the figure, screw fastening at opposite point, at commencement of chain. Chain, swivel and spoon particularly fine. Diameter of box 6 inches, thickness 1 inch. Interior divided into one large and four small compartments. Probably seventeenth century or older. Author's collection.

11. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; copper, silver damascened. Diameter of box 2 inches. Chain and spoon missing. Colombo Museum collection.

12. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; copper, damascened silver. Diameter of box about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

13. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; gold, very finely chased. Diameter of box about $2\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Property of Mr. A. Ratvatte, Basnāyaka Nilame of the Mahā Dēvāle, Kandy. Formerly belonged to Levke Disāva.

14. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; from the Nevill collection?

15. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; steel, copper mounted, silver damascened. Diameter of box about $3\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Colombo Museum collection.

16. *Killōṭaya*, lime-box; from the Nevill collection?

Photographs by E. M. C., except Figs. 14 and 16.

PLATE XLVII.

KNIVES, SPEAR HEAD, SWORD.

1. Pair of knives (one missing) and writing style in silver wood and ivory sheath. The central tube into which the style fits is of ivory. The upper part (broken) of the style is of brass inlaid with silver. Ornament, pair of birds affronted on handle of style, *śerapēṇdiya* on handle of knife. Sheath $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. Collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

2. Knife with ivory handle, brass mounted with silver inlay. *Liya pata* and *liya vēla* ornament; 1757 cut on handle. Length about 14 inches. Collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

3. Knife in silver-mounted wood sheath, handle with pair of *śerapēṇdiyas*, addorsed. Collection of H. E. Monsignor Zaleski, Papal Delegate.

4. Silver-mounted wood sheath of knife shown in Fig. 5. Typical wire and grain or filigree work.

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5. Silver-mounted knife with ivory handle. *Liya pata* and *liya vęla* ornament. Length 13¼ inches.
6. Brass-mounted knife, silver rivets, etc. Length 10½ inches. Lent by Āracci at Belihul Oya.
7. Knife, with very fine pierced silver mounting. *Liya pata*, *liya vęla*, *sīna-mala* and *śęrapęṇḍiya* ornament; the *śęrapęṇḍiyas* disposed in *liya vęla* fashion. Reduced. Lent by A. R. Casse Lebbe.
8. Brass-mounted knife, horn or ivory handle with silver rivets. *Śęrapęṇḍiya* (or *makara* ?) and *liya pata* ornament. Reduced.
9. Folding knife; copper handle, silver inlaid with *palā peti* border and owner's initials. Length 6⅛ inches. Author's collection.
10. Head of processional spear (*paṭisthānaya*), steel damascened with brass and silver. Reduced. Colombo Museum collection.
11. Sword hilt, horn, silver and brass mounted with large head of lion, and small heads of *śęrapęṇḍiya*. Total length of hilt and mounting, 9 inches. Lent by Āracci at Belihul Oya.

PLATE XLVIII.

JEWELLERY: NECK-CHAINS AND PENDANTS.

1. *Pol-mal-mālaya*, 'coconut flower garland,' gold necklace.
2, 3. Necklaces of gold beads alternating with coral. No. 2, 21 inches long.
4. *Gęḍi mālaya*, 'garland of seeds,' gold bead necklace, beads in form of fruits or seeds. Thirty-one beads, total length 42 inches.

Nos. 1-4, property of Mr. H. E. Dambevinne.

5. Necklace and pendant. Necklace of pearls and gold beads, strung in 'cage' fashion (*kāḍu-pota*). Pendant suggests Muhammadan influence. Width of pendant 2¼ inches.
6. *Kurulu-bęṇḍi mālaya*, bird pendant necklace, *bhēruṇḍa* type of pendant. Width of pendant 2¾ inches. Pendants (*padakkam*) of two last in *tahaḍu kola bęmma*. Both are property of Mr. H. E. Dambevinne.
7. Necklace of gold *bō*-leaves set with rubies alternating with beads. *Tahaḍu kola bęmma* work. Property of Iddamalgoḍa Kumārihāmi.
8. Gold necklace of collar type (? *peti paṭiya*), showing clasp. Length 13¼, width ⅞ inches. Author's collection.
9. *Diviya niya pota*, child's charm pendant, reverse with sun, moon, *bō*-leaf, chank and bow emblems. Obverse consists of green glass. Width 2½ inches. Gold example, property of Mr. A. Ratvatte.
10, 15. *Diviya niya pota*, obverse (10) with *nāri latā* design, reverse (15) with five weapons of Vishṇu, sword, chank, bow, spear and discus. Silver, property of Mr. P. B. Nugavela.
11. Pearl, cornelian and gold filigree necklace, florid example of a common type. Length about 15 inches.
12. Part of gold filigree necklace, very long, property of Iddamalgoḍa Kumārihāmi.
13. Ear and tooth pick, length about 5½ inches. Silver, Colombo Museum collection.
14. *Diviya niya pota*, silver, with chain, Colombo Museum collection.
16, 17. *Divi niya pota*, obverse (16) with filigree decoration, reverse (17) with five weapons of Vishṇu as in No. 15. Author's collection.

Nos. 5, 6, and 7 show Tamil influence. Nos. 4, 6, 12, and 13 might be used by men or women. Nos. 9, 10, 14, and 17 are worn by children only.

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PLATE XLIX.

JEWELLERY: NECK-CHAINS AND OTHER JEWELLERY.

1-3. Low-country jewellery showing Dutch influence.
4. *Peti mālaya*, 'garland of flowers' or petals: gold.
5. *Siri-bō-mālaya*, 'pepper-flower-garland.' The spelling and explanation given in the Index under *Śrī-bō-mālaya* are wrong. *Siri-bō* is a variety of betel (*Piper betle*) and the resemblance of the gold necklace to the flower spikes of the creeper is obvious.
6. Necklace of gold beads and pearls.
7. Necklace of gold filigree, pearl, and carnelian.
8. Necklace of gold beads and filigree and carnelian.
9. Necklace of gold filigree beads and pearls.
10. Gold betel-box, length 4 inches.
11. *Makara mālaya*: gold beads as in Pl. XLVIII., 5, two *makaras* affronted, and pendant with two birds. Property of Mr. A. Ratvatte.
12. Parts of *peti mālaya* necklaces.
13. *Keccagama*, armlet with talisman case, set with sapphires and rubies. Gold, length 9 inches. Property of Mr. A. Ratvatte.

PLATE L.

JEWELLERY: WAIST CHAINS, PENDANTS AND BANGLES.

1-7. Silver waist chains (*havaḍi*). No. 5, with talisman cases, would be called a *tura-vela*. Nos. 1, 5, 6, may be Tamil. Nos. 1-3, Author's collection; Nos. 4-7, Colombo Museum collection.
8. *Kurulu padakkama*, bird pendant described on p. 212. Gold, *tahaḍu kola hemma* work. Width $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches across wings. The eyes are sapphires, and the lowest row and seven other stones including the centre are emerald or green zircon, all the other stones are ruby.
9-19. Bangles. No. 13 (*seri-valalla*), $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide. Nos. 9-13 Colombo Museum collection.

PLATE LI.

JEWELLERY: RINGS AND EAR-RINGS.

1, 2. Front and back of large chief's ring (*pēres muduva*): emerald centre, rubies next, pale sapphires outside. Natural size. Author's collection.
3. Ring belonging to a headman at Nahanuela: set ruby and (?) crystal.
4. Rings of base metal, generally set with imitation gems.
5, 6, 7. Gold gem set rings, property of Mr. A. Ratvatte. Showing repoussé under side, as also in Nos. 2, 13, 14.
8, 9, 10. Rings in the Colombo Museum collection. No. 8, *vattappa-muduva* (?) 2 inches diameter, set with rubies and table-cut emeralds, and amethyst in centre. No. 2 set with cinnamon stones; No. 3 with pale rubies and sapphire in centre.
11. Copper gilt ring.
12. Gold *nava-ratna* ring, set with nine stones, including pearl; the stones differ in colour, but do not all differ in kind. Author's collection.
13, 14. Rings belonging to Maḍuvanvela Raṭēmahātmayā. No. 14 a typical *pēres muduva*, or chief's full dress ring. Slightly reduced.
15. Ear-ring set with rubies and pearls. Author's collection.
16. Silver ear-rings, peasant type. Ūva,
17. Silver filigree ear-rings, peasant type, Ūva.
18. Gold gem-set ear-ring, *bō*-leaf form, Haputale.

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PLATE LII.

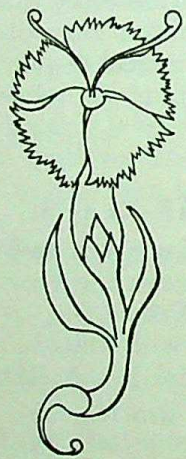
MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

1. Outside of *bana* book described on p. 179, and illustrated, Pls. XVII., XX., and Fig. 3. Property of Indajoti Unnānse of Malvatte.
2. One end of silver-mounted lacquered ceremonial pingo or yoke, Ẹmbẹkke Dēvāle.
3. Talipot and mica *sēsata*, with *nāga daṉgaya* design. Property of Mr. G. S. Saxton, C.C.S.
4. *Pili-hẹliya*, earthen jar for storing cloths.
5. *Kaḷageḍiya* with incised ornament. Kẹḷaṇiya.
6. *Behet gal*, stone mortars for preparing medicines. Balaṅgoḍa, property of Mahavalaṭẹnna Raṭēmahātmayā.
7. *Haṉdun-gala*, stone for grinding sandal wood to paste. Under side, showing ornament. Colombo Museum collection.

PLATE LIII.

MANUFACTURE OF IRON AND STEEL.

See description on Plate, and in text, p. 189 *seq.*



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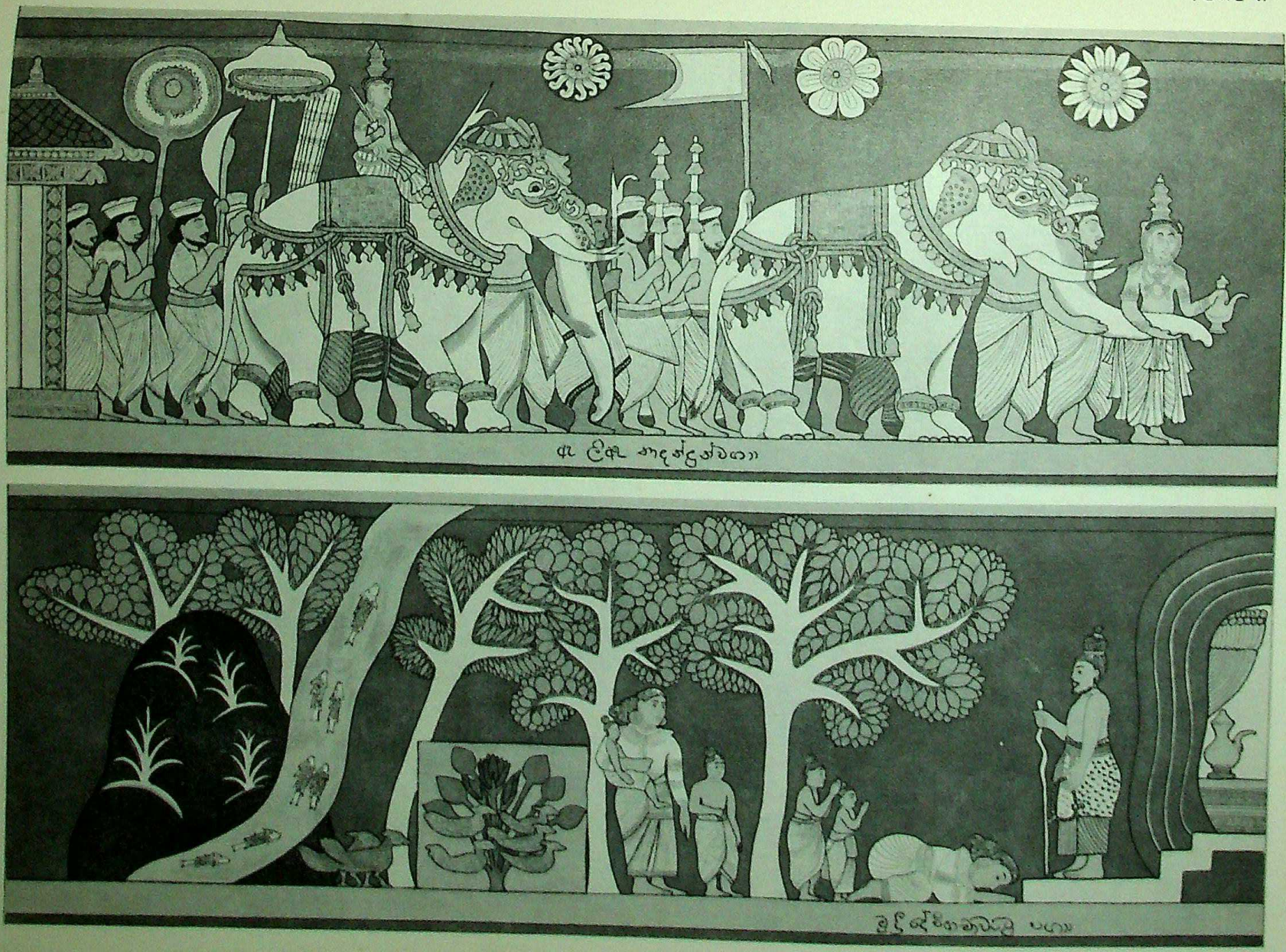

WESSANTARA JÂTAKA, DEGALDORUWA VIHÂRA

[original painted between 1771 and 1786 A.D.]

Reproduction about ⅓ size of original

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KANDYAN LADIES, DAUGHTERS OF CHIEFS.

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KANDYAN CHIEF.

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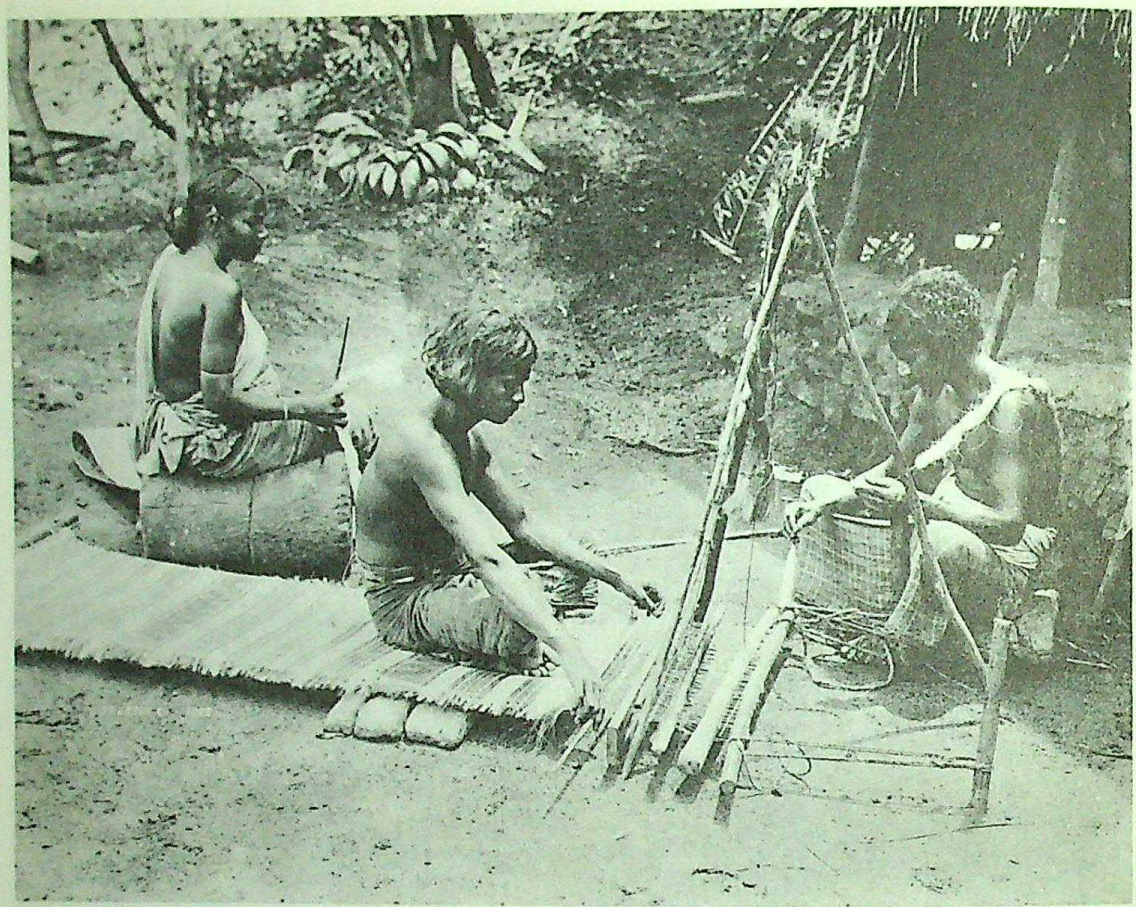
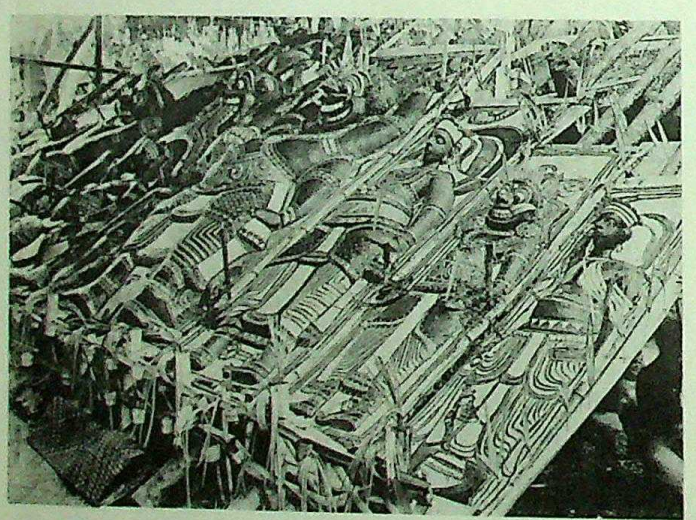
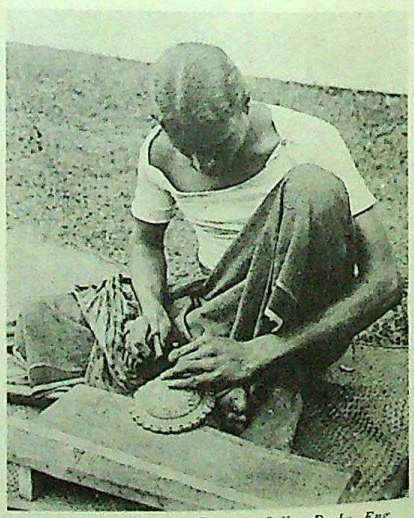


1. MAT WEAVERS (Kinnarayo).



2. BALI CEREMONY.



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3. DAMASCENER.

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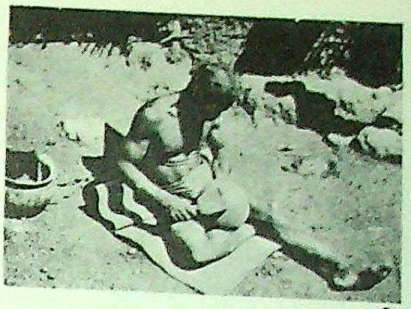
1

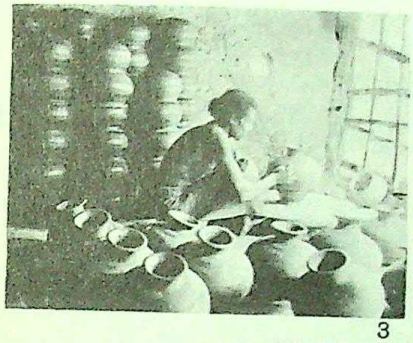
POTTERS AT WORK.



2

8

HORN COMB MAKER.



3

POTTERS AT WORK.

4

9

MAN WEARING DIYA KACHCHIYA.

5

BASKET WEAVER.

6

BORING HOLES IN METAL.

7

BRASS FOUNDERS' WORKSHOP.

10

FAIR AT RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL.

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CRAFTSMEN AND COSTUME.

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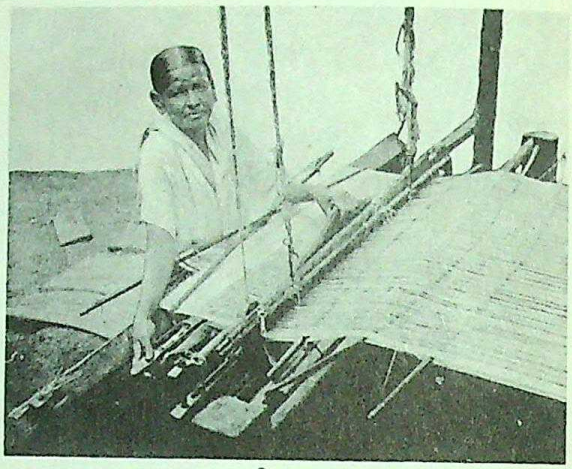
1



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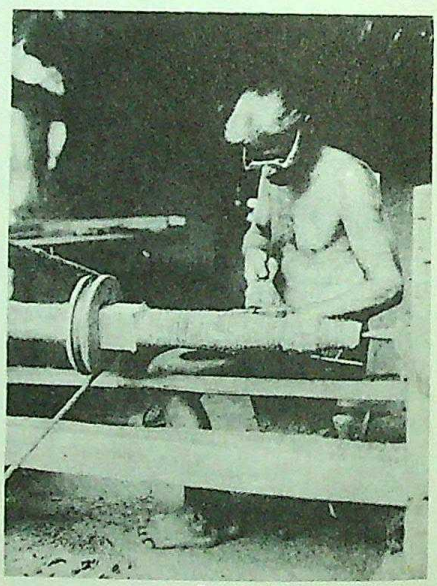

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CRAFTSMEN AT WORK.

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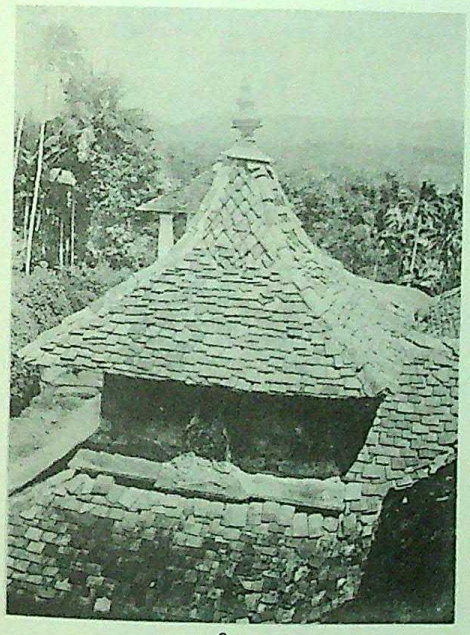

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BUILDINGS.

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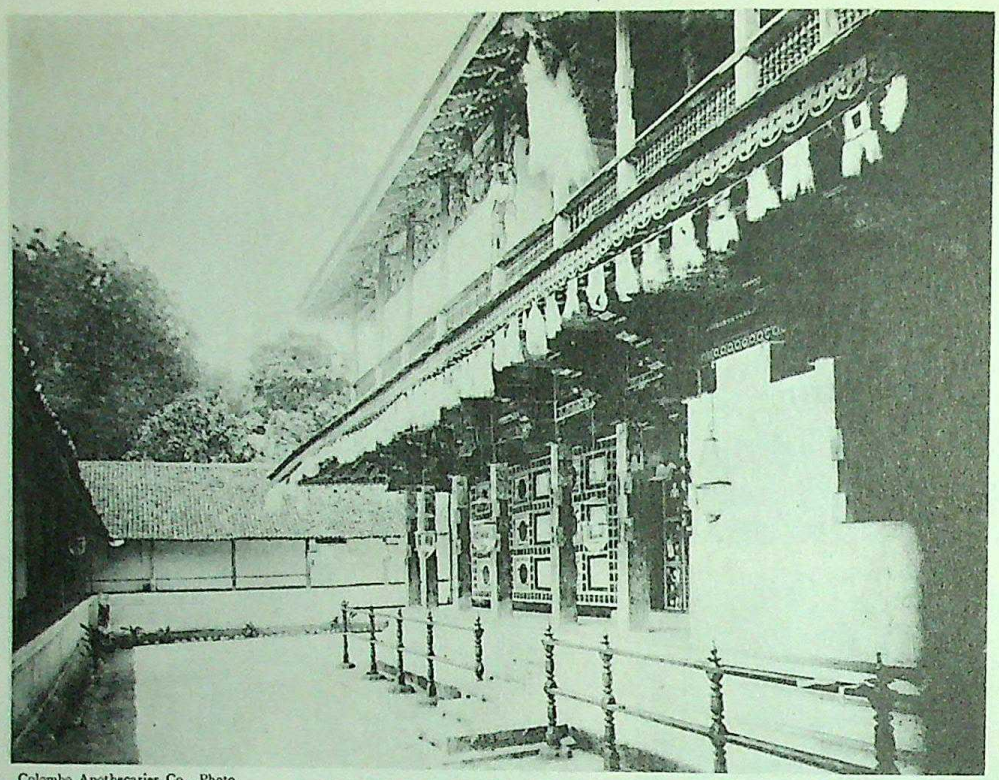
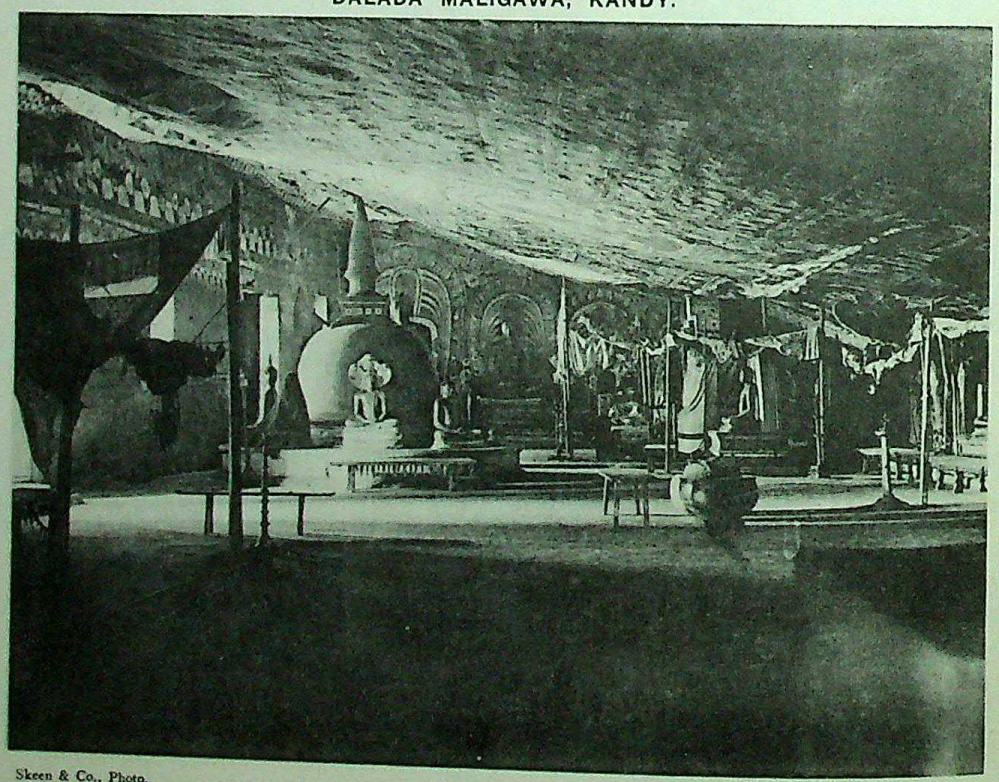


Colombo Apothecaries Co., Photo.

DALADA MALIGAWA, KANDY.



Skeen & Co., Photo.

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

DAMBULLA GAL-VIHARE, INTERIOR.

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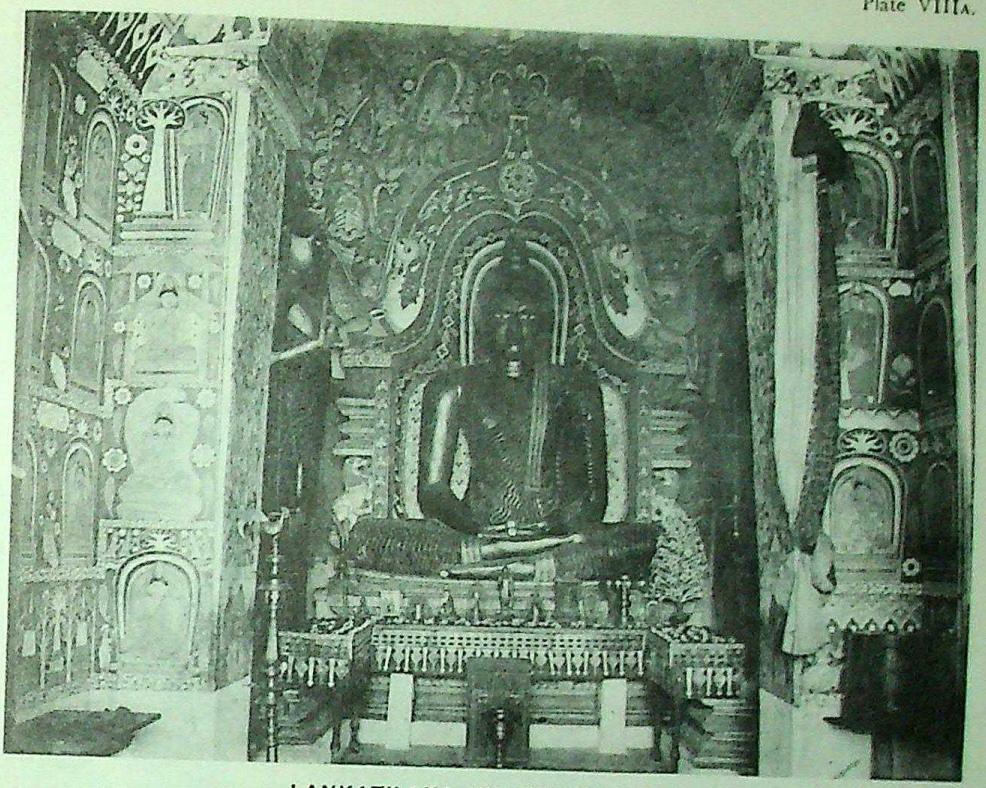
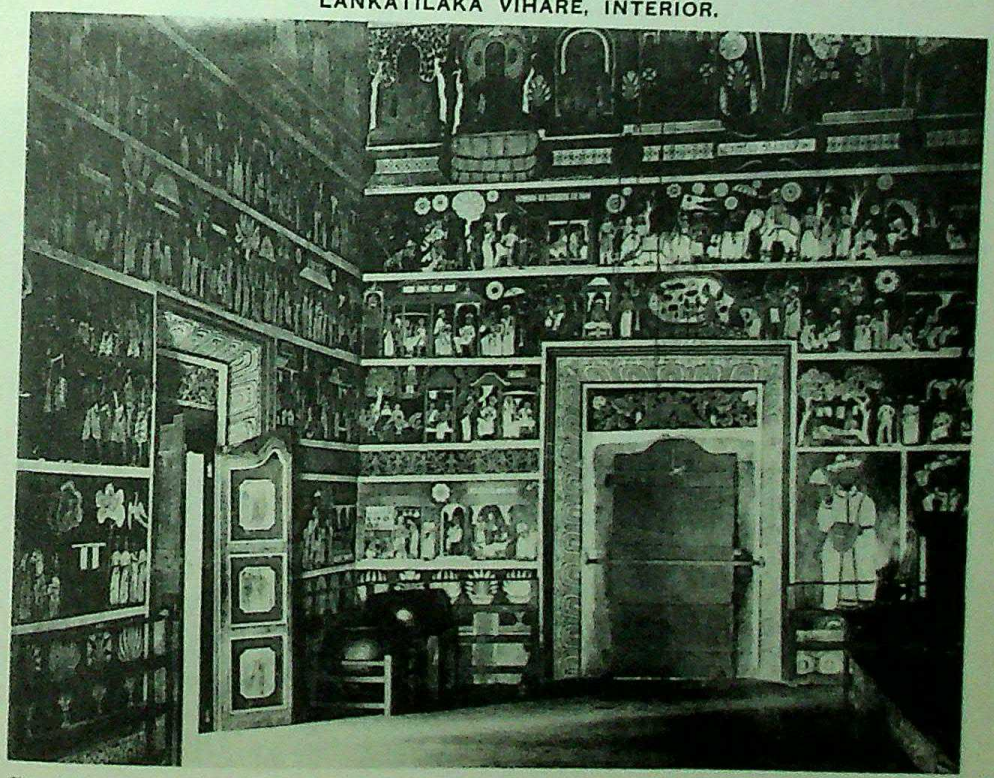


LANKATILAKA VIHARE, INTERIOR.



Skeen & Co., Photo. *Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.*

KELANIYA VIHARE, INTERIOR.

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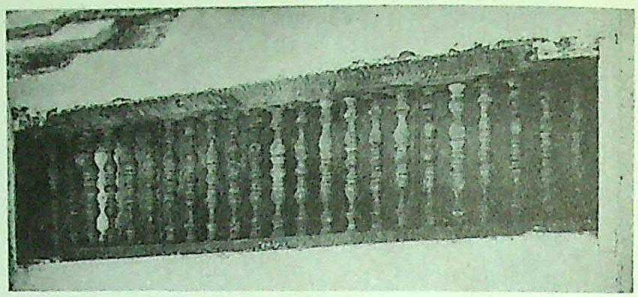

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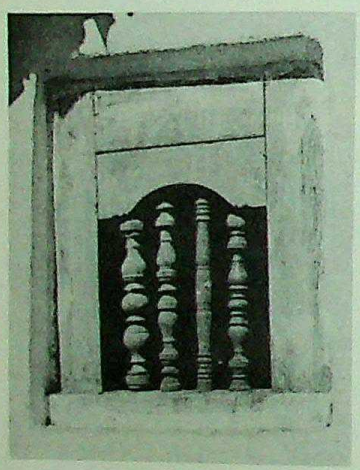

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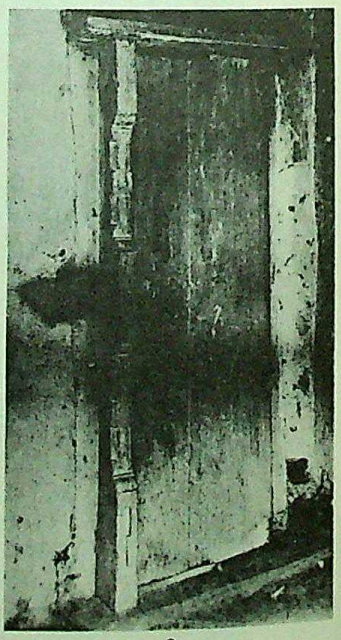

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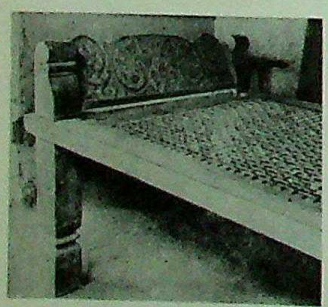

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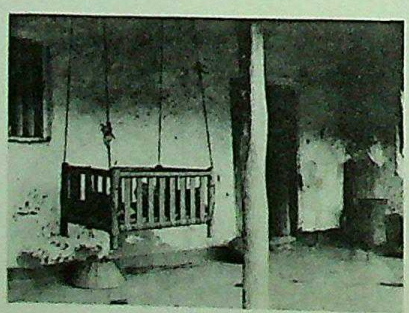

8

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

WOODWORK.

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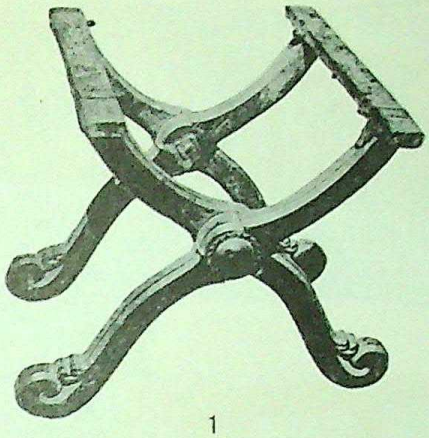

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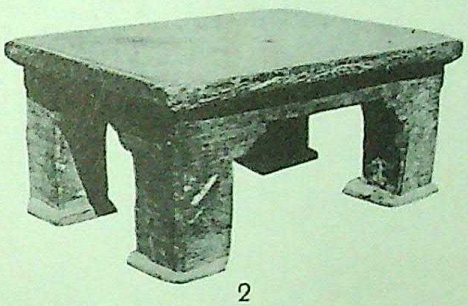

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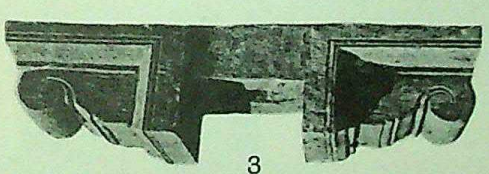

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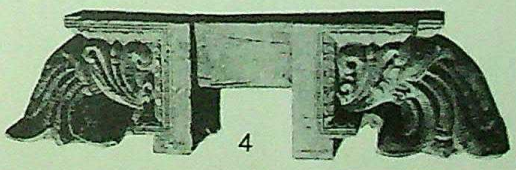

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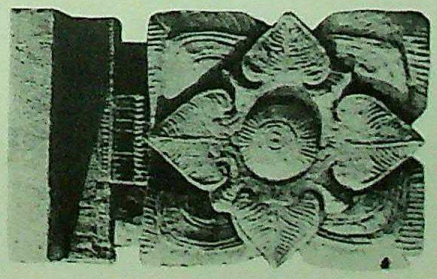

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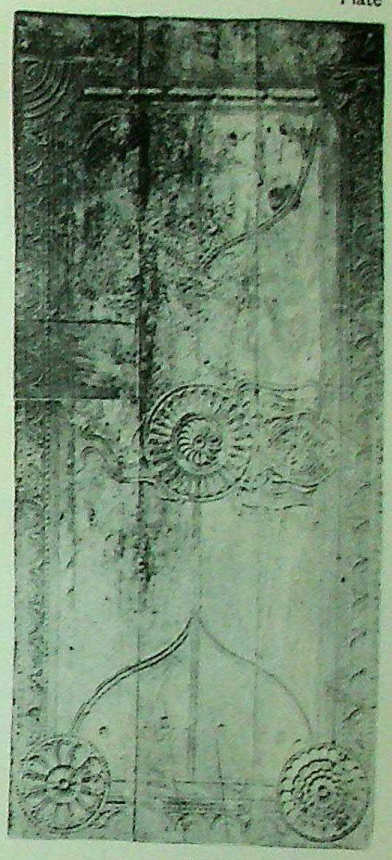

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7

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

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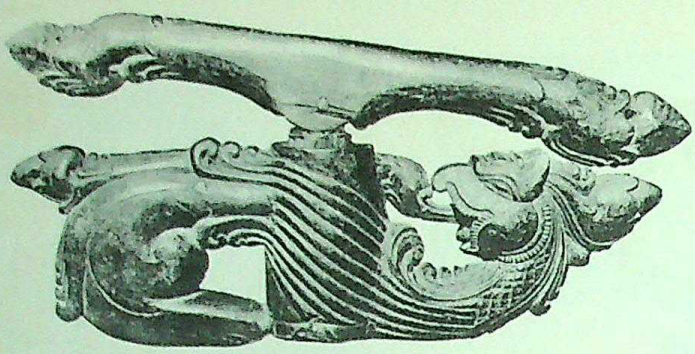

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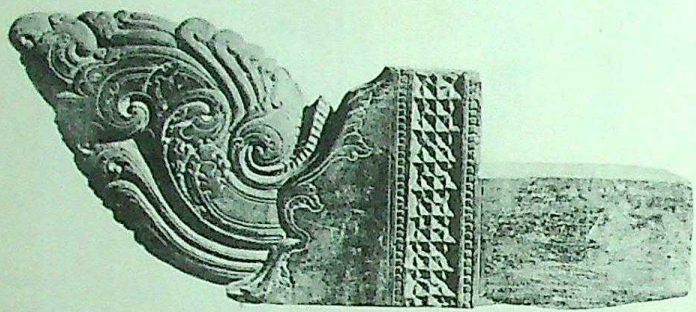

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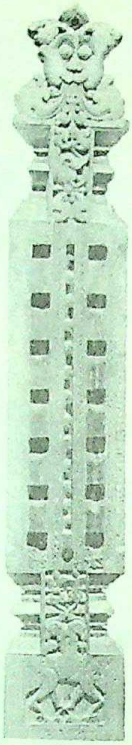
WOODEN RICE-SQUEEZER, BOLT, BED-HEAD AND STOOL.



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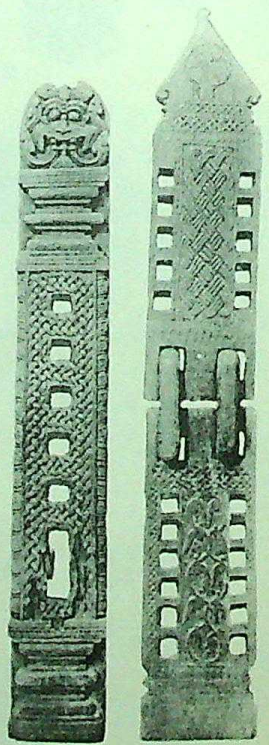

6 7

SPOON RACKS.

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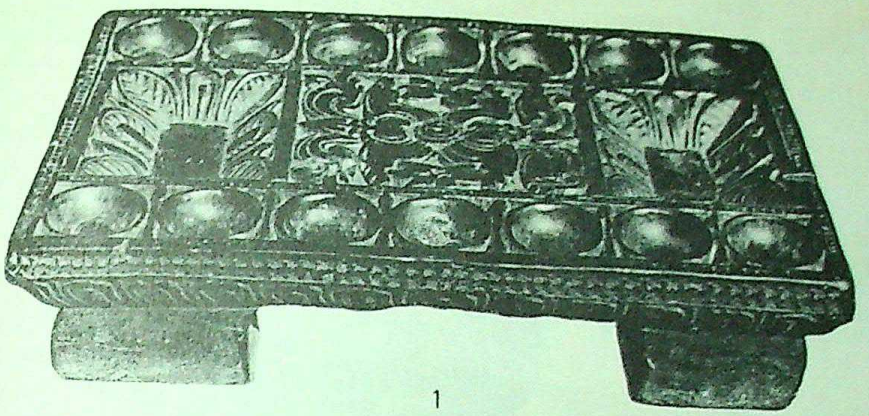

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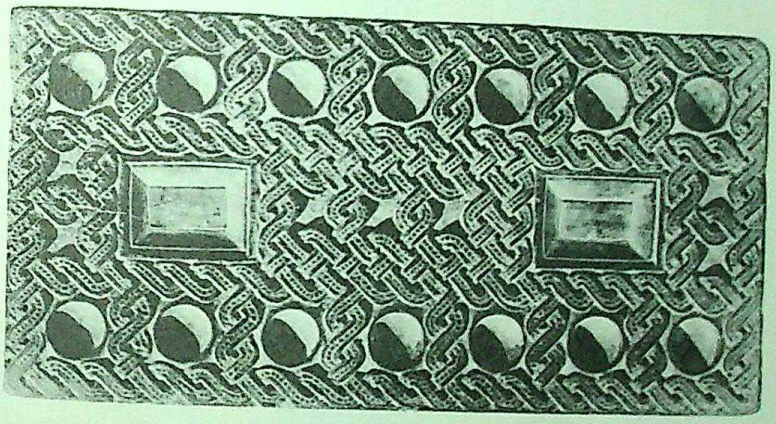

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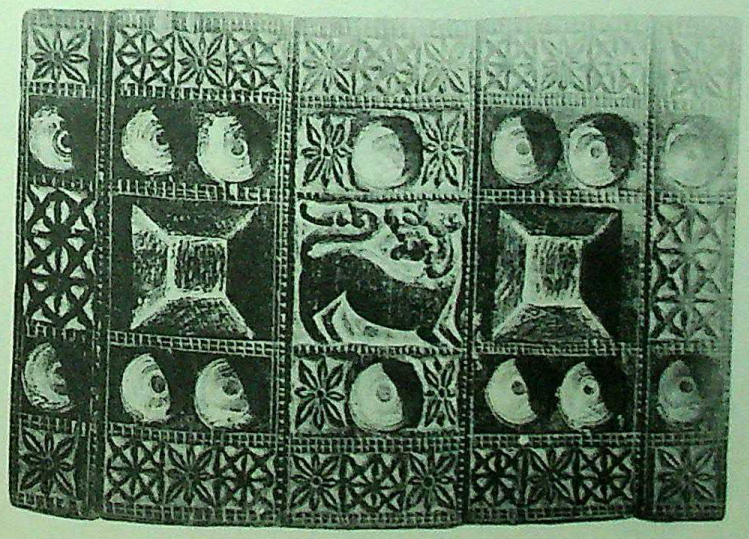

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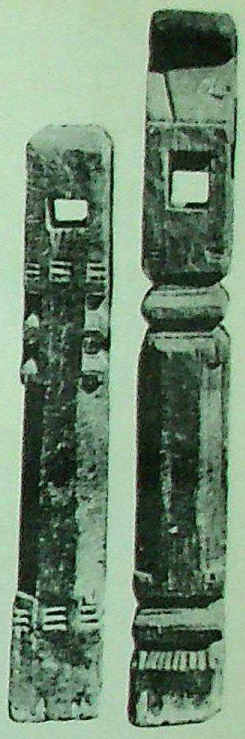

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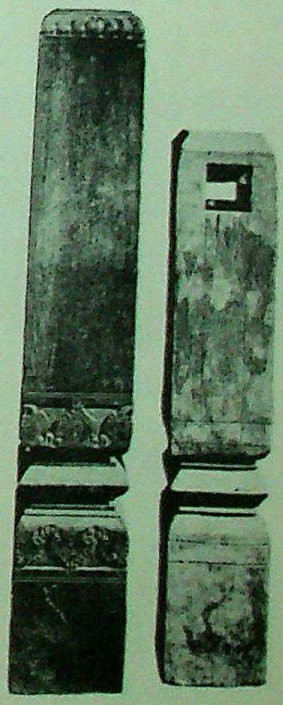

6 7

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

BED LEGS.

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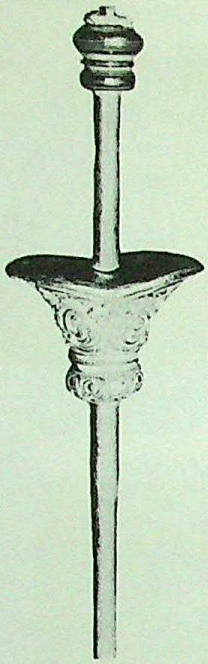

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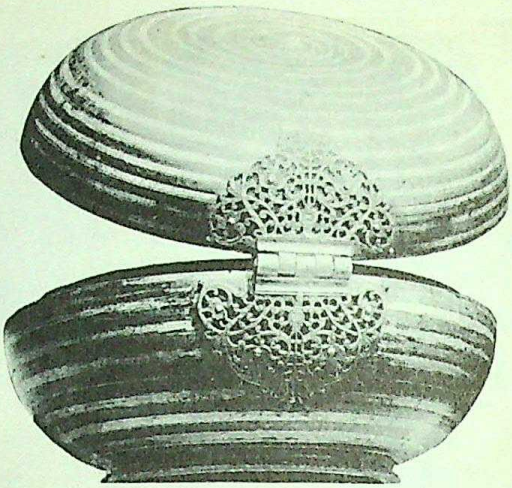

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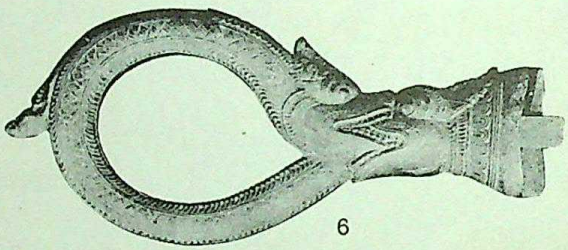

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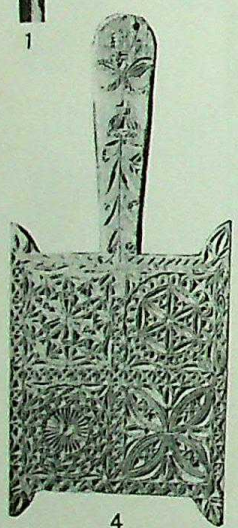

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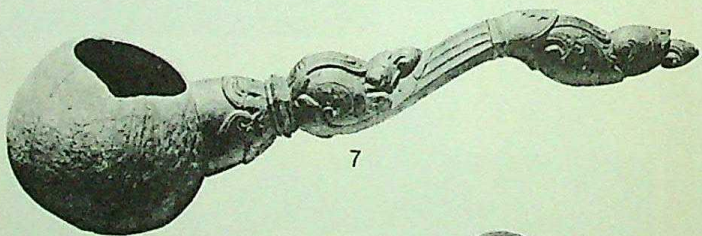

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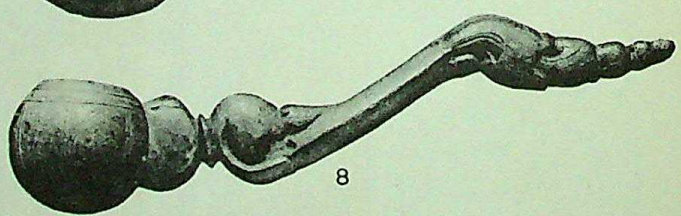

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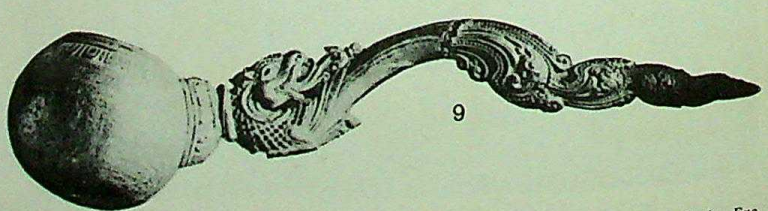

9

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Engr.

WOODWORK.

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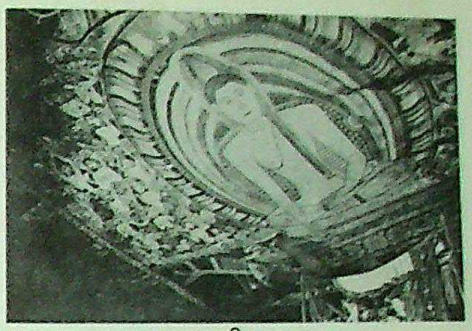

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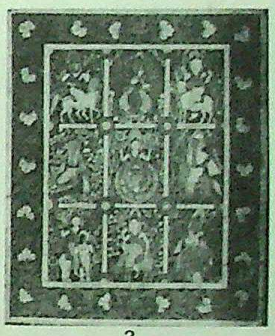

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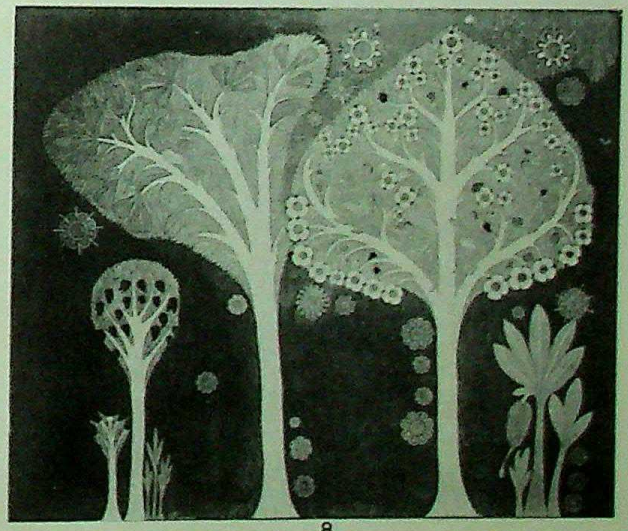

8

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

PAINTING AND DESIGN.

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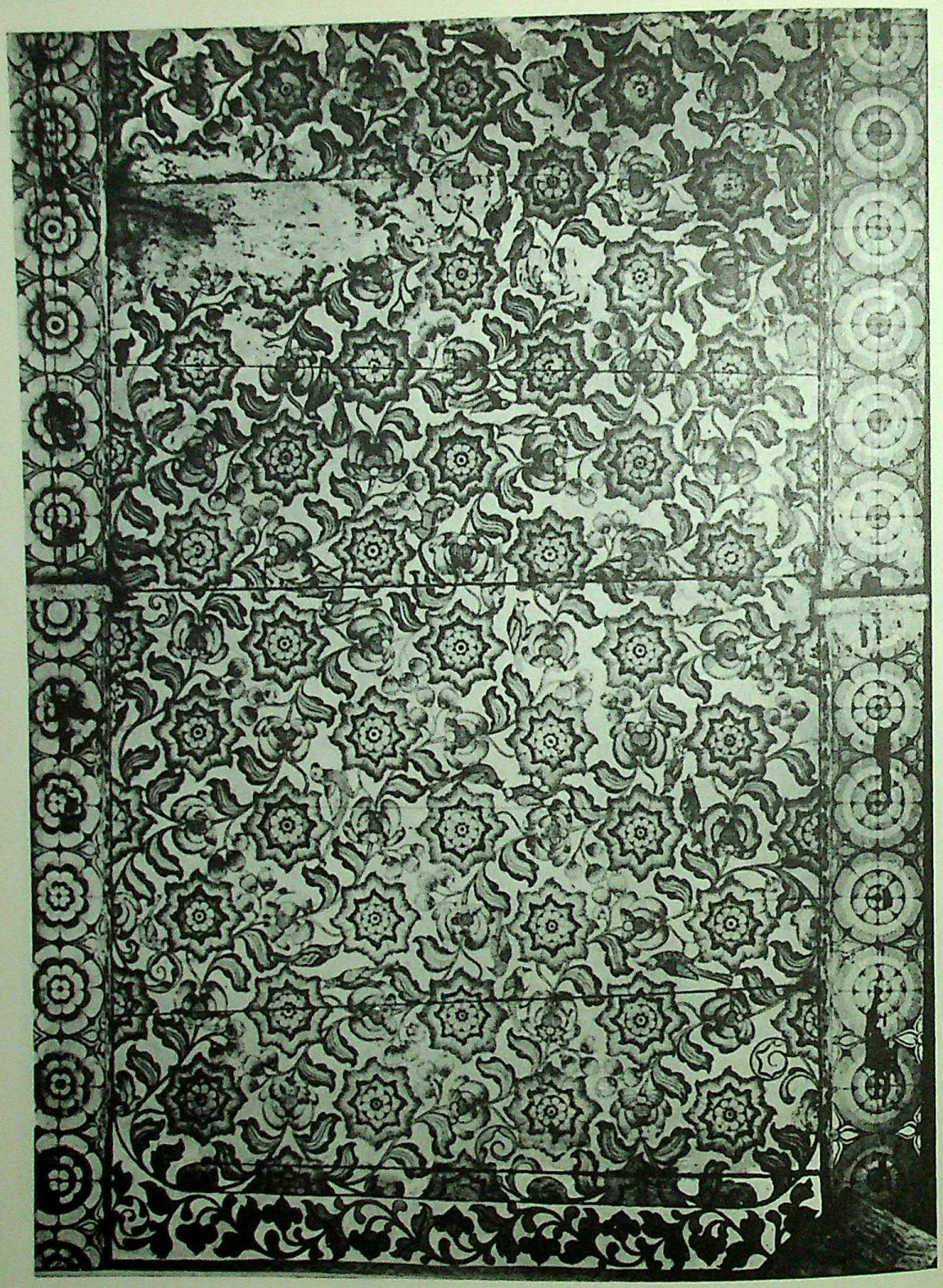

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Engr.

VIHARA CEILING-PAINTING AT GANEGAMA, NEAR PELMADULLA.

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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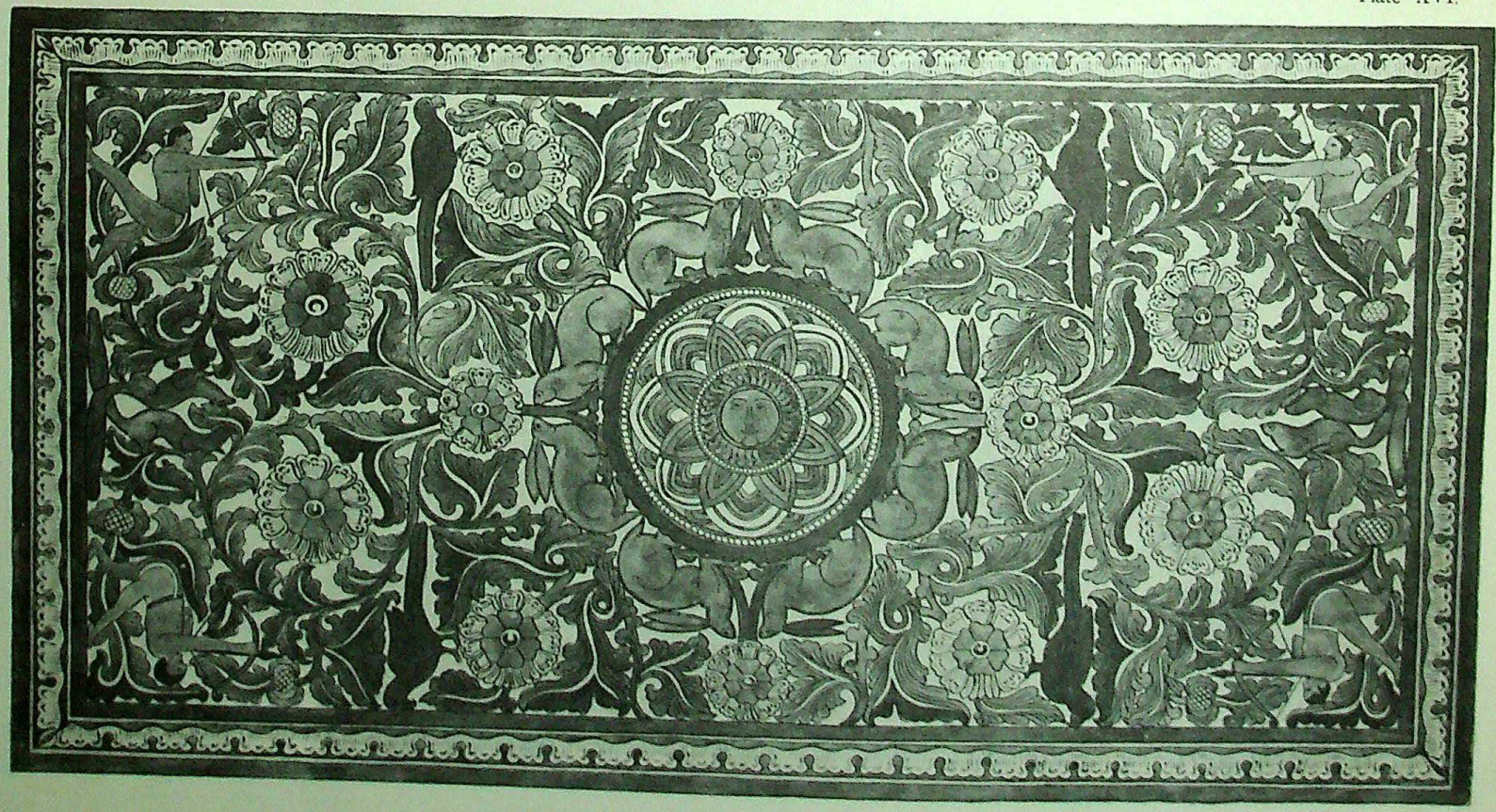

Bourne, Colls., Derby, Eng.

VERANDAH CEILING PAINTING, DALADA MALIGAWA, KANDY.

19th Century. Now Destroyed.

Drawn by E. M. Coomaraswamy from a photograph.

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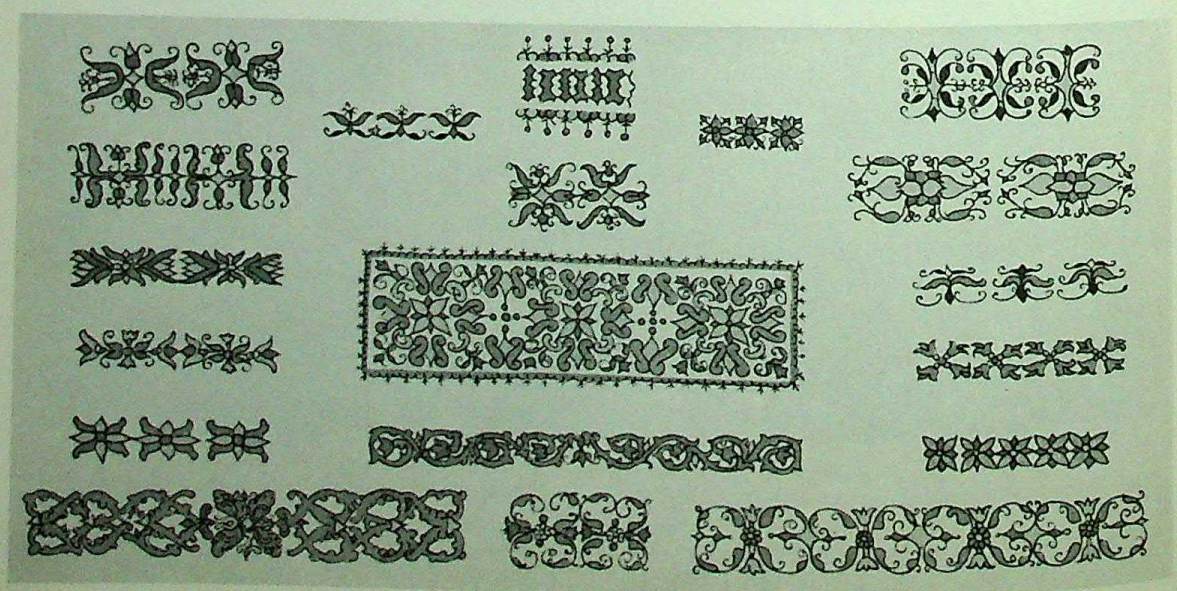
TIRINGI TALAI, DRAWN BY EMBEKKA DEVASURENDRA HANGIDIYA, EARLY XIXTH CENTURY.



TAIL-PIECES FROM AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY M S.

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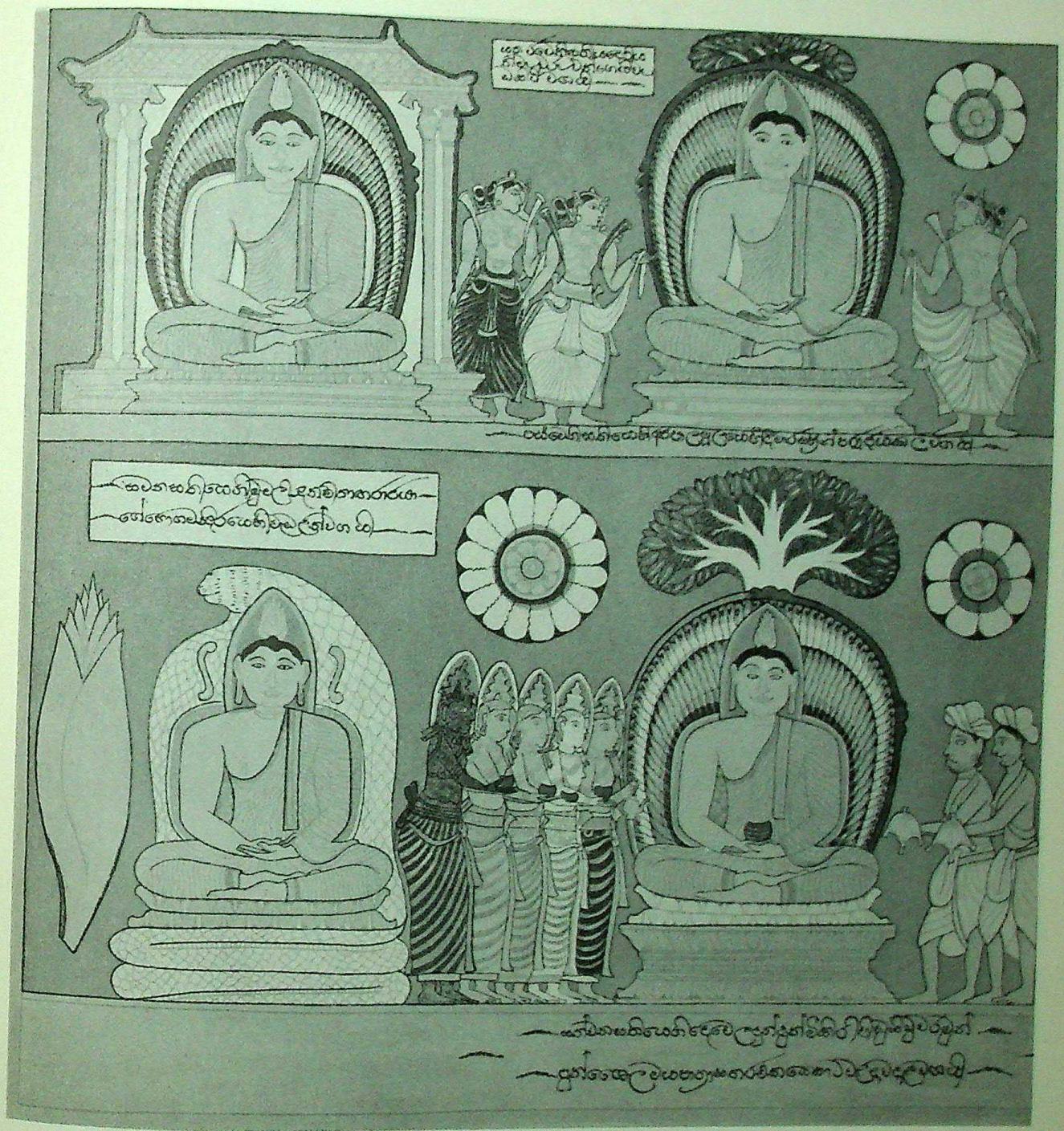

FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS. WRITTEN IN 1811 A.D.

Scenes from the life of Gotama Buddha: part of the *Sat Satiya* or seven weeks' fast.

Fourth week, Buddha seated in the golden palace erected by the Dewas, reflecting on the Dharmma.

Fifth week, Buddha seated beneath the tree Ajapāla, tempted by the daughters of Māra.

Sixth week, Buddha sheltered by the Nāga, Muchalinda.

Seventh week, Buddha receiving offerings of milk-rice from two Brahman merchants, and an alms-bowl from the Regents of the four quarters.

[*Original measures* 9¾ X 9¾ *inch.*]

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FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS. WRITTEN IN 1811 A.D.

Gotama Buddha seated, preaching.

[*Original measures* 8¾ X 7¾ *inch.*]

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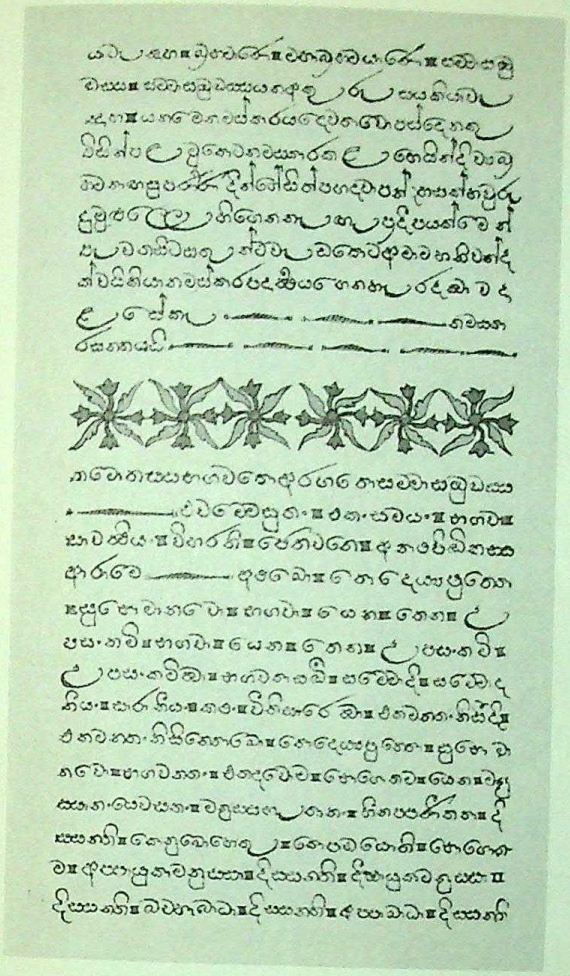
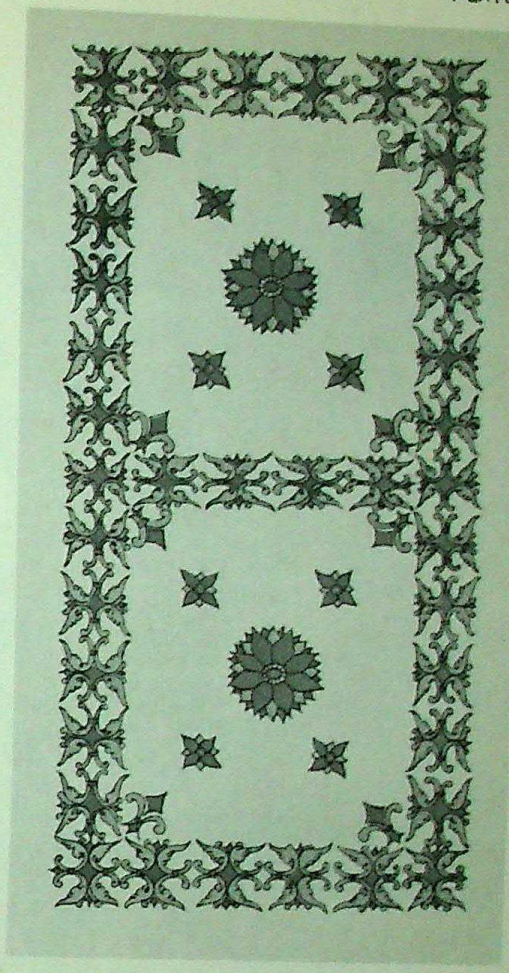
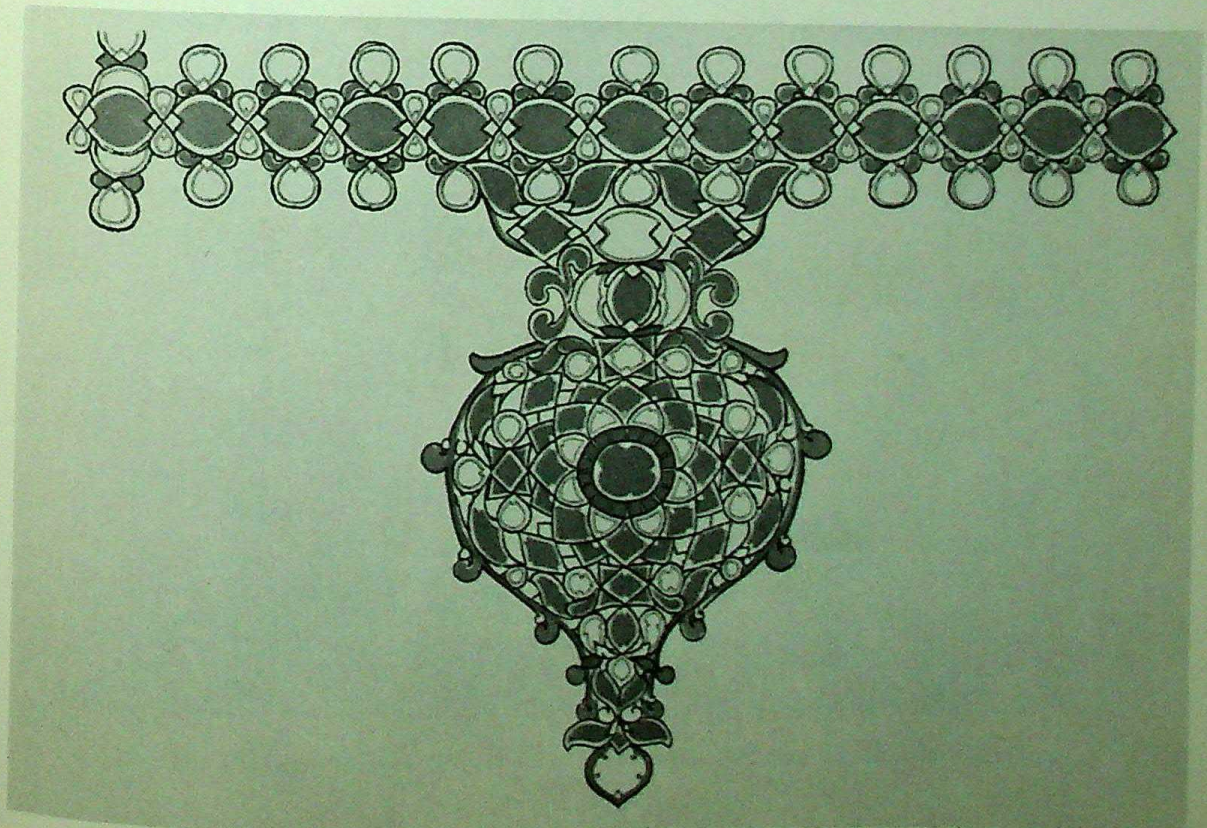


1. PAGE OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MS.



2. LAST PAGE OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MS.



3. WORKING DRAWING FOR A GEM-SET BELT FOR SRI VIKRAMA RÂJA SINHA [1798-1815 A.D.]

[Figures 1 and 2 natural size; figure 3 slightly reduced]

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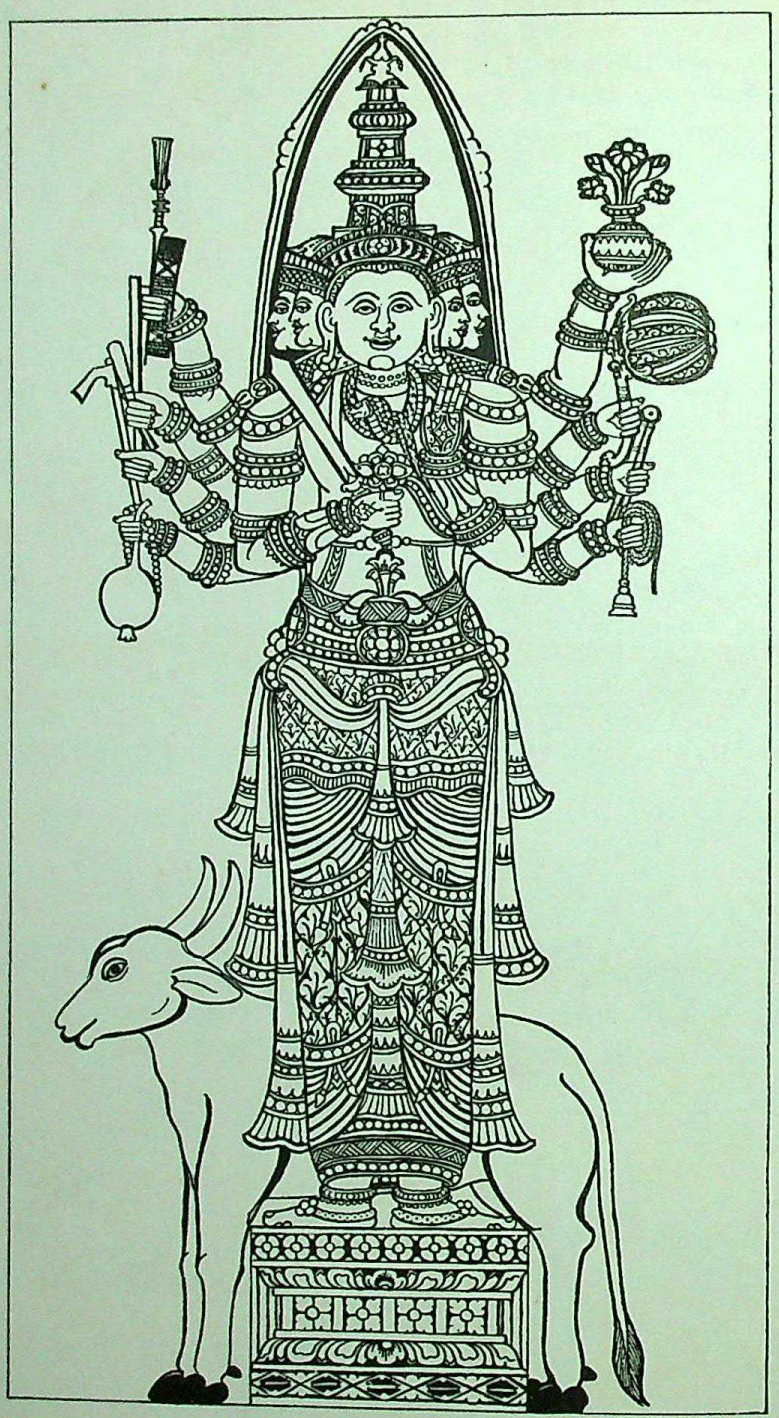

VIŚVAKARMA DEVIYŌ.

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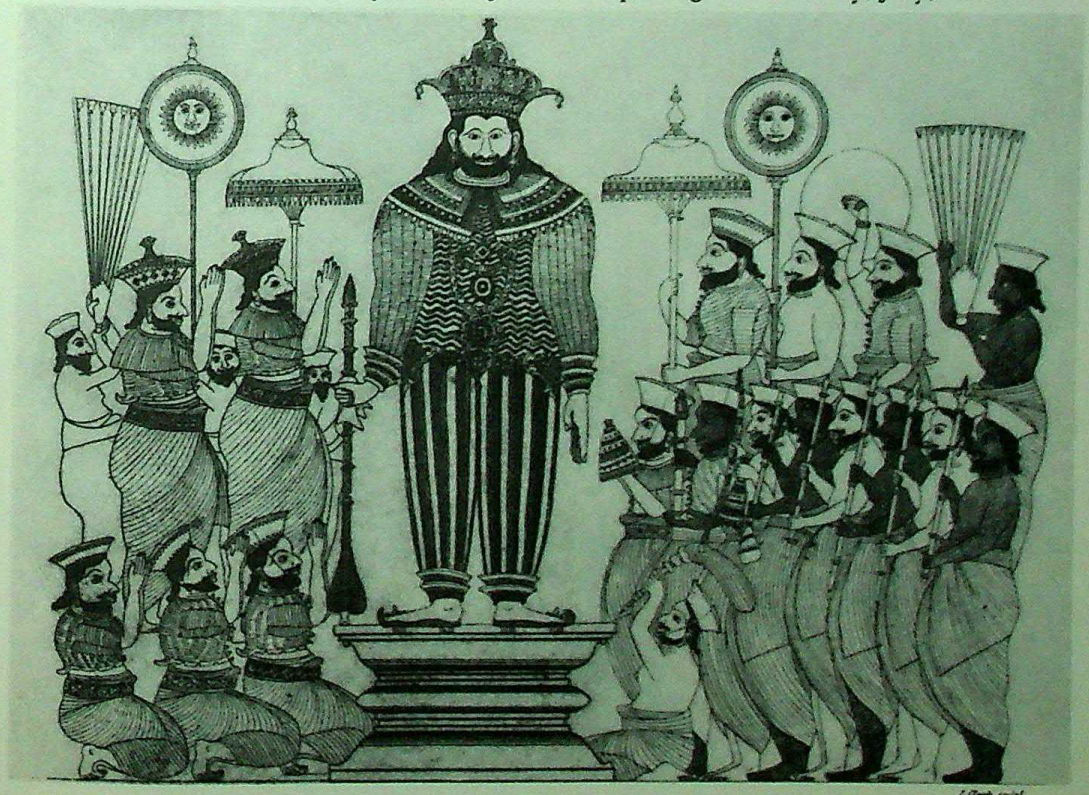
Vimala Dharma Sūrya I. and Joris van Spilberghen at Kandy, July, 1602.



Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṃha, the last Kandyan king, attended by his ministers.

ROYAL COSTUME.

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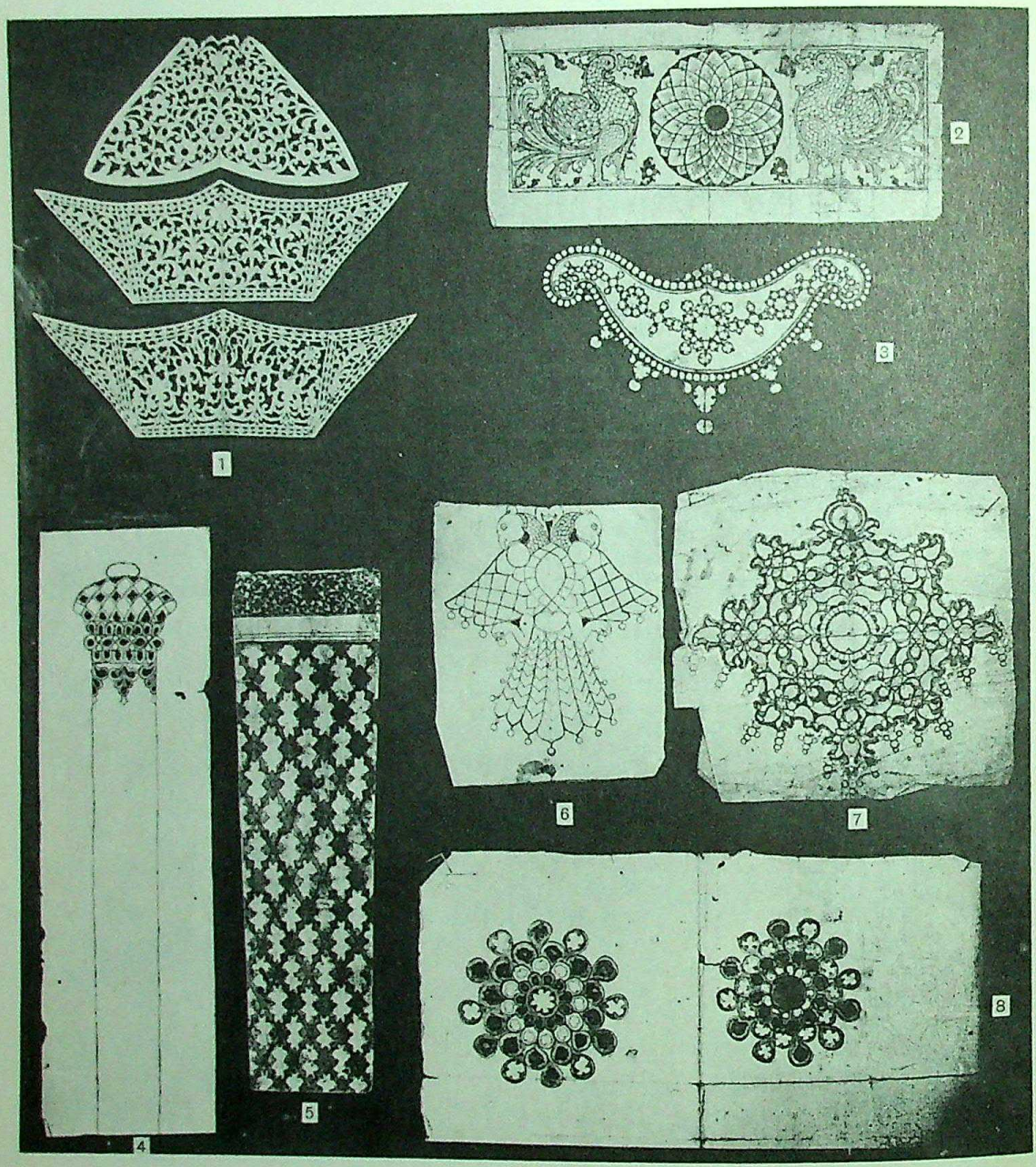

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

WORKING DRAWINGS OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY KANDYAN GOLDSMITH.

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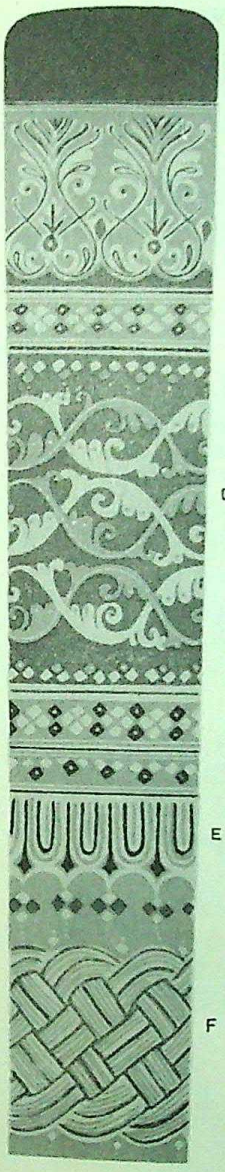

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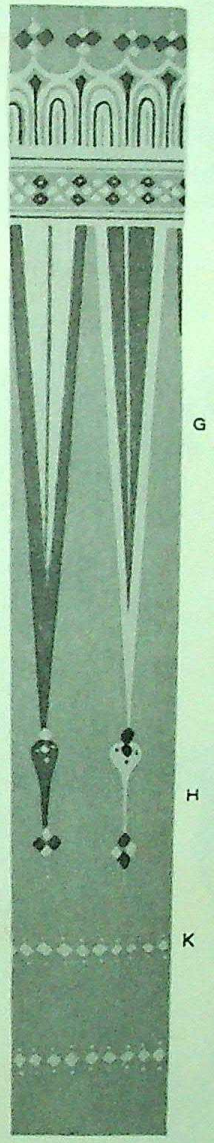

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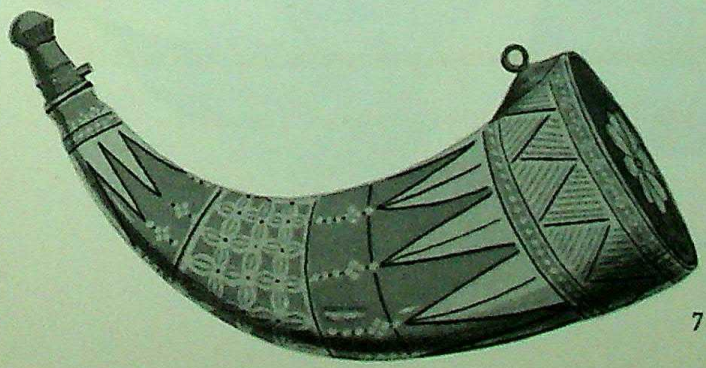

7

5

LAC WORK.

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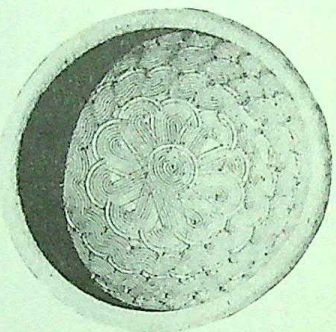

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Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

EARTHENWARE.

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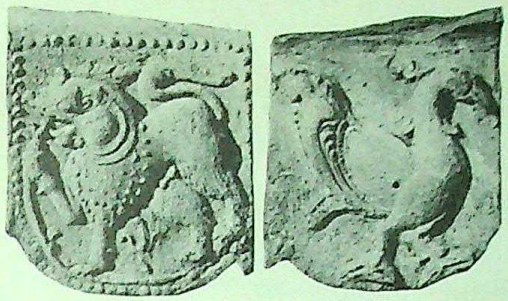

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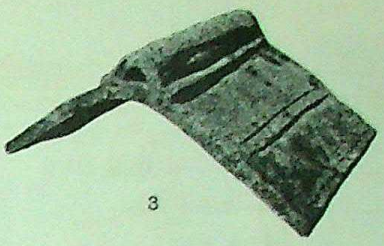

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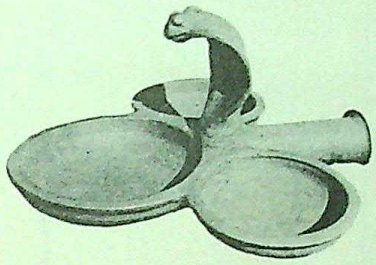

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Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

EARTHENWARE.

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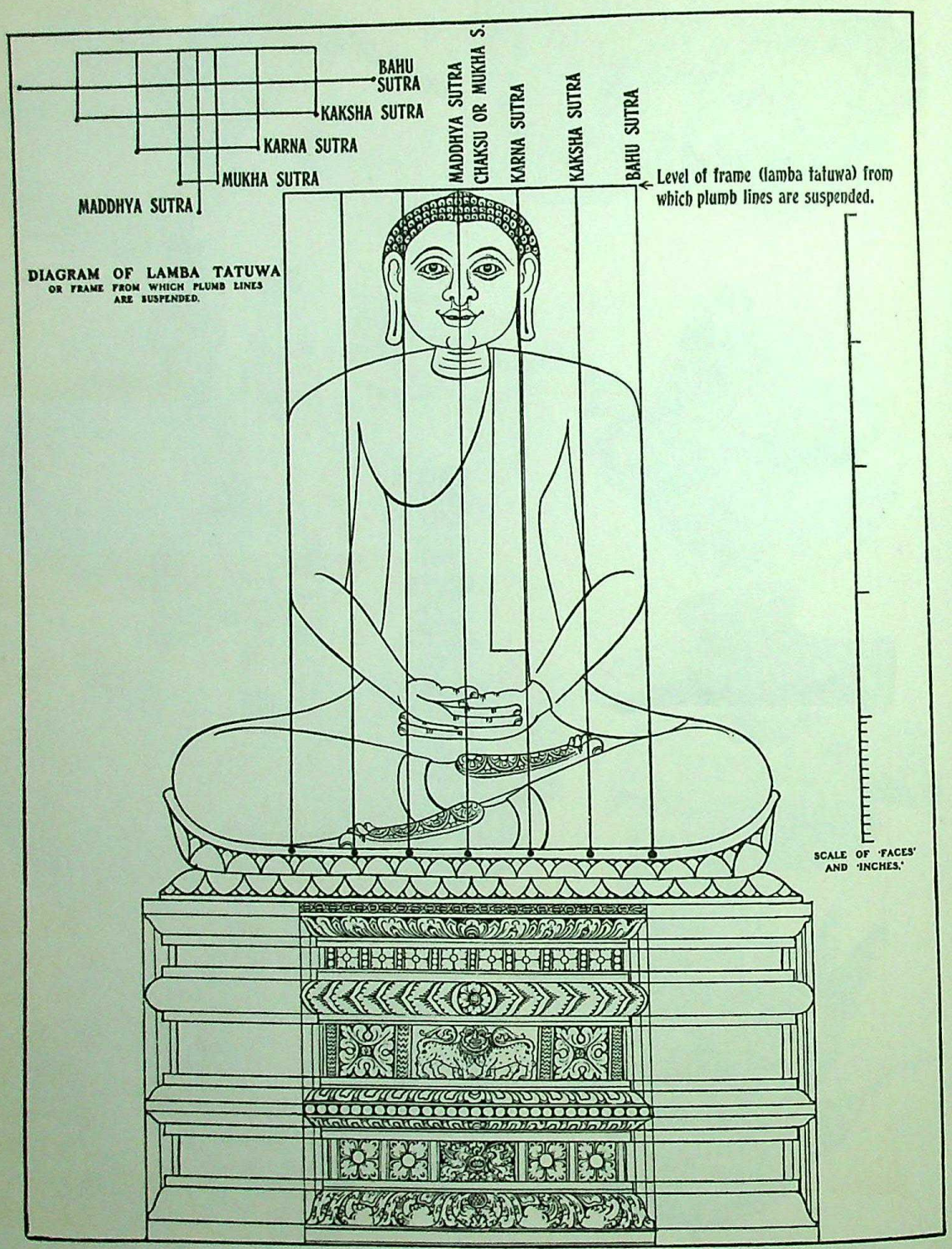

Seated figure of Buddha, drawn to a scale of five 'faces,' and showing the principal plumb lines used in making images [D. S. M.].

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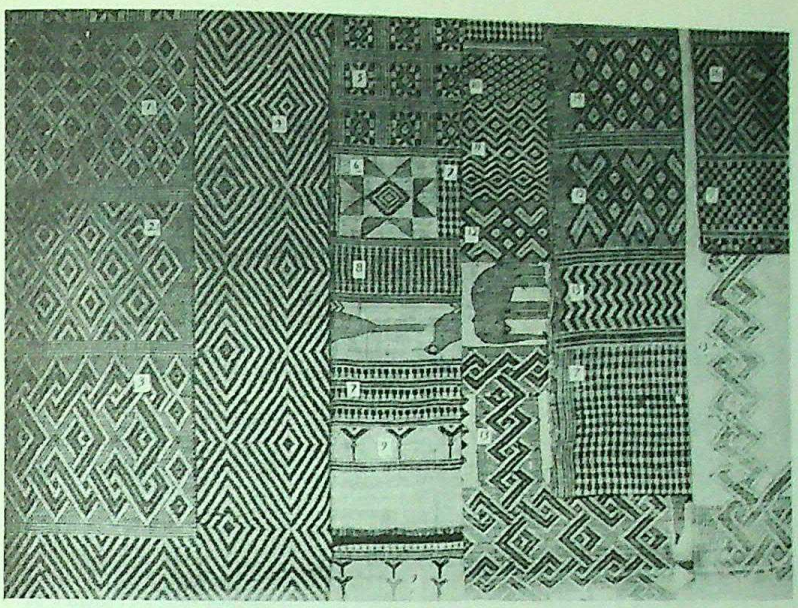

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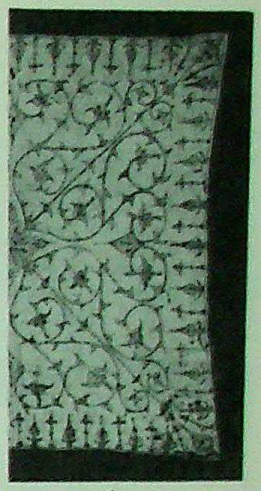

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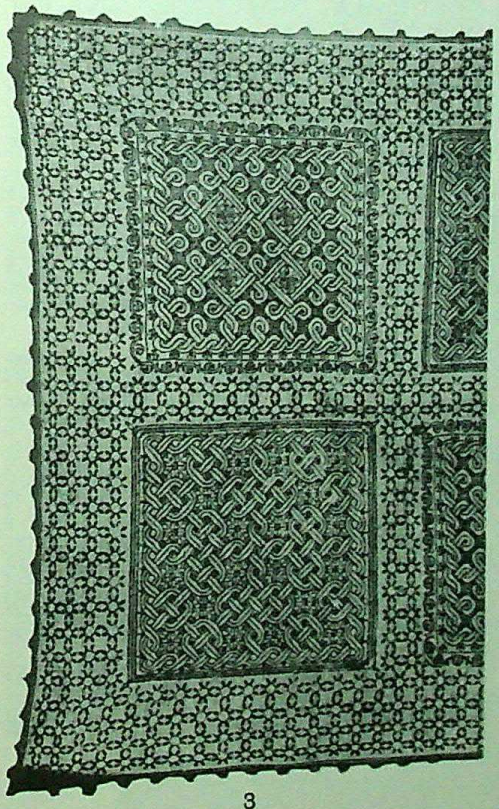

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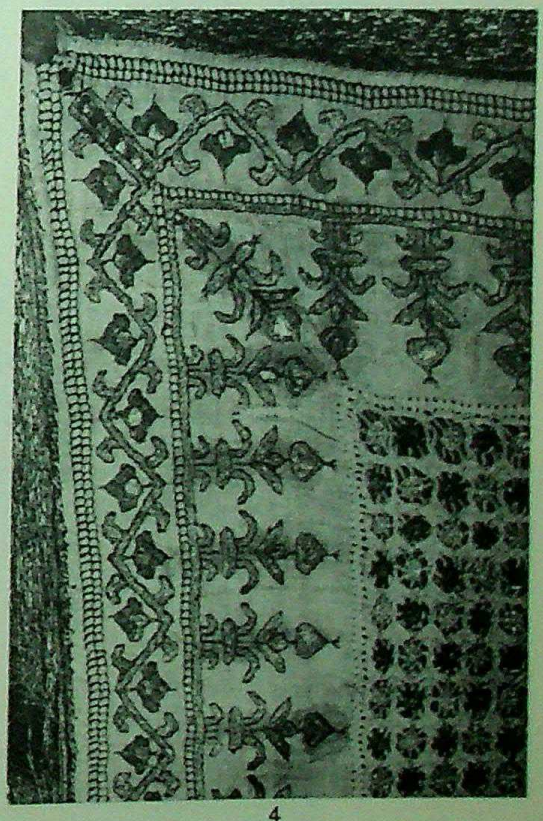

4

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

WOVEN AND EMBROIDERED CLOTHS.

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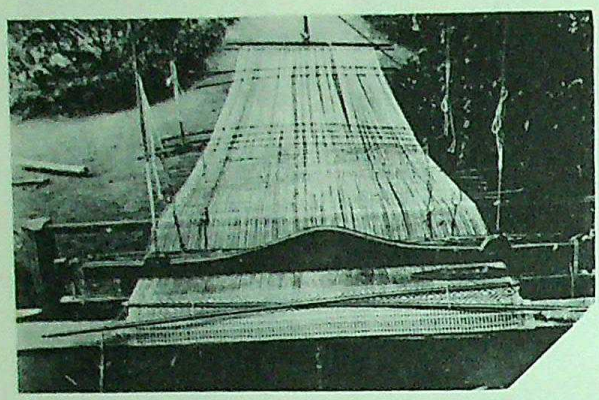

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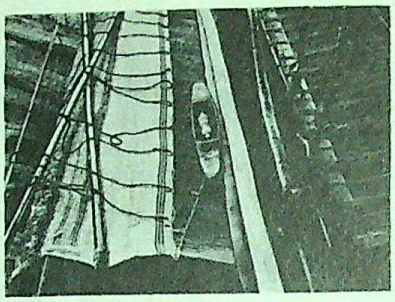

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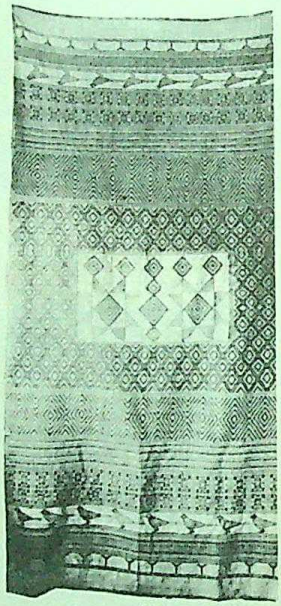

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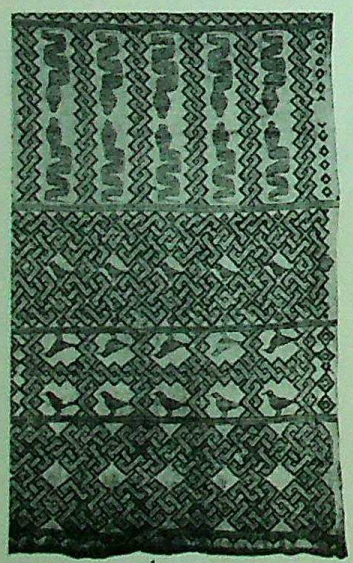

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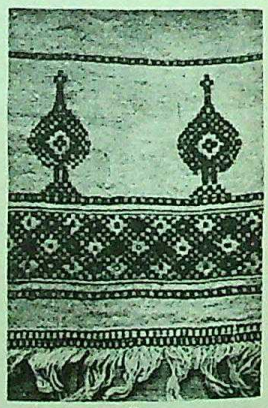

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Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

LOOMS AND WOVEN CLOTHS.

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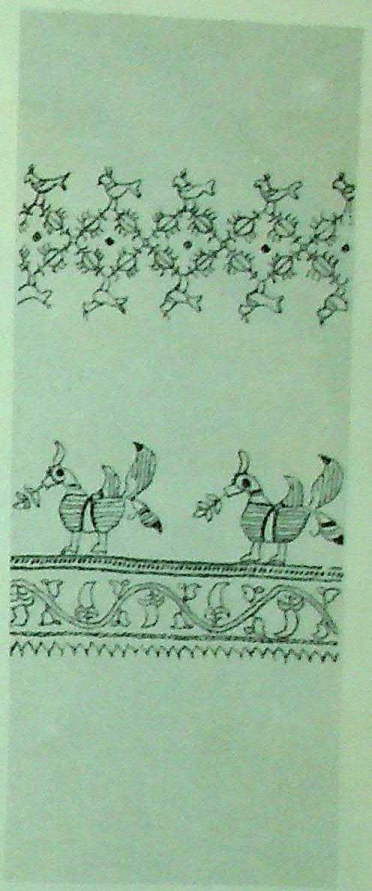
1



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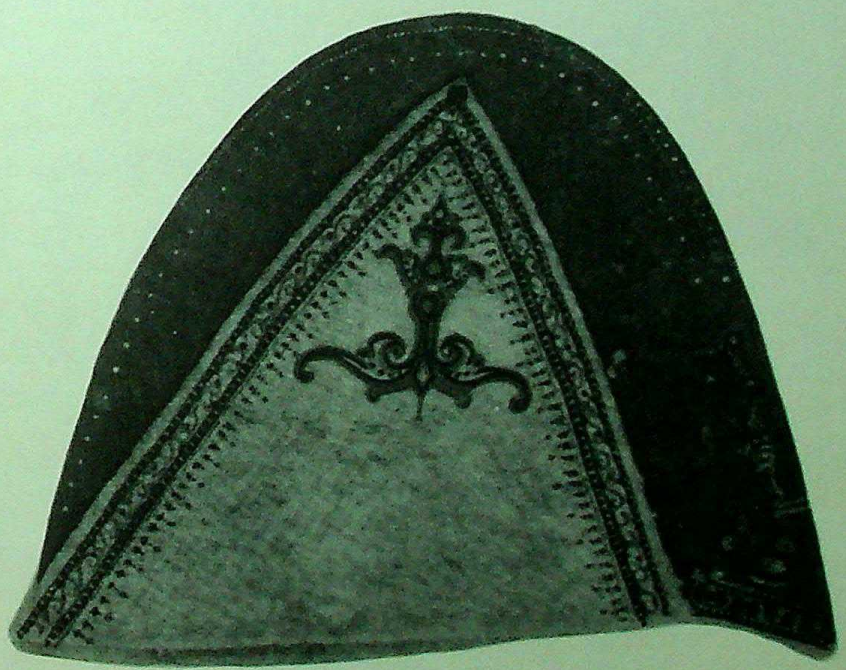

3

EMBROIDERY.

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EMBROIDERED BETEL BAG.

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EMBROIDERED BETEL-BAGS.

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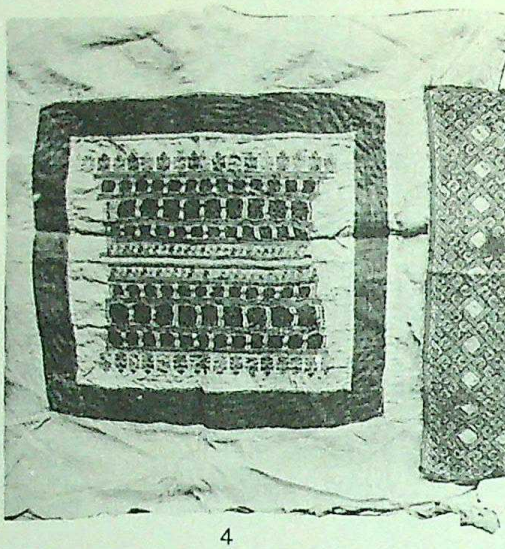

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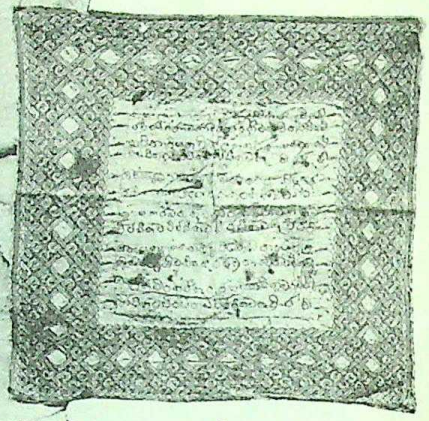

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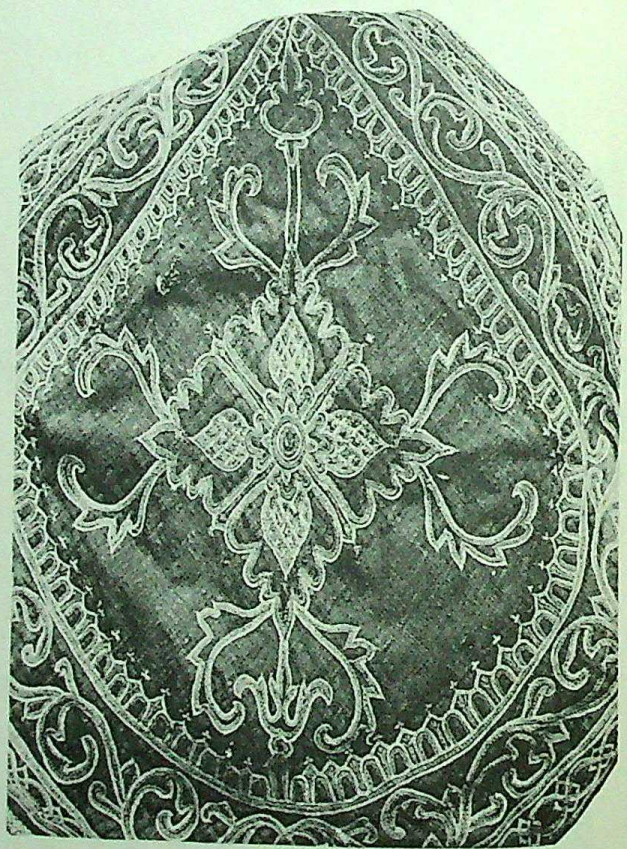

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EMBROIDERED GARMENTS, HANDKERCHIEFS AND BAG.

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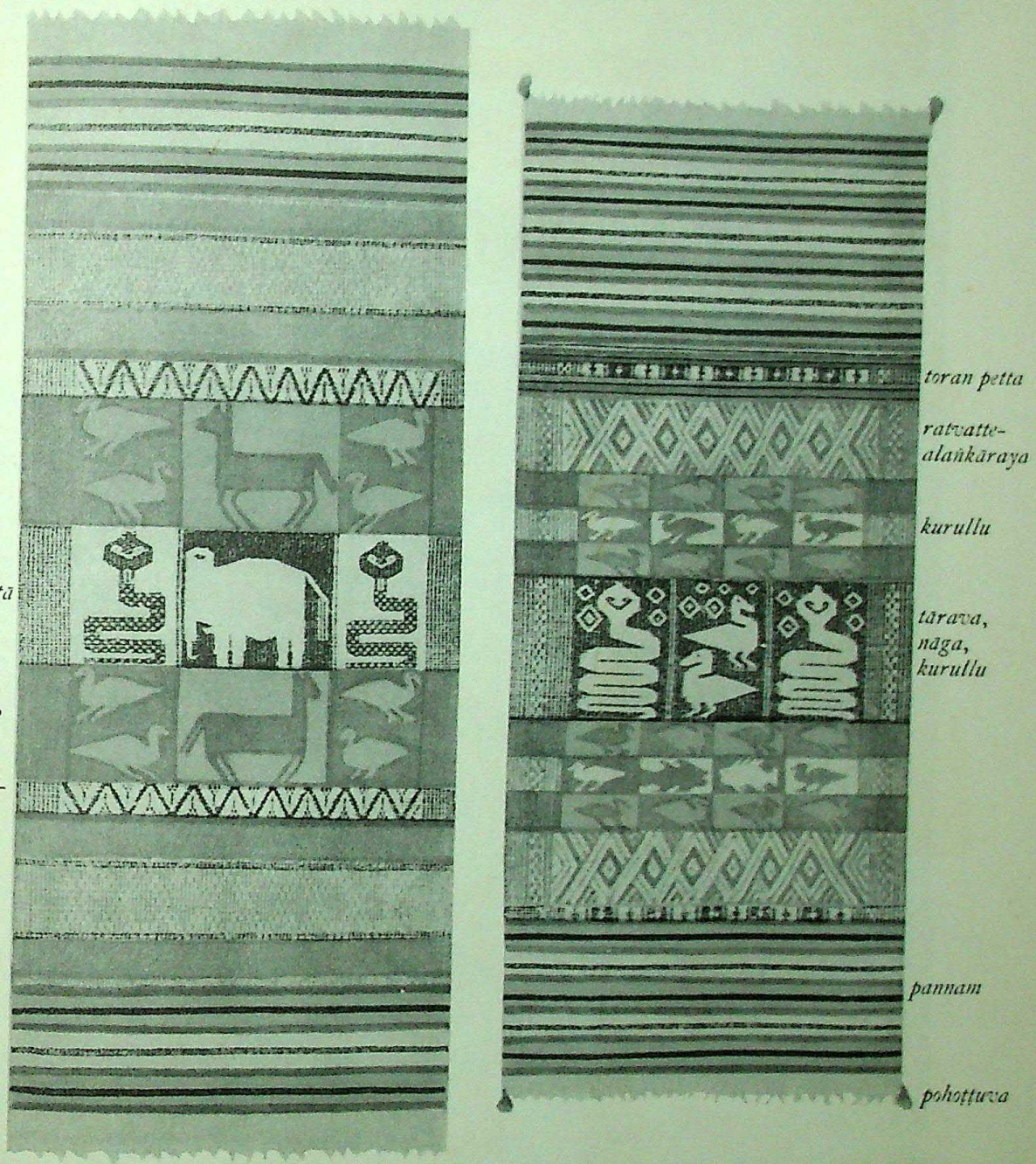

DUMBARA MATS.

With pattern names.

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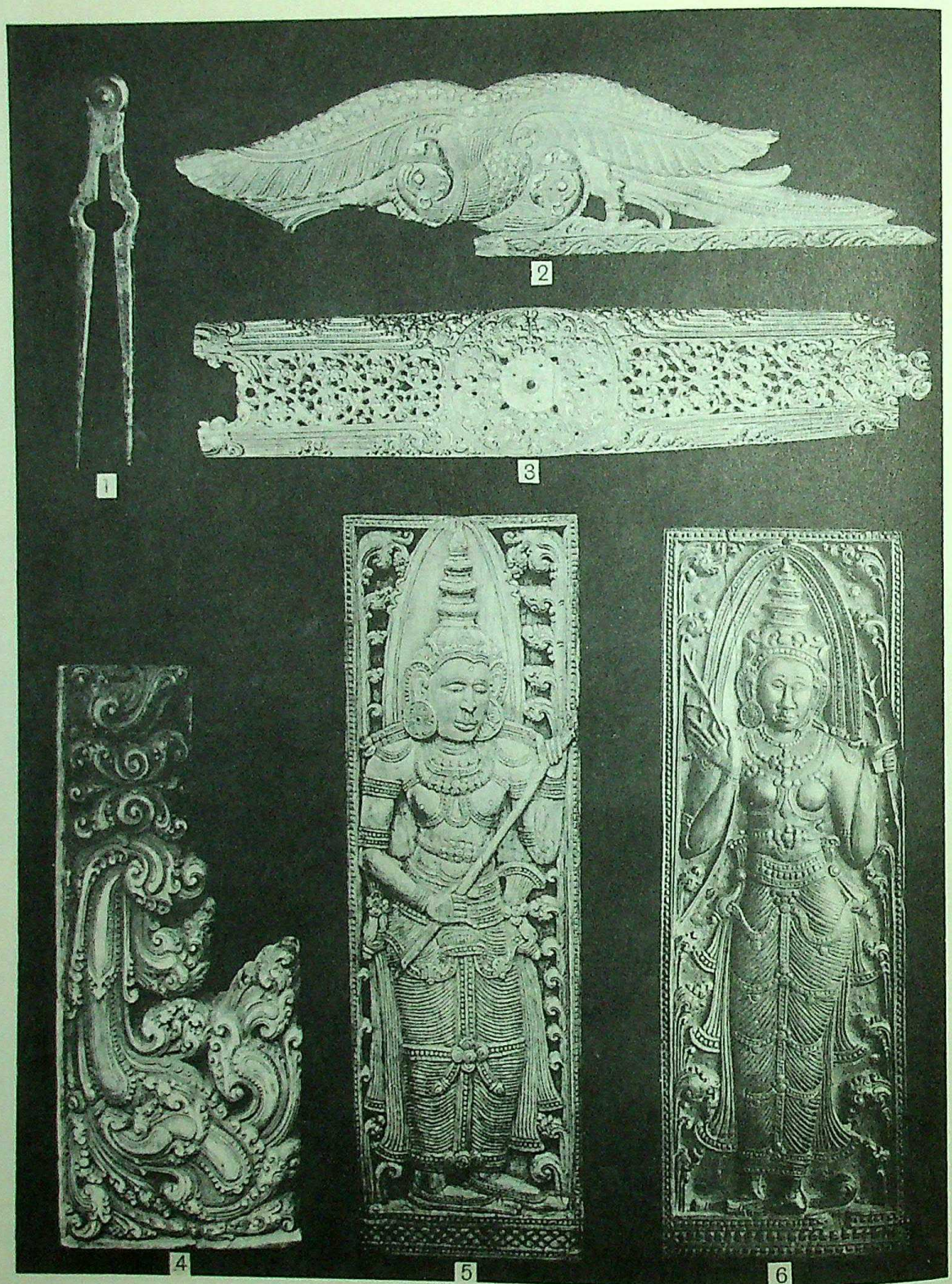

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Engr.

IVORY.

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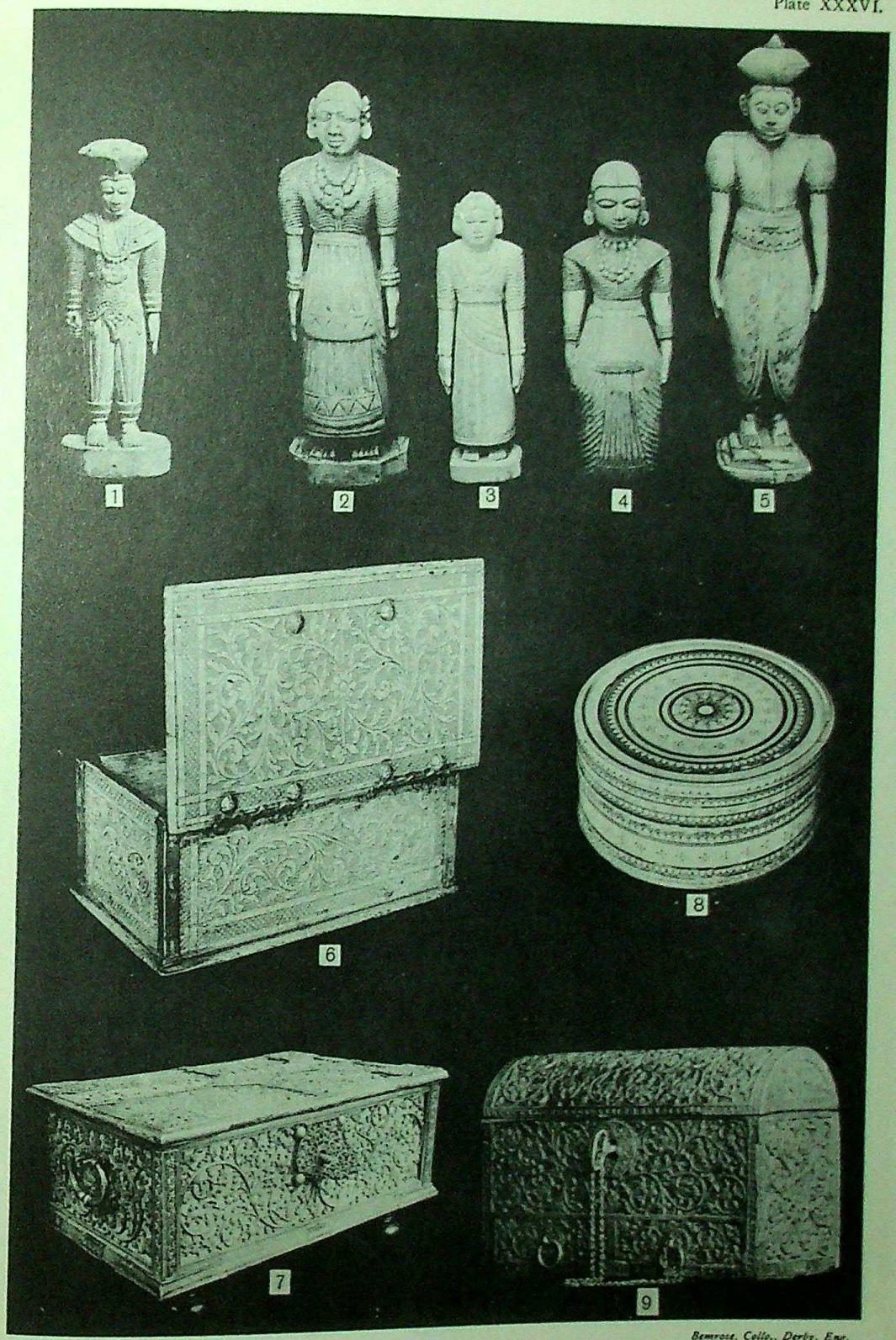

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IVORY.

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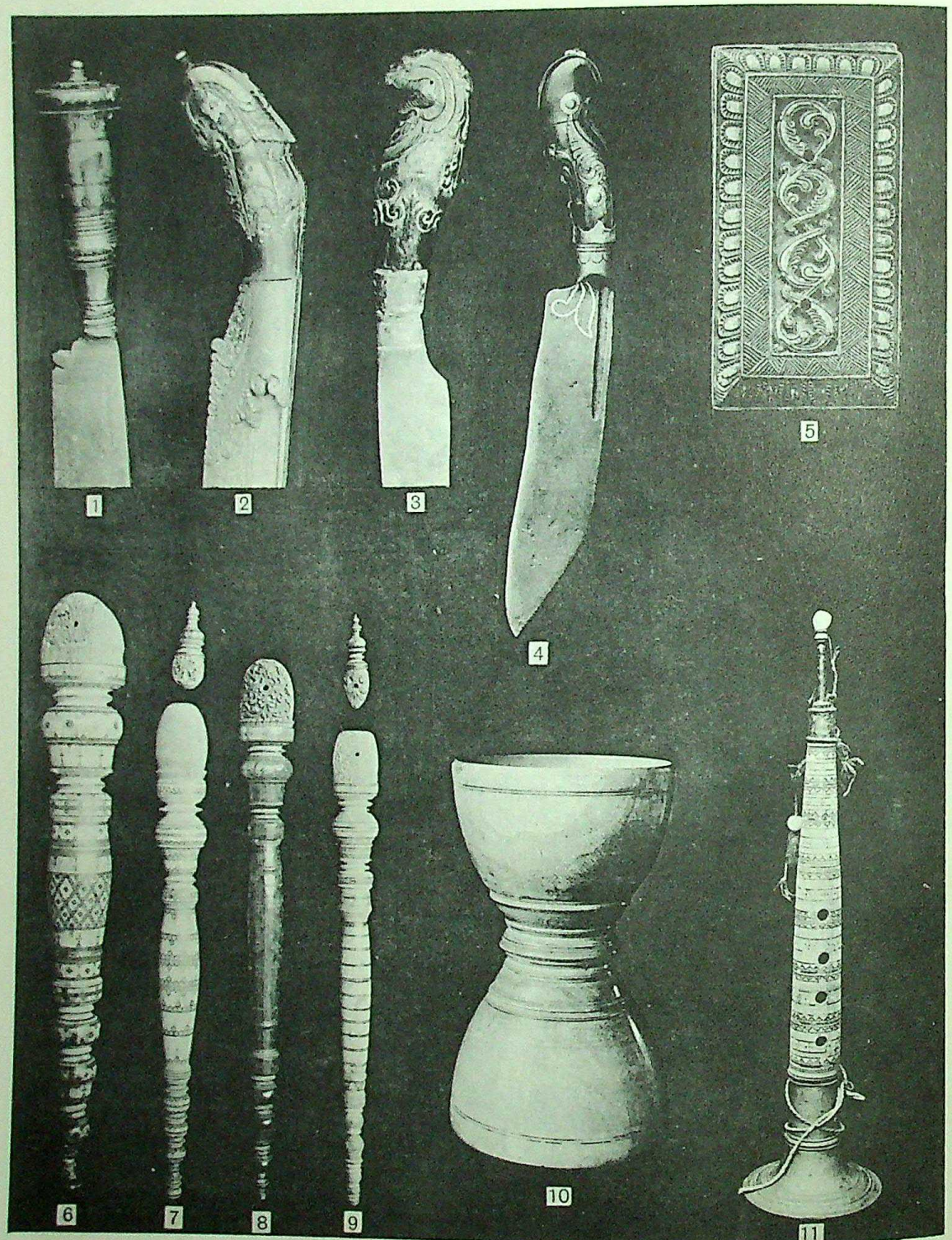

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

IVORY.

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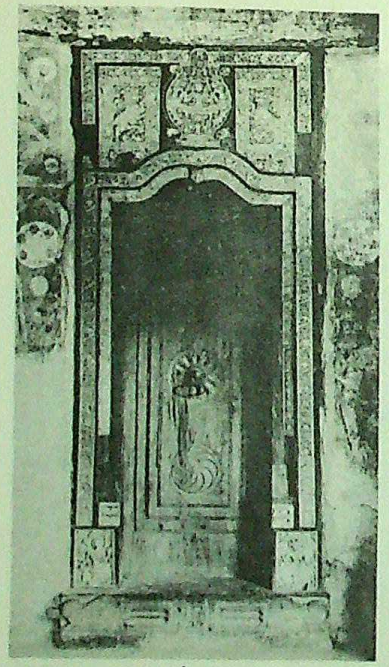

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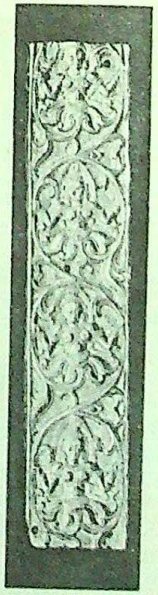

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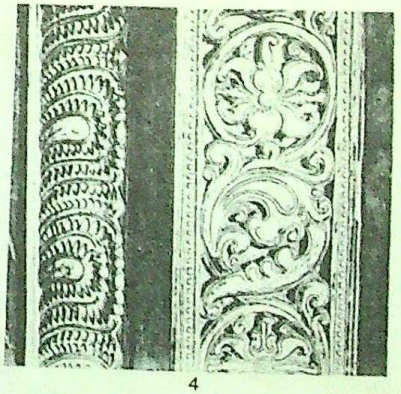

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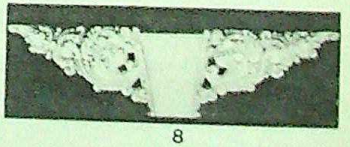

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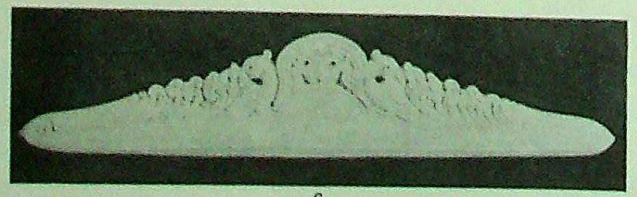

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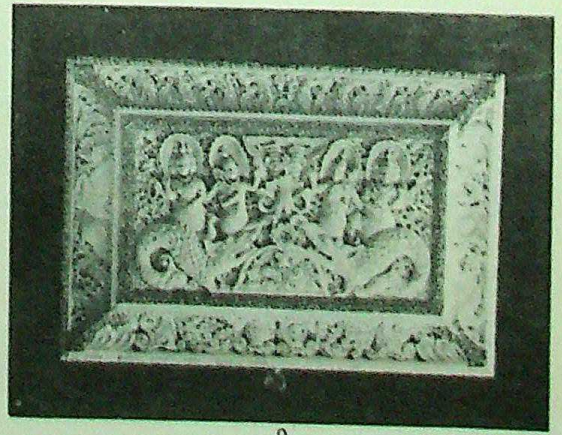

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Bemrose, Colle., Derby, Eng.

IVORY.

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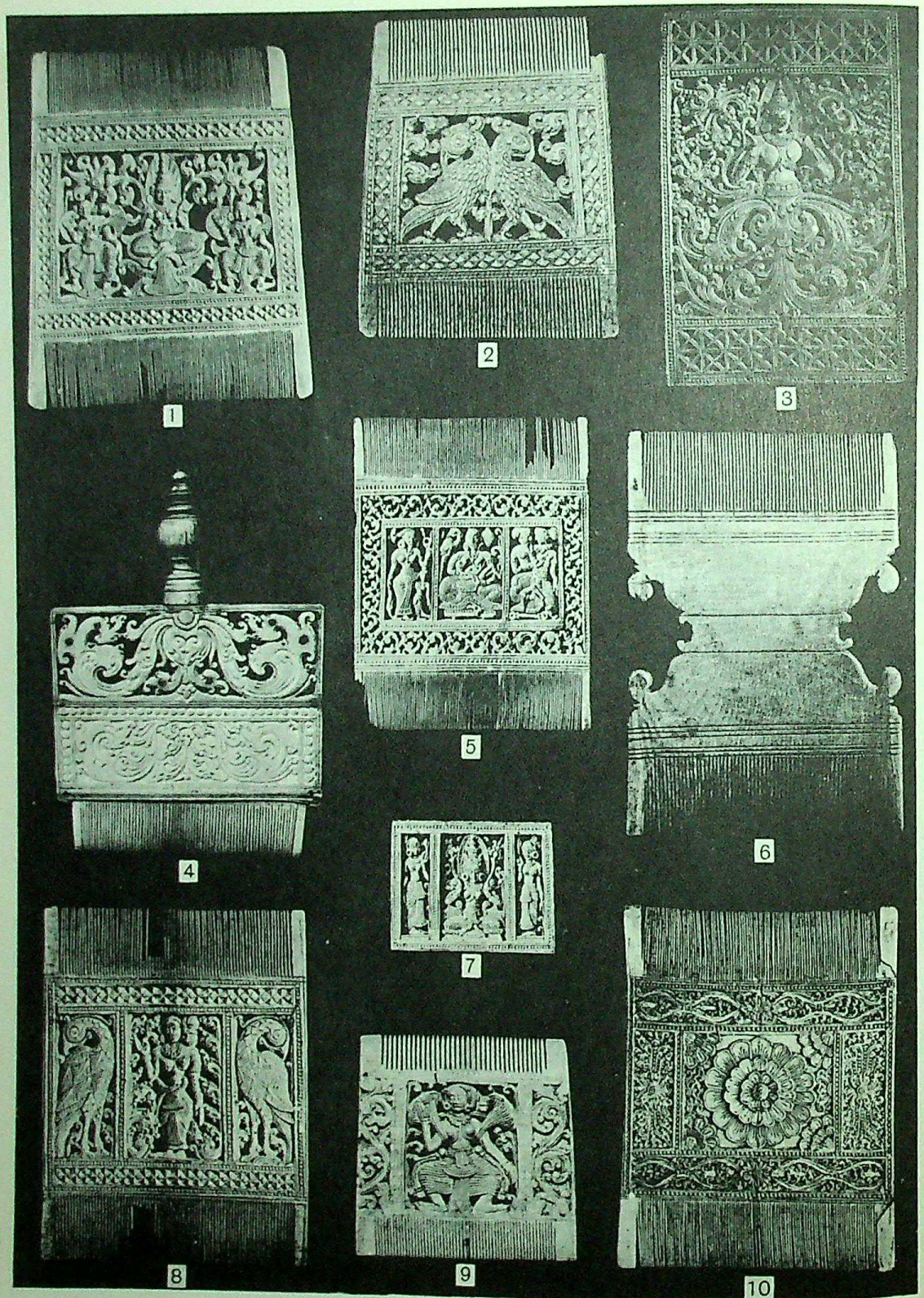

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

IVORY COMBS.

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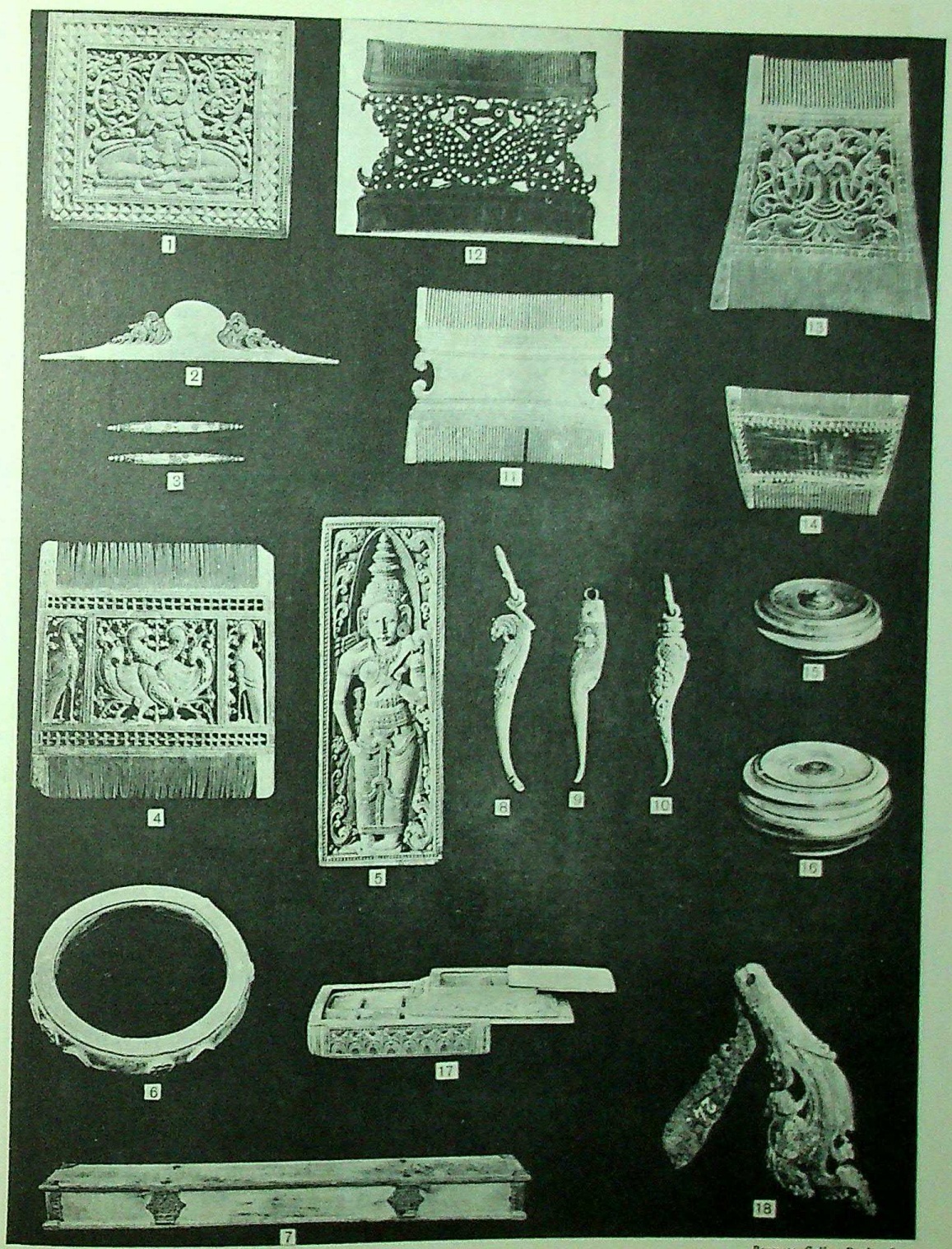

Bemrose, Colls., Derby, Eng.

IVORY AND HORN.

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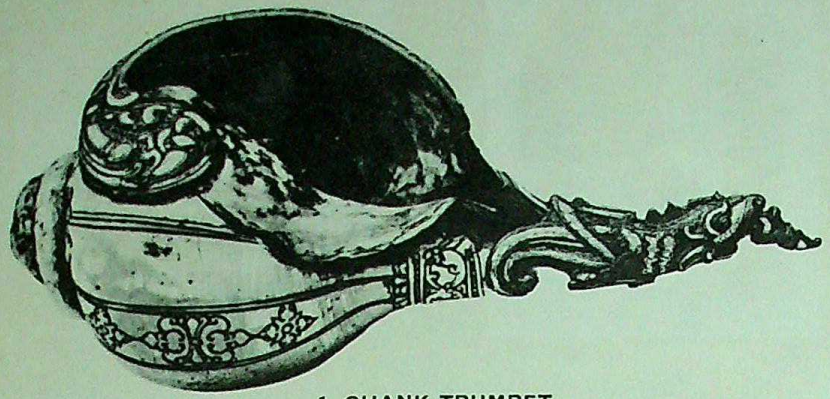
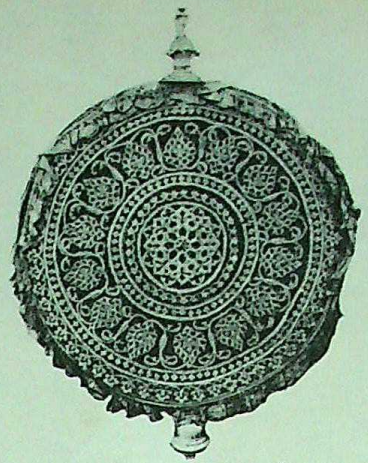


1. CHANK TRUMPET.



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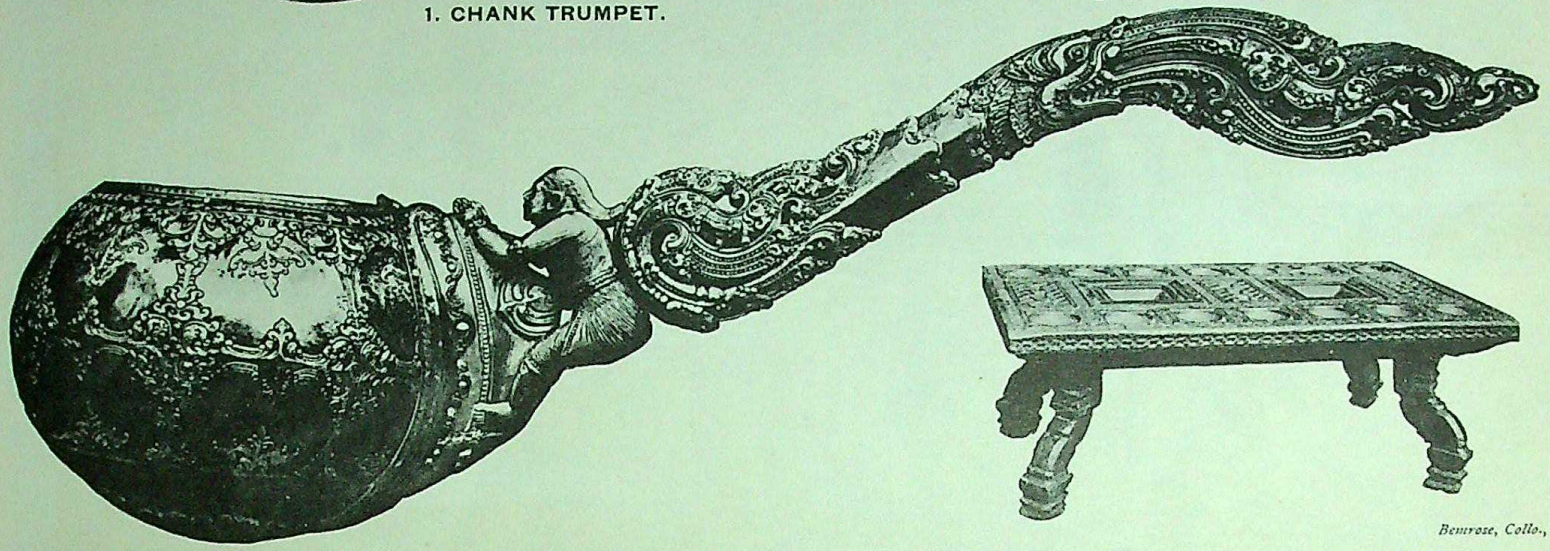

3. SILVER AND IVORY LADLE.

4. GAME BOARD.

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

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GOLD AND SILVER PLATE, MAHA DEWALA AND DALADA MALIGAWA, KANDY.

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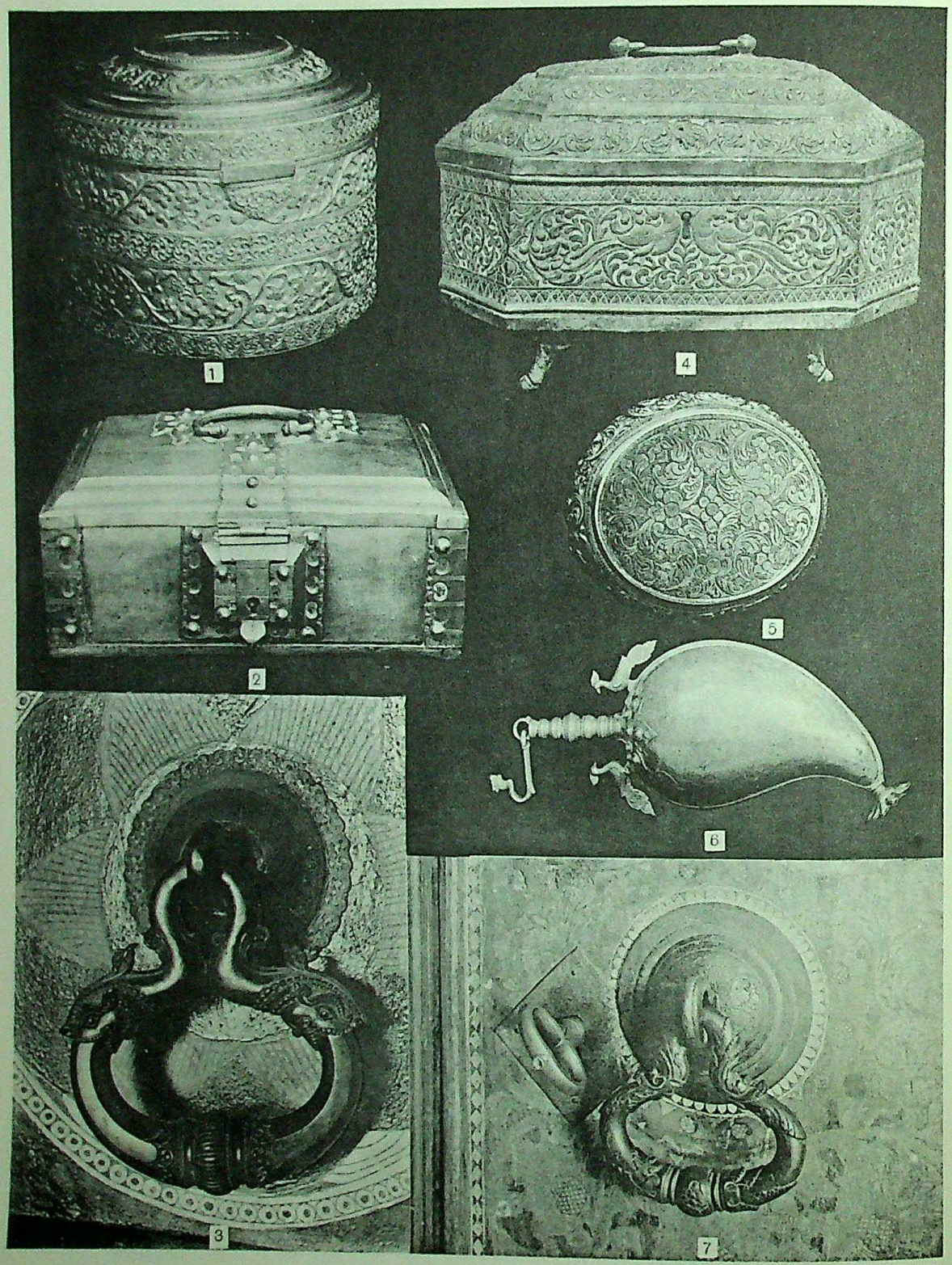

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SILVER AND BRASS.

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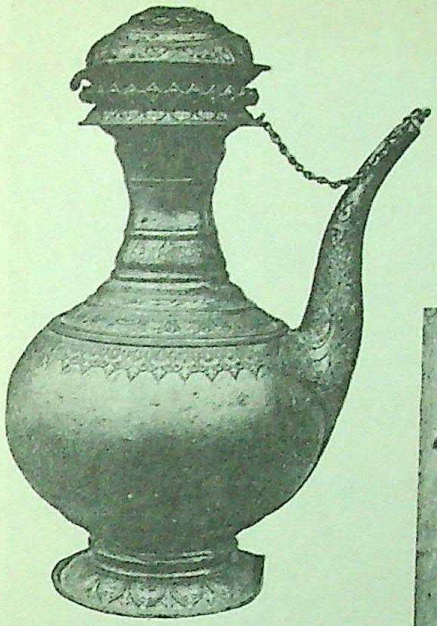

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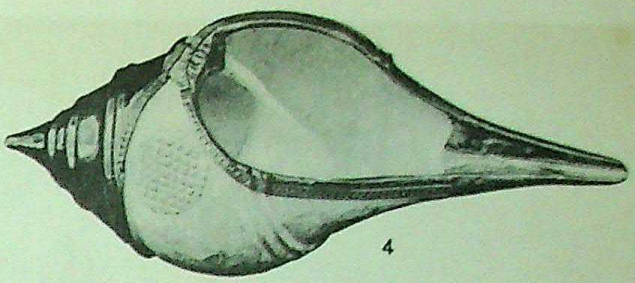

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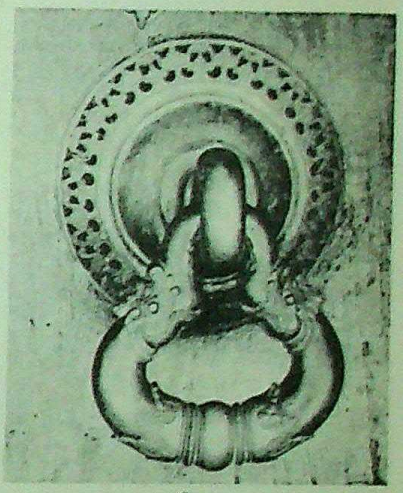

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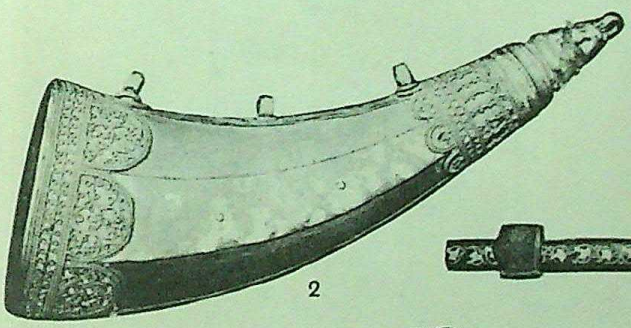

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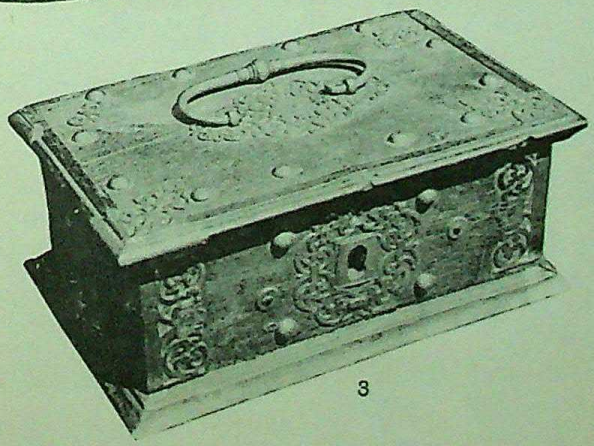

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METAL WORK.

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BRASS AND BRONZE.

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Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

BRASS, BRONZE AND IRON.

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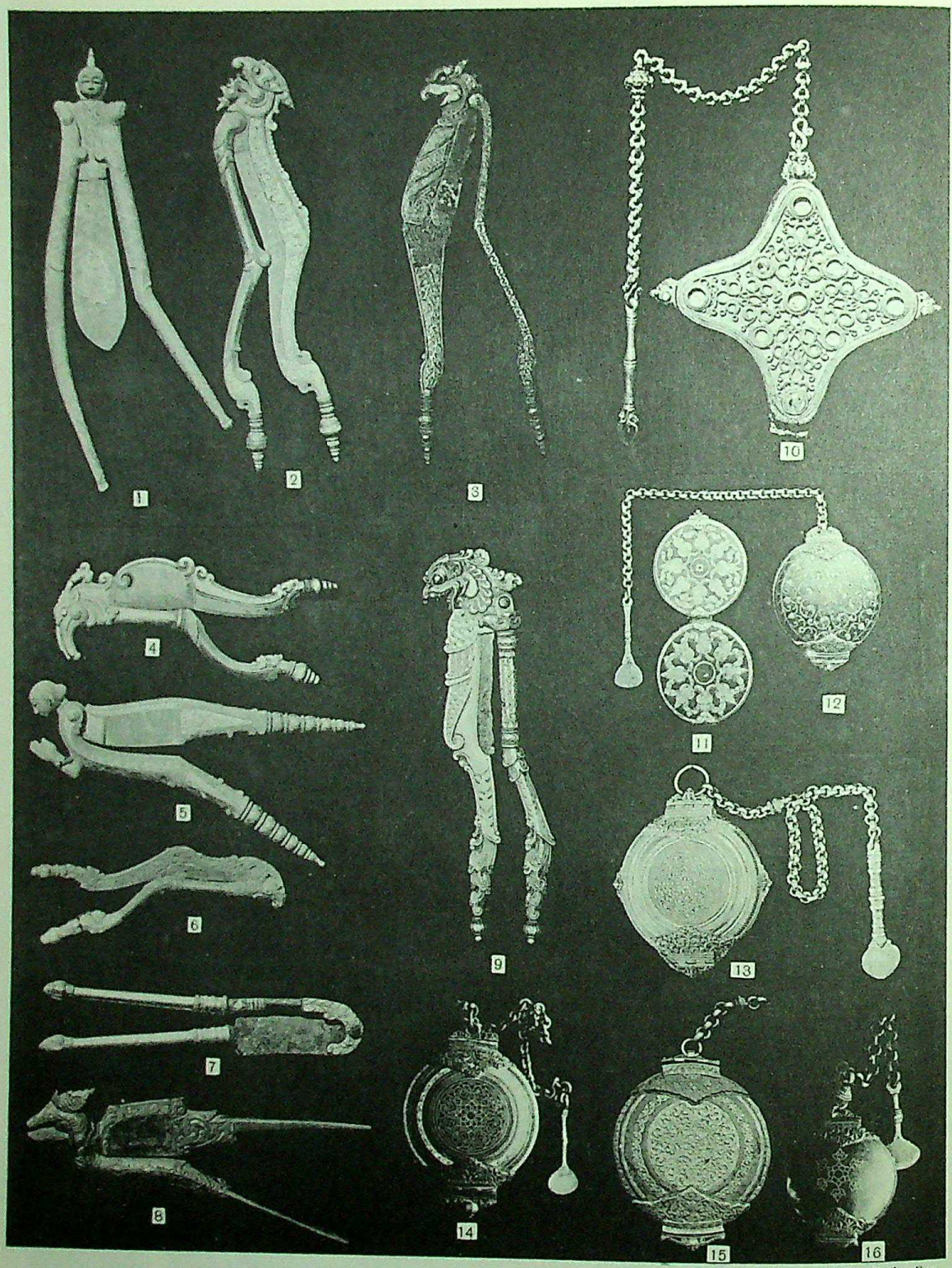

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Engr.

ARECA-NUT SLICERS, AND CHUNAM BOXES.

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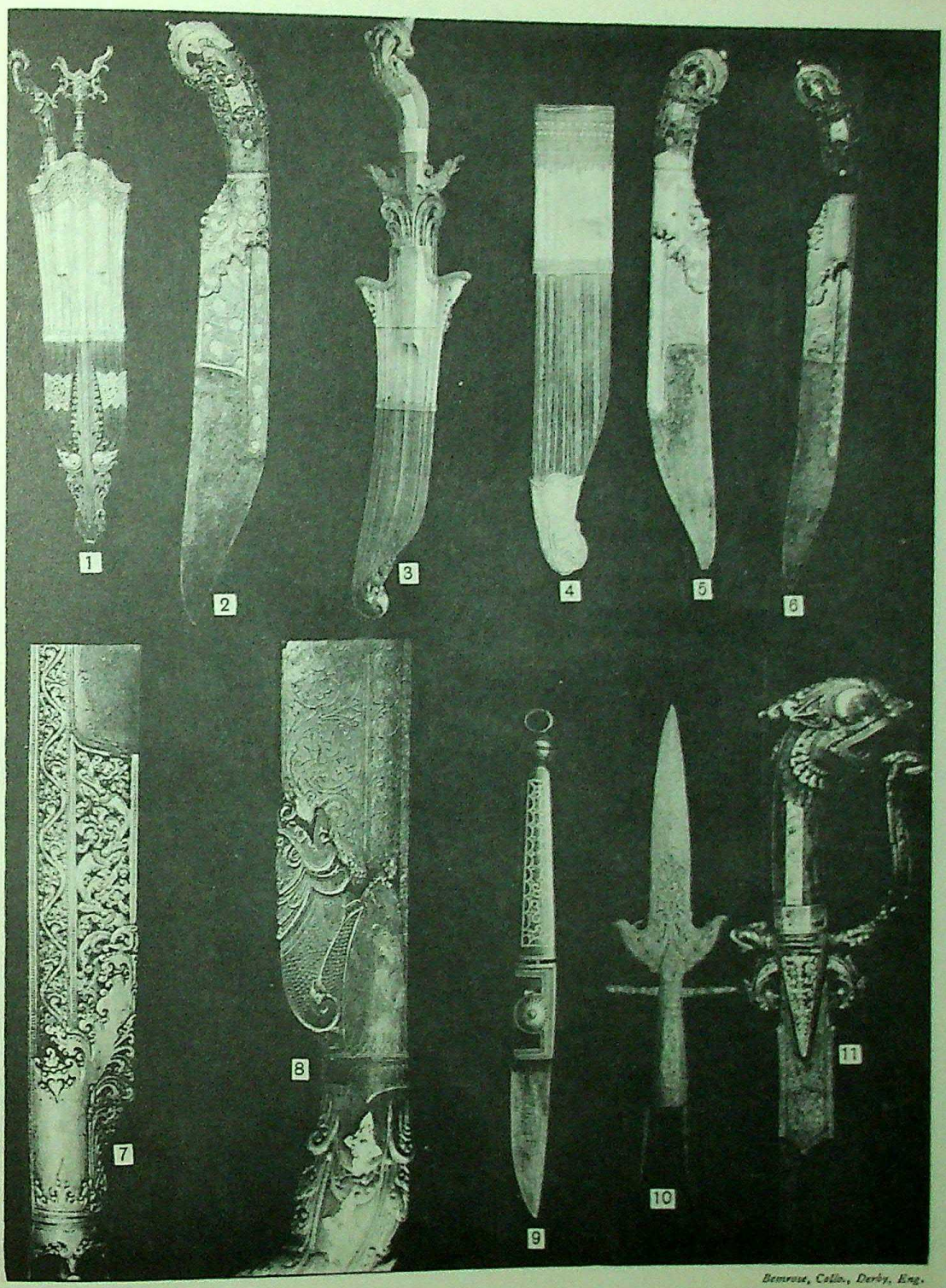

Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

KNIVES, SPEAR HEAD, SWORD.

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NECK-CHAINS AND PENDANTS.

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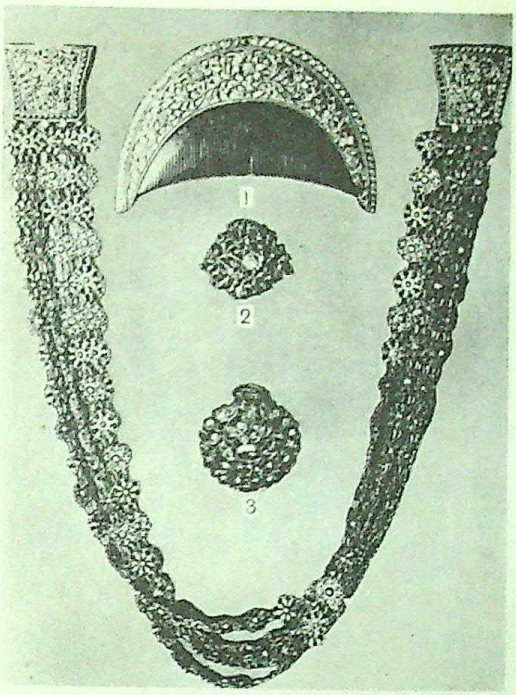

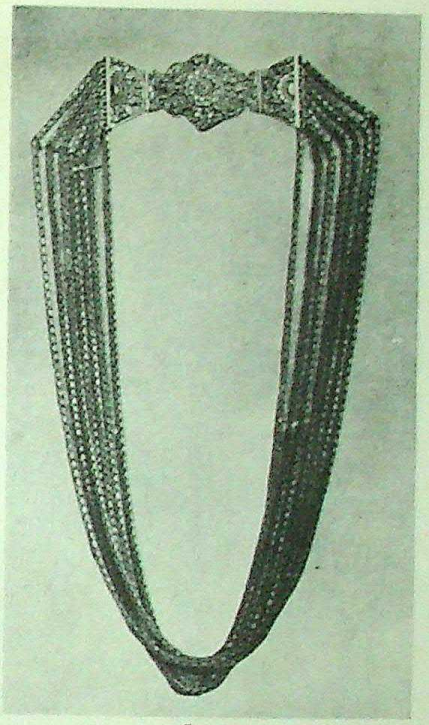
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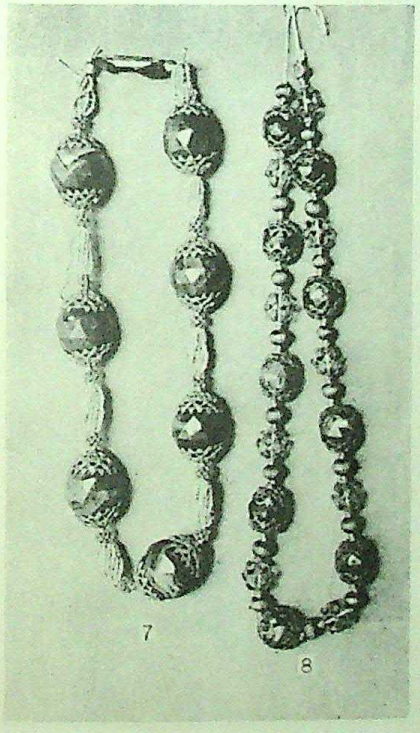

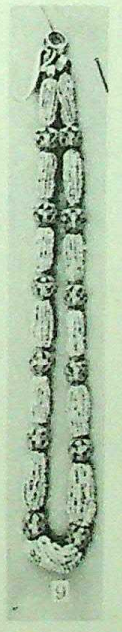
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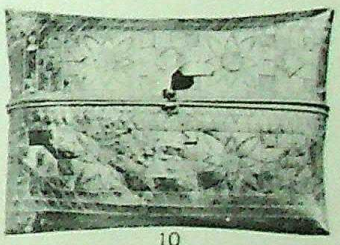
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Bemrose, Collo., Derby, Eng.

NECK-CHAINS AND OTHER JEWELLERY.

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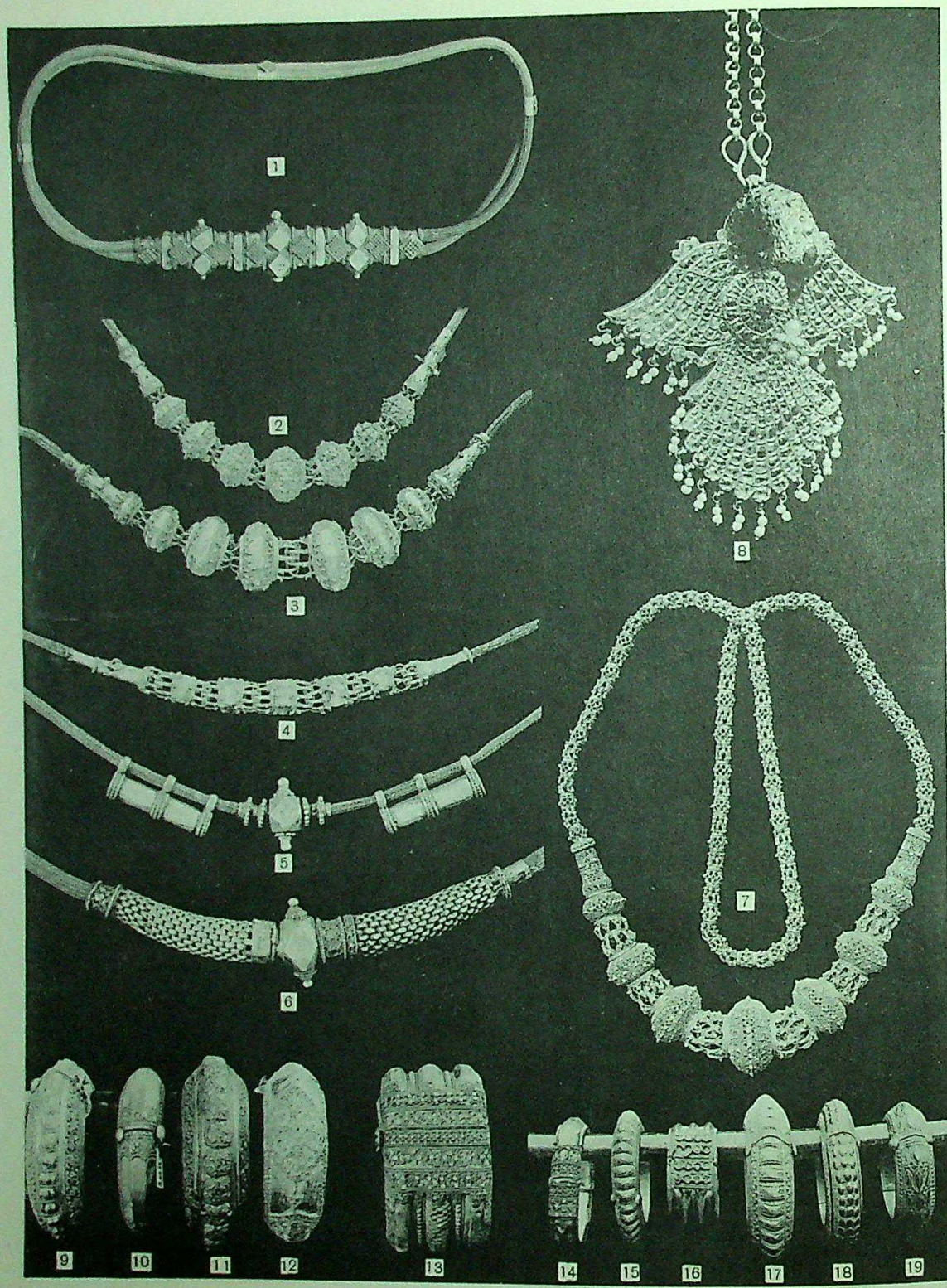

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SILVER WAIST CHAINS, GOLD PENDANT, SILVER AND BRASS BANGLES.

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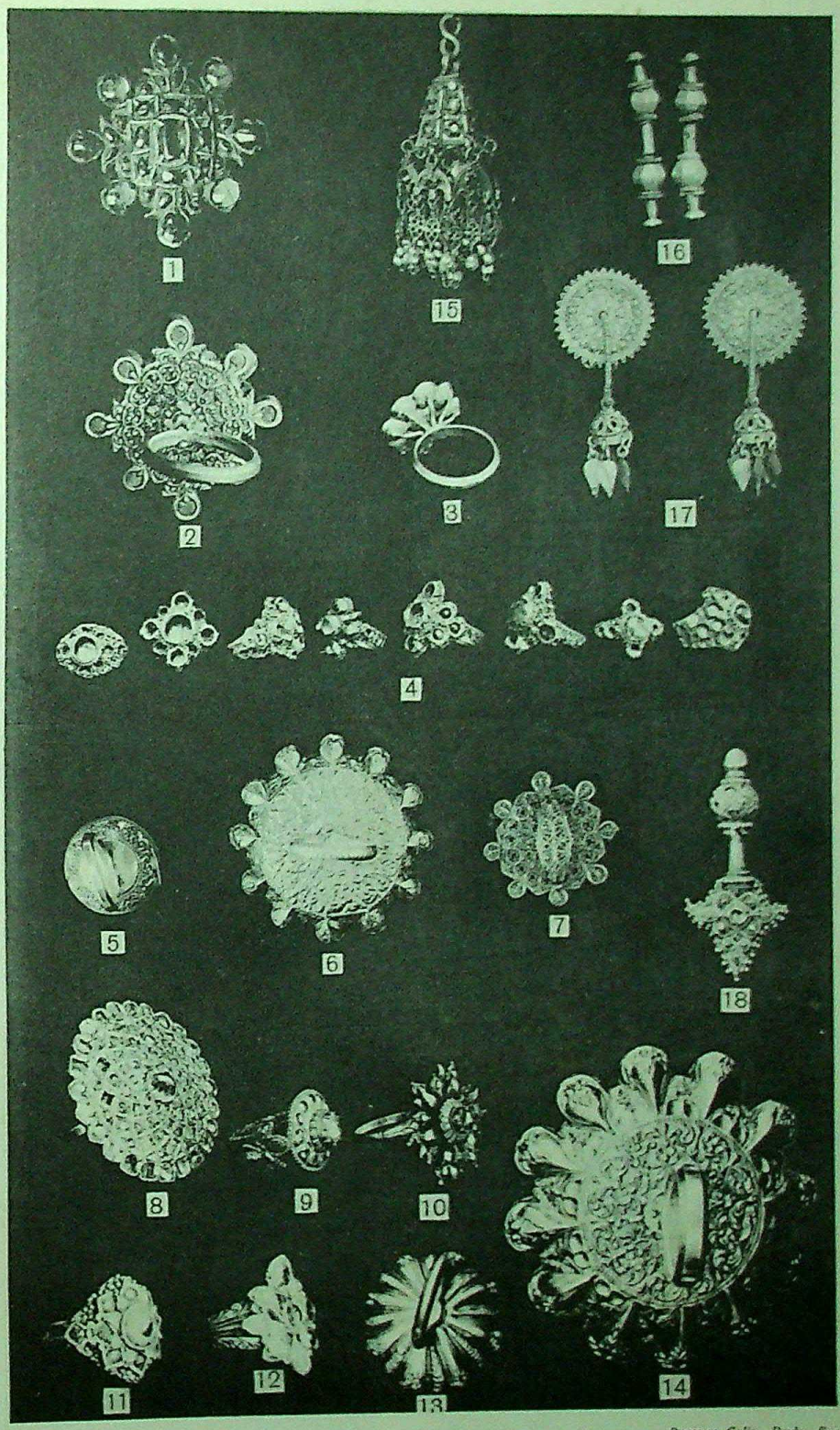

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FINGER RINGS AND EARRINGS.

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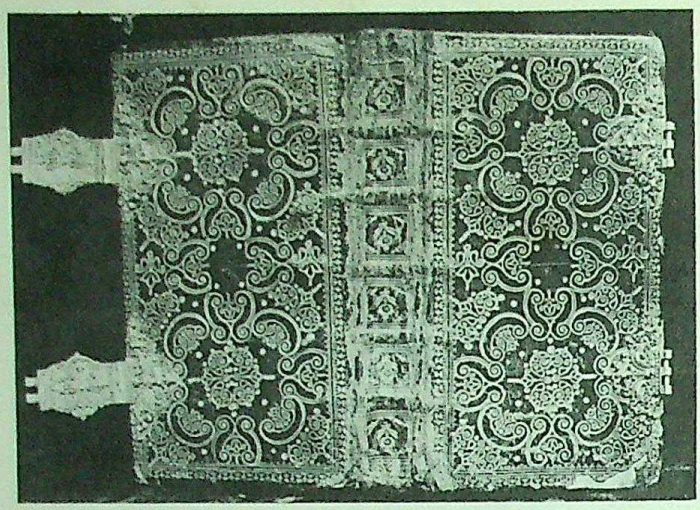

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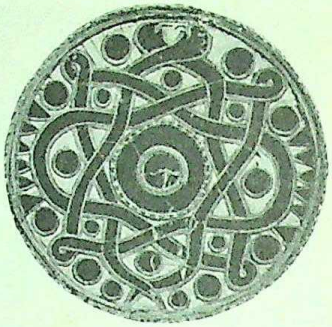

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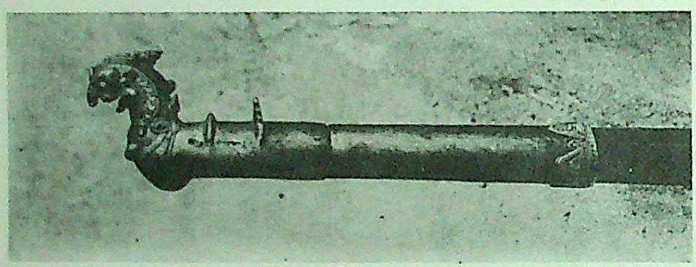

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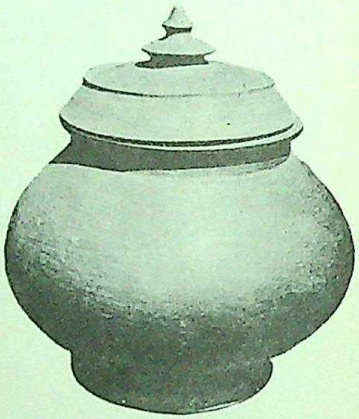

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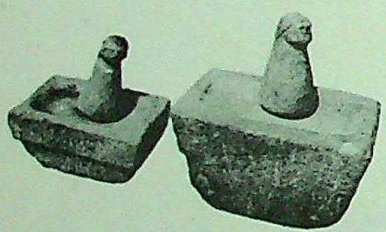

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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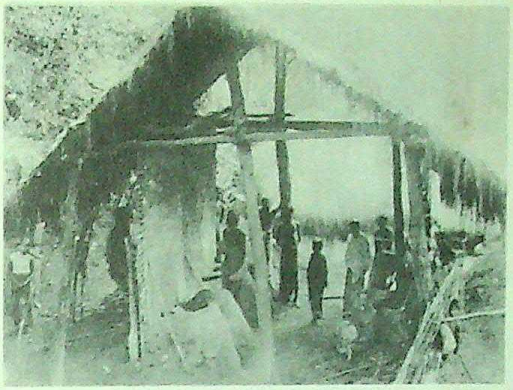
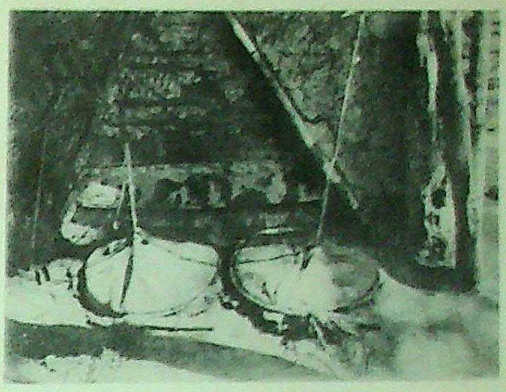


1. Iron smelting furnace; general view.



2. Iron smelting furnace; the bellows.

3. The furnace at work.

4. The bellows-blower.

5. Steel furnace at work.

6. Steel furnace; removing crucibles.

MANUFACTURE OF IRON AND STEEL.

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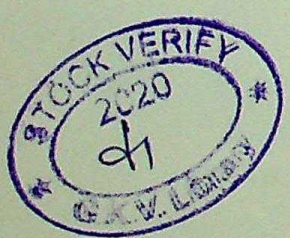

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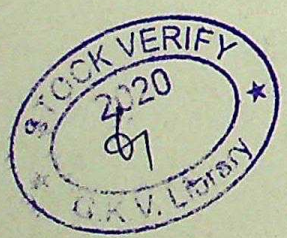

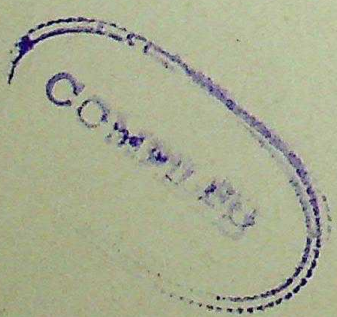

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